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Centre for the Arts

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. I

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

NEW EDITION

BY

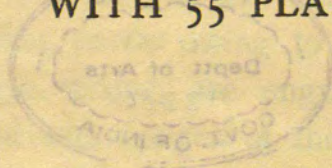
E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

EPIGRAPHIST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RETIRED



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WITH 55 PLATES



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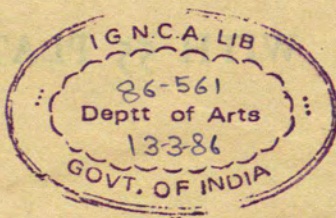
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PREFACE

THE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archæological Survey Department under orders of Sir John MARSHALL. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. KRISHNA SASTRI. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr. Carl PLETTNER. With the exception of the two Shāhbāzgarhī edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharōshthī versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel STEIN's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr. J. F. FLEET. To the late Professor Arthur VENIS I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Gīrnār and Kālsī versions. Professor A. A. MACDONELL kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert SEWELL and Professor Th. ZACHARIAE.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE,
October, 1922.

POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the collotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. PLETTNER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharōshthī characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John MARSHALL, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

E. H.

HALLE,
January, 1924.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AJP = American Journal of Philology.
ASSI = Archæological Survey of Southern India.
ASWI = Archæological Survey of Western India.
BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).
CR = Comptes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.
EI = Epigraphia Indica.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GN = Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Grammatik = Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen (Pischel).
IA = Indian Antiquary.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
Ind. Alt. = Indische Alterthumskunde (Lassen).
Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).
JA = Journal Asiatique.
Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten (Kern).
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
JPASB = Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).
Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
Skt. = Sanskrit.
SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

THE above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known 'fourteen edicts', and (2) the two 'separate edicts' which the Dhauli and Jaugada versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1).

This famous set of Aśoka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of Junāgarh, the capital of the Junāgarh State in the Kāthiāvār Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred Gīrnār' mountain.¹ The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base.'² The boulder bears, beside Aśoka's edicts, two other valuable documents: An inscription of the *Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman* records the restoration of the lake Sudarśana, which had been 'originally constructed by the *Vaiśya Pushyagupta*, the provincial governor (*rāshṭriya*) of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the Yavana king Tushāspa for Aśoka the Maurya.'³ Among local names it mentions Girinagara, i. e. the town of Junāgarh or its ancient representative, and Ūrjayat, i. e. the mountain now called Gīrnār.⁴ The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the Gupta king Skandagupta and records further repairs of the lake Sudarśana made in A. D. 456-7 by Chakrapālita, the son of Paṇḍadatta who was governor of Surāshṭra.⁵

The Aśoka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in JRAS, 12. 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII; and

¹ ASWI, 2. 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Gīrnār in JASB, vol. 7, plate 54.

² ASWI, 2. 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.

³ Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 99.

⁴ EI, 8. 42. The later (Prākṛit) form of Ūrjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasaṅgraha*, III, 279, and his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV, 97; ASWI, 2. 154 ff., and 8. 328 ff.; Tawney's translation of Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Index. Another name of the Gīrnār mountain is Raivata or Raivatāka. See e.g. Hēmachandra's two *Kōśas*, loc. cit.: Māgha's *Śiṣupālavadhā*, IV, 1; GN, 1921. 41.

⁵ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 57 f.

edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited Girnār in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact.¹ Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgarh to Girnār.² At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess a shed has been specially built to protect the boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet and, with it, of the Girnār inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep.³ His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay.⁴ Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838,⁵ and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842.⁶ These materials were utilized by Mr. E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Girnār inscription, from which Professor H. H. Wilson's transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Girnār version, viz. Professor Chr. Lassen (*Indische Altertumskunde*), E. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (*Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Açoka den Buddhist*; Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Girnār edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by collotype in 1876 in ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5. 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern's Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Girnār edicts is included in Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Girnār rock *in situ*. Bühler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften* (ZDMG, vols. 37-48), and the full text of the Girnār version in EI, 2. 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand. *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* printed at Bhavnagar (without year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the Girnār edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are now preserved in the Junāgarh Museum.⁷ Both of them were discussed by Senart (JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmī alphabet of the Girnār inscription I can refer the reader to Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Girnār alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the length of initial *ā*, at the top of *a*, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter *r* is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter on the Girnār dialect (below, p. lviii. f.).

¹ ASWI, 2. 95.

² JASB, 7 (1838). 219 ff.

³ Id., p. 871 ff.

⁴ Cf. JASB, 7. 874.

⁵ Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.

⁶ JBBRAS, 1. 257 f., and 2. 410.

⁷ They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838; see JASB, 7. 874.

II. THE KĀLSĪ ROCK (Text, p. 27).

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near **Kālsī**, a town in the Chakrātā tahsil of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī 'is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.'

'The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an **elephant** is traced in outline.'

'When first found by Mr. Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.'¹

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his *Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Bühler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43. 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol. 39. In EI, 2. 447 ff., Bühler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

The Kālsī alphabet exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter *kh* has a loop at the bottom; see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of *j* (id., No. 15, column III) and of *s* (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters *ś* and *śh* are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,² and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sārṇāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maski, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33-36, 39) the punctuation mark 1, which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sahasrām and Maski rock-inscriptions.

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK (Text, p. 50).

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brāhmī, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pāli, but to which Bühler restored the indigenous name **Kharōshthī**. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham.³ A number

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 12 f.

² Also once in each of the Bairāt, Maski, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

³ JASB, 23. 714; *Ind. Pal.*, § 6.

of Kharōshthī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was discovered.

Shāhbāzgarhī is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the headquarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagarhī.¹ It is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāhbāzgarhī.² The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M. (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharōshthī inscription near Shāhbāzgarhī in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshāvar, sent an agent to Shāhbāzgarhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies.³ His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word *Devanāmpīyasa*. With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846). 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Gīrnār inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 f.). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shāhbāzgarhī rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12. 153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji furnished transcripts of the Shāhbāzgarhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10. 107) and of edict VIII (JBBRAS, 15. 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI *in situ* (JA (8), 11. 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1. 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāhbāzgarhī version in ZDMG, 43. 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2. 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1. 16).

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK (Text, p. 71).

Like the Shāhbāzgarhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the **Kharōshthī** alphabet. **Mānsehrā** is the head-quarters of a tahsīl in the Hazāra district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 8.

² Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. V, plate 3.

³ JRAS, 8. 293 ff.

the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham,¹ and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjāb Archaeological Survey.²

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), 11 (1888). 511 ff.) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12. 319 ff.). Bühler edited the whole Mānsehrā version first in ZDMG (43. 273 ff., and 44. 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2. 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

V. THE DHAULI ROCK (Text, p. 84).

Dhauli is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Purī district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēśvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aswastama'.³ It 'is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.'

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The *Aswastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

'Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant, four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.'⁴

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Gīrnār edicts (JASB, 7. 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Gīrnār version, but compensates for them by two separate edicts (id., p. 219). These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff.), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV,⁵ and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham⁶ showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict': the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugada rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

¹ JA (8), 11. 508.

² ZDMG, 44. 702.

³ Can this name be due to a misreading of the word *gajatame* (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kālsī rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.

⁴ JASB, 7 (1838). 435-7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

⁵ The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 16, 20.

Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved *after* No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (*JRAS*, 1880. 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them¹ was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler's editions of the Dhauli version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (*ZDMG*, 39. 489 ff., and 41. 1 ff.) and once in English (*ASSI*, 1. 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64-66).

VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauli edicts is engraved at **Jaugaḍa**, a ruined fort in the Berhampur tāluka of the Ganjām district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjām town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock 'is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

'The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.'²

'The Jaugaḍa inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

'The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauli.'

'These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśoka's edicts.'

'The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *svastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscription.'³

'Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśoka's edicts, which had already been found at Shāhbāzgarhī, Gīrnār, and Dhauli.'⁴

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The two separate edicts of Jaugaḍa were edited with those of Dhauli by Profe or Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based.⁵ Bühler published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (*ZDMG*, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess's estampages (*id.*, 41. 1 ff.). His

¹ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 105 ff., and *IA*, 19. 82 ff.

² Mr. W. F. Grahame in *IA*, 1 (1872). 219.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 19 f. In *JPASB*, 17. 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the *svastika* symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī *ś*'s, and the *m* as the final letter of the sacred syllable *śm*.

⁴ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugaḍa inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 4.

⁵ For references see above, under Dhauli.

second edition of the whole Jaugaḍa version (ASSI, I. 114 ff.) is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 67-69).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT (Text, p. 118).

Sōpārā is an ancient town in the Bassein tāluka of the Thāna district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the eighth rock-edict of Aśoka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sōpārā.

'The stone was found near the Bhātelā pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place.'¹

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Museum of the **Bombay** Asiatic Society.

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśoka inscriptions on the Delhi-Tōprā pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen's edict' and the 'Kauśāmbī edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

I. THE DELHI-TOPRĀ PILLAR (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument 'is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough.'² It used to be known by the names of 'Bhīma-sēna's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Fīrōz Shāh's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwālik pillar'. Shams-i Sirāj, a historian of Fīrōz Shāh (A.D. 1351-88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Sālaura and Khizrābād, in the hills';³ that Sultan Fīrōz had it carried to Delhi; and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Fīrōzābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety *kōs* from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Fīrōzābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 14. 78 f.) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present Tōprā, on the direct line between Ambālā and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōrā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (*kōṭlā*) of Fīrōz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern Delhi.⁴ An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

¹ JBBRAS, 15. 282.

² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 35.

³ Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 350.

⁴ See a note by Lieutenant Kittoe, JASB, 6. 796 f., and the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar bears seven edicts of Aśoka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,¹ the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chāhamāna Visaladēva of Śākambarī, son of Ānalladēva (EI, 9. 67, n. 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn from Fleet's impressions (IA, 19. 215 ff.).

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-inscription is the first record of Aśoka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 'since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them' (id., p. 566).

'On searching the Society's portfolio' Prinsep 'found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the *Researches*² seem to have been copied.'

'I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions.—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity!' (id., p. 567).³

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brāhmī alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words:

'In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple; and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned.'

'While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,⁴ I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, दानं. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred [to me] that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous *dhvajās* or flag-staffs, images, and small *chaityas* are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter न, already set down incontestably as s, before the final word:—now this I had learnt from the Saurāshtra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *ssa* of the Pāli, or *sya* of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel ā and Anusvāra led to the speedy recognition of the word *dānam* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, d and n, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

¹ See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 167, and 5. 143 f.

² See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 6–10.

³ Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, I. 379.

⁴ 'Inscriptions from Sanchee, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers.'

alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column (id., p. 460 f.).

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his *Lotus*, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his *Jaartelling*. Senart's edition and translation of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 1 ff.) were based on Cunningham's eye-copies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Bühler added transcripts in the Nāgarī character (IA, 13. 306 ff.), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson's English translation of Senart's French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Bühler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2. 245 ff.).

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR (Text, p. 137).

This pillar now stands on the so-called 'Ridge' to the north-west of modern Delhi.¹ Like the Delhi-Tōprā pillar, it was carried to Delhi by Firōz Shāh. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of Mirāṭh, now a town and the head-quarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Firōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kushk-i-Shikār or 'Hunting-Palace',² which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.³

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribblings,⁴ a more or less damaged version of the first five edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Pew, who added the following particulars:

'This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.'

'The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions' (id., p. 795).

Padre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.⁵

'There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was' sawn off⁶ and 'sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.'⁷

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mirāṭh pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Bühler (p. 122 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the sixth edict was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mirāṭh pillar.

¹ The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

² Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 353.

³ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 168.

⁴ Id., 5. 144.

⁵ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 167.

⁷ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

III and IV. THE LAURIYA-ARARAJ AND LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLARS (Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Both pillars bear the first **six edicts**, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars.¹ Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are $2\frac{1}{2}$ and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Navandgarh pillars.² His reasons were the following: Each of the two pillars stands near a village named **Lauriyā**, the former of which is in the Champāran district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kēsariyā, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Betiyā in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for *lingas* (Hindī *laurā*). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauriyā, Cunningham combined with the former **Ararāj**, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgarh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902. 153, note) added that 'Navandgarh' is a mistake for '**Nandangarh**'.

The Lauriyā-Ararāj pillar 'is a single block of polished sandstone, $36\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height above the ground.'³ According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted by a figure of **Garuḍa**.⁴

The Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillar 'is formed of a single block of polished sandstone, 32 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height.'

'The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a **lion** facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food.'⁵

Besides the Aśoka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor **Aurangzib** and a few modern scribblings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma.⁶

Bühler edited the inscriptions of the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr. Garrick's impressions.

V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR (Text, p. 151).

Another copy of the first **six edicts** is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr. Carlleyle at **Rāmpurvā** in the Champāran district, $32\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Betiyā.⁷ The relative positions of Lauriyā-Ararāj, Lauriyā-Nandangarh, and Rāmpurvā are shown on V. A. Smith's sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 16.

¹ See JASB, 3 (1834). 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835), p. 124, plate 7.

² *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39 ff.

³ *Id.*, p. 40.

⁴ *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 65. 227.

⁵ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 72 f. For pictures of the pillar see *id.*, plates 22 and 25; vol. 16, plate 27; the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

⁶ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 41.

⁷ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 22. 51.

'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.¹ The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.'²

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Bühler's transcripts of them¹ (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46; EI, 2. 245 ff., with photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing lion-capital.³ The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet 9½ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauriyā pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.⁴

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at Allahabad. It 'is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.'⁵ 'Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.'⁶

Habent sua fata columnae! The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records:

(1) The original inscriptions of Aśoka, viz.:

- (a) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar;
- (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2);
- (c) the so-called 'Kauśāmbī edict' (above b).

(2) An inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta (below 1).

(3) An interlineation in Nāgarī characters.

(4) An inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr.

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804.⁷ 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the *gadā* or staff of Bhīmasēna' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśoka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal *ā*, *e*, and Anusvāra.

¹ See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 22, plate 7.

² Id., vol. 16, preface, p. viii. See also plate 28.

³ JRAS, 1908. 1086, and plate I, fig. 1.

⁴ See *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1912-1913, p. 36.

⁵ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 37.

⁶ Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 105.

⁷ See Lieutenant Kittoe's note in JASB, 4. 127.

Six months later he recognised the consonants *y, v, s* (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Aśoka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar.¹

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Aśoka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion;² but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngīr in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.'³

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 1. 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of six edicts (1, a), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngīr [4].'⁴ IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarī transcript by Bühler (p. 306 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

The Queen's edict (1, b) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,⁵ while the Kausāmbī edict (1, c) was first noticed by Cunningham.⁶ Both were edited by Senart⁷ and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 19. 122 ff.). The Kausāmbī edict was re-edited by A.-M. Boyer.⁸

The Kausāmbī edict is addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī (*Kausāmbī* in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Aśoka at Kausāmbī,⁹ which is the modern Kōsam on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.¹⁰ He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Firōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Tōprā and Mirāṭh pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Firōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by Akbar.¹¹ This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Bīrbal¹² and of his son Jahāngīr are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of Samudragupta (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1; it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (*ayam uchchhritah stambhah*, 1. 30).

¹ JASB, 6 (1837). 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f.

² Cf. JASB, 4. 127.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plate 13.

⁴ Fleet in IA, 13. 305.

⁵ JASB, 6. 568 f. and 966 f., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38.

⁷ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 99 ff., and IA, 18. 308 f.

⁸ JA (10), 10. 120 ff. and 141.

⁹ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

¹⁰ See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 2; also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11. 91 and 141.

¹¹ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 298. For coins struck by Akbar at Allahabad see the *British Museum Catalogue of Moghul Coins*, pp. 48 and 53, Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. II, Introduction, p. xlix, and the Catalogues by Wright (1908) and Brown (1920).

¹² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

The Nāgarī interlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribblings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'¹

Jahāngīr's inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in A.H. 1014 or A.D. 1605.²

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR (Text, p. 160).

Sāmchī³ is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Bhilsā and about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the Sanchi railway station. The Aśoka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft; but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by four lions, which, no doubt, once surmounted it.'⁴ It is now lying in the jungle; but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sāmchī Stūpa.⁵

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2. 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f.) and by Boyer (IA (10), 10. 123 ff. and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRAS, 1911. 167 ff., and 1912. 1055 f.).

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR (Text, p. 161).

Sārṇāth, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of Benares, is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the **Migadāya** (i. e. 'deer-park') at **Isipatana** in which he preached his first sermon.⁶ Here Mr. F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśoka.⁷ He found also the former capital of the column, which 'is surmounted by four magnificent lions standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred *dharmachakra* symbol', of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy.'⁸

The Chinese traveller, **Hsuen Tsiang**, saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a *Stūpa* built by **Aśōkarāja**, and which was about 70 feet high.⁹

¹ Prinsep in JASB, 6. 967. Cf. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38 f.

² See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 108, and Prinsep's foot-note.

³ Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sāñchī, is the actual pronunciation of the name.

⁴ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 42.

⁵ See EI, 2. 366, n. 2, and JRAS, 1902. 30.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 107; SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 90; *Buddhist Birth Stories*,

1. 111 f.

⁷ *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904-5, p. 68 ff.

⁸ V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel's article, plate 20.

⁹ Beal's BRWW, 2. 46.

As Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sārnāth pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Hiuen Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first *aksharas* of each of lines 1-3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 f.). The remainder of the inscription was found *in situ* underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date: an inscription of king **Aśvaghōsha** which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the **Aśōka** edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early **Gupta** characters above the **Aśvaghōsha** epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the **Aśōka** edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA (10), 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR (Text, p. 164).

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of **Aśōka** about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar (below, No. IV) in the Nepalese Tarāi. The pillar stands near the shrine of **Rummindēi**, about a mile to the north of the village of **Parariyā**, which is about two miles north of Bhagvānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsil of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Bastī.¹

The new **Aśōka** pillar is a mere stump, but still *in situ* and surrounded by a brick railing. 'It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.'² The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898,³ and records that **Aśōka** visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the **Buddha Śākya-muni** was born here', and that the king exempted the village of **Lummini** from taxes.

Both **Lummini** and the modern name **Rummindēi** must be identical with the **Lumbinī** grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth.⁴ This identification is confirmed by **Hiuen Tsiang**, who mentions a pillar set up by **Aśōkarāja** in the **Lumbinī** garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil',⁵ which is now called **Tilār-nadī**, i.e. apparently 'the tēlī's or oilman's river'.⁶ He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a horse, and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with **Mukherji's** description of the **Rummindēi** pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

¹ See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai* (Calcutta, 1901).

² Op. cit., p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see id., plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Führer's *Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place* (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

³ EI, 5. 1 ff. For subsequent articles on the **Rummindēi** inscription see IA, 43. 17.

⁴ See the Introduction to the *Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word **Lumbinī** see IA, 43. 18.

⁵ Beal's BRWW, 2. 24 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's preface to **Mukherji's** *Antiquities*, p. 6.

but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rummindēi contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the *Lumbini-vana*.

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśoka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Führer in the Nepalese Tarāi on the western bank of a large tank called **Nigālī Sāgar**, about a mile south of **Niglivā**. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindēi and belongs to the Nepalese tahsil of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprāvā in the British district of Basti).¹

The pillar is now called *Nigālī* or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhīmasēna.² It is not *in situ*, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet 9½ inches long and bears a few mediæval drawings and scribblings. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśoka in four lines; some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away.³

The inscription was first edited by Bühler in VOJ, 9. 175 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5. 1 ff. It records that Aśoka 'enlarged the *Stūpa* of the **Buddha Kōṇākamana** to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Hiuen Tsiang seems to mention the Nigālī Sāgar pillar.⁴ He states that it stood in front of a *Stūpa* containing relics of **Kanākamuni Buddha**, that it was surmounted by a lion, was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by **Aśokarāja**. The *Stūpa* referred to by Hiuen Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.⁵

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 166).

Rūpnāth is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, fourteen miles west of Sleemanabad railway station⁶ on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

'The Rūpnāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the **Kaimur** range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of **Bahuriband**.⁷ Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rāma, the next after Lakshmaṇa, and the lowest

¹ For the relative positions of Niglivā and Rummindēi see plate 1 of Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai*.

² Id., p. 30, and Führer's *Monograph*, p. 23.

³ For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Führer's *Monograph*, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's *Antiquities*, plate 16, fig. 1.

⁴ Beal's BRWW, 2. 19.

⁵ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 3 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 133, n. 1.

⁷ A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur; see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*.

after Sītā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpnāth, from a *līṅga* of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.¹

'The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśōka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was cut upon it.'²

'The edict of Aśōka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.'³

The Rūpnāth edict was copied in 1871-2 by Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 7. 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (IA, 6. 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards.⁴ Senart's treatment of it is included in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson's translation (IA, 20. 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr. Bloch.⁵

II. THE SAHASRĀM ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

Sahasrām is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād district, South Bihār. 'About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called **Chandan-Pir**, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.'⁶

The edict of Aśōka 'is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the *Chirāghdān* or 'lamp' of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr. Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.'⁷

The Sahasrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpnāth one (No. I, above). In editing it the third time (IA, 22. 299), Bühler noted that Beglar's photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet's facsimile (loc. cit.). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpnāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871-2 by Mr. Carlisle about a mile to the north-east of **Bairāt**, the head-quarters

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 21.

² Mr. Cousens in *Progress Report*, ASWI, 1903-4, p. 35.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 22.

⁴ IA, 7. 141 ff., and, with Fleet's facsimile, id., 22. 299 ff.

⁵ *Annual Report*, AS, *Eastern Circle*, 1907-8, p. 19.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 11. 132 f.

⁷ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 20 f.

of a tahsīl in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as *Bhīm-kī-duṅgrī* It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.'¹

The inscribed block 'is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.'²

The inscription was edited by Bühler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 14, No. x.

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 172).

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to' Bairāt, the town near which some years later Carlleyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, 9. 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Pandit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).

Burt's copy formed the basis of the editions of Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 710 ff.), Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 32 ff.), and Wilson (JRAS, 16. 357 ff., with lithograph). Senart edited the record in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 197 ff., and published a revised edition of it, from an estampage by Burgess, in IA, 20, 165 ff. A photograph of Burgess' estampage appeared in JA (8), 9. 498.

As Burt had stated that Bairāt was six *kōs* distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, 9. 616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake: the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāt, the finding-place of the block.³ According to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 2. 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāt]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of *Bijak-Pahār* or "inscription hill".' It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanūmān below the rock known as *tōp* or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill.'⁴

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription'.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 174).

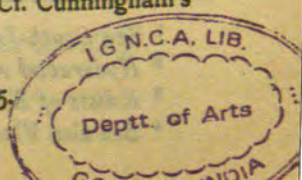
Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45 f. Cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 23. 29.

² Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 6. 98.

³ See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45.

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.



neighbourhood of **Maski**, a village in the Lingsugur tāluka of the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski :

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maśgi or Maśigi; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muham-madans Masgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosaṅgi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the *Brahmapurī* of *Mosaṅgi*. A later record of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa of the thirteenth century calls the place again *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as *Mosage*, the chief town of *Mosage-nāḍu*.'

To these remarks we may add that **Mosaṅgi**, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of **Muśaṅgi**, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasīma II was defeated by Rājendra-Chōla I.¹

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was published by H. Krishna Sastri,² who describes the site as follows :

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet' (p. 2).

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916. 572 ff.; Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7. 425 ff.; and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70. 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only *Dēvānā priya*, but in addition to it **Aśōka**,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the *Purāṇas*.

VI, VII, VIII. ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892.³ They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19. 472 ff.), and by Bühler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7. 29 ff.). In 1894 Bühler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3. 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. II, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.):⁴

'The Aśōka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagi-haḷḷa or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

¹ See *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, 1. 95 f.; EI, 9. 230; Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.

² *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. I; *The New Asokan Edict of Maski*, 1915.

³ *Edicts of Aśōka in Mysore*, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.

⁴ See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 f.

the Molkālmuru tāluq [of the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of Siddāpura,¹ between 14° 47' and 51' north latitude and about 76° 51' east longitude. The best preserved is the Brahmagiri inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the *Ganjigunṭe-mūle*. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the *Akshara-guṇḍu* or "letter-rock", and was supposed to be endued with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15' 6" by 11' 6". Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone.'

'The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to Siddāpura, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called *Yenamana Timmayyana guṇḍu* or "the buffalo-herd Timmayya's rocks". It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13' 6" by 8', and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.'

'The third inscription is on the western summit of the *Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara* hill, which is some three miles or more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason's punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the *Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara* temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the *Balegāra-guṇḍu* or "bangle-sellers' rock", and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17' 6" by 6' 6". There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.'

From a foot-note² we are glad to learn that 'erections have now been put up over this and the other Aśoka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian'.

¹ According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Śiddāpura.

² *Ep. Carn.*, vol. 11, Introduction, p. 2, n. 2.

IX. THE BARĀBAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS (Text, p. 181).

'The Hills called Barābar are isolated rocks of syenitic granite rising abruptly from the plain about 15 miles north of the city of Gayā' in South Bihār. 'Although Barābar is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called "Barābar", also "Siddhēśvar" from a temple to Mahādēva that once crowned it.'¹

'All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of Barābar and Nāgārjunī, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.'²

'There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the Barābar or Siddhēśvara group, and three to the Nāgārjunī group.'³ Each of the three Nāgārjunī caves contains an inscription of Dashalatha Devānāmpriya, i.e. Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha.⁴ Among the four Barābar caves, three bear an inscription of king Devānāmpriya, and one (the so-called 'Lōmaśa Rishi cave') a Vaishṇava inscription of the Maukhari Anantavarman, which seems to show that the original name of the Barābar Hill was Pravaragiri.⁵

According to the second and third Barābar inscriptions the name of the Barābar Hill was then Khalatika. Both the first and second inscriptions of king Devānāmpriya and the three Nāgārjunī inscriptions of Daśaratha specify as donees the monks of the Ājīvika sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word Ājīvikehi. This was probably done in the time of the Maukhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barābar caves to Kṛishṇa, and two of the Nāgārjunī ones to Śiva and Pārvati.⁶

The three Barābar inscriptions of king Devānāmpriya were first lithographed and discussed by Captain Kittoe.⁷ They were examined by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 779 ff.) and edited by Senart⁸ and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (*IA*, 20. 361 ff.).

CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

THE king at whose orders the rock- and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various Prākṛit forms of which the Sanskrit would be Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi rājā.⁹ This full

¹ Captain Kittoe in *JASB*, 16 (1847). 402.

² Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 40.

³ *Id.*, p. 44. For the modern names of the single Barābar caves and for plans of them see *id.*, plates 18 and 19. Cf. also Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 1. 130 ff.; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 37 ff.; V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 20.

⁴ For the bibliography of these inscriptions see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (*EI*, vol. 10, Appendix), Nos. 954-6.

⁵ See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 222.

⁶ See *id.*, Nos. 48-50.

⁷ *JASB*, 16. 401 ff., and plate 9, figures 4-6.

⁸ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 209 ff., and *IA*, 20. 168 ff.

⁹ In a few cases (Kālsī rock-edict I, A; Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict II, A; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word rājā is omitted, and once (Shāhbāzgarhi, I, A) the word Priyadarśi. Cf. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1908. 482.

form of his title is shortened into *Devānāmpriyaḥ* in section C of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbī pillar-edict, *Devānāmpriyaḥ* alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form *Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā*. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of *Devānāmpriya Aśōka*. On the Sārnāth pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions we have only *Devānāmpriyaḥ*. On the Sāinchī pillar this word is lost; but the contents of the Sāinchī and Sārnāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.¹

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself *Priyadarśī rājā*, and in the three others *rājā Priyadarśī*. In the Calcutta-Bairāt record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Sāmbōdhi (rock-edict VIII, C), to Lummini (Rummindēi pillar), and to the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana (Nigālī Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājīvikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term *Devānāmpriya* is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like *bhavān*, *dīrghāyuh*, and *āyushmān*.² Pāṇini himself does not mention *Devānāmpriya*, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (ब्रह्मा आक्रोशे, VI, 3, 21). The *Kāśikā* commentary adduces the two examples चौरखकुलं, 'the family of a thief', and वृषलखकुलं, 'the family of a low-caste man'.³ Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* five *Vārttikas*, the third of which states that the compound *Devānāmpriya* ought to be added. Neither the *Mahābhāṣya* nor the *Kāśikā* have the word मूर्ख, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the *Siddhāntakaumudī* adds to the *Vārttika*. This secondary meaning of *Devānāmpriya* was already known to Patañjali's commentator Kaiyaṭa,⁴ while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used *Devānāmpriya* in an ironical sense. In Bāṇa's

¹ Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpnāth edict, *passim*, and Bühler, IA, 7, 144 f.

² Cf. Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 13, 337, n. 1.

³ Cf. वृषल्लःपुत्रः in the *Kāśikā* on the next *Sūtra*. It is worth noting that in the drama *Mudrārākṣha* Chāṇakya uses the term वृषल with reference to Chandragupta.

⁴ Cf. *Bāḷamanōramā* on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 21. Kaiyaṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.

Harshacharita it is found twice as an honorific.¹ In the same way *Devānuppiya* is employed frequently in Jaina literature.²

In the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Devānāmpiya* is prefixed to the name of Aśoka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him,³ and in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśoka's grandson *Daśaratha*.⁴ In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of *rājan*, 'a king': In the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called *Devānāmpiyā* and *Devanāmpriya*, while the Gīrnār and Dhauli versions have *rājāno* and *lājāne*; and the word *Devānāmpiye* in the second separate edict at Dhauli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to *lājā* in the Jaugada text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was *Priyadarśin*, 'he who glances amiably'. Both *Piyadassi* and *Piyadassana*, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the *Dīpavaṃsa*⁵ as equivalents of *Aśoka*, the name of the great *Maurya* king.⁶ In the drama *Mudrārākṣha*,⁷ *Piadamsana* is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. *Chandragupta*, the name of Aśoka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions with the *Maurya* king Aśoka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription informs us that *Priyadarśin* was a *Māgadha* king, i.e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was *Pāṭaliputra*; for, the words 'both in *Pāṭaliputra* and in the outlying [towns]' at Gīrnār correspond to 'here and in all the outlying towns' at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā, and Dhauli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary *Yōna*, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions 'the *Yōna* king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyaka* at Gīrnār, *Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*'; and the rock-edict XIII, Q, 'the *Yōna* king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. *Turamāya* (*Tulamaya* at Kālsī), *Antekina* (*Antikini* at Shāhbāzgarhī), *Makā* (*Magā* at Gīrnār), and *Alikasudara* (*Alikyashudala* at Kālsī)'.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to *Devānāmpiya Tissa* of Ceylon.⁸ This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at *Pāṭaliputra*. The discovery of the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashedatha *Devānāmpiya*, whom Prinsep at once identified with *Daśaratha*, the grandson of the *Maurya* king Aśoka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found *Piyadassi* or *Piyadassana* used as a surname of Aśoka in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* with Aśoka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). *A limine*, another member of the *Maurya* dynasty

¹ See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908, 505.

² See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 111. Hoernle and Pischel derived the word from Skt. *dēva + anupriya*. Hēmachandra (*Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, III, 17) assigns to *Devānāmpriya* the meaning of 'fool'.

³ See Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 485. ⁴ IA, 20, 364 f. ⁵ See the Index to Oldenberg's edition.

⁶ Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama *Priyadarśikā*, its heroine is called both *Priyadarśikā* and *Priyadarśanā*.

⁷ Hillebrandt's edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5; cf. his article on the *Kautilyaśāstra* (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.

⁸ JASB, 6 (1837), 472 f., 566 f.

might be meant as well ; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that the king's predecessors also bore the title *Dēvānāmpriya*, and the *Mudrārākshasa* applies the epithet *Priyadarśana* to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself *Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka*.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-edict. He found in the Gīrnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Antiyako Yona-rājā*, and in the Dhaulī version (l. 1) *Antiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with **Antiochus III** of Syria.¹ In March, 1838, he discovered in the Gīrnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of *Turamāya*, *Antikona*,² and *Magā*, whom he most ingeniously identified with **Ptolemy II** Philadelphus of Egypt, **Antigonus** Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and **Magas** of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name *Antiyoka* to **Antiochus I or II** of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Gīrnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after *Magā*, is lost. The Shāhbāzgarhī version calls him *Alikasudara*. Norris recognised that this name corresponds to the Greek *Ἀλέξανδρος*, and suggested hesitatingly that **Alexander of Epirus**, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.³ This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,⁴ Lassen,⁵ and Senart.⁶ But Professor Beloch now thinks that **Alexander of Corinth**, the son of Craterus, has a better claim.⁷

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśōka, the grandson of Chandragupta whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned 280–261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261–246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt 285–247, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia 276–239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300–c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272–c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252–c. 244.⁸ The rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśōka's *abhishēka*, when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'.⁹ If we assume that the rock-edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the *abhishēka*, when Aśōka appointed '*Mahāmātras* of morality' as he tells us in edict V. If the Alikasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśōka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśōka's grandfather Chandragupta.

¹ JASB, 7. 156 ff.

² In reality Gīrnār and Kālsī read *Antekina*, and Shāhbāzgarhī *Antikini*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigenes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigenes is known to us, although it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C., being then satrap of Susiana.

³ JRAS, 8 (1846). 305.

⁴ *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.

⁵ *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (2nd ed.). 253 ff.

⁶ IA, 20. 242.

⁷ *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 105.

⁸ The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's *Griech. Geschichte*, vol. 3.

⁹ See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the Maurya dynasty Chandragupta, and as his two immediate successors Bindusāra and Aśōka. The pseudo-prophetic account of the *Purāṇas* runs thus :

'Kauṭilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśōka thirty-six years.'¹

According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra's son Aśōka thirty-seven years (V, 101).²

The *Mahāvamsa* states that the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f.), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra's son Aśōka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghōsha's *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvamsa* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.³

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.⁴

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta's reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Bigandet twenty-seven years, and the *Purāṇas* twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśōka succeeded his father Bindusāra 214 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,⁵ and that his anointment took place four years after his father's death, or 218 years after the Nirvāṇa.⁶ The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.⁷

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A.B. 186-214, and the latter A.B. 162-186.⁸ If we deduct the year of Chandragupta's accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B.C., the result is 382 B.C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources.¹ For, luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,⁹ who identified him with Σανδράκοττος of Παλίβοθρα, the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Fleet showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B.C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural

¹ See Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

² The length of Bindusāra's reign is not specified in the *Dīpavaṃsa*; but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Muṭasīva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 481, and 1909. 25.

³ *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, 3. 321.

⁴ Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, 4th ed., 2. 128.

⁵ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 20 f.

⁶ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 1, 21 f.; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 21 f.; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

⁷ Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128 f.

⁸ According to Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128, Chandragupta reigned A.B. 163-187, and Bindusāra 187-214. If, as the *Purāṇas* assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A.B. 189.

⁹ In his *Anniversary Discourse*, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his *Works* (London, 1799), I. 152 f., and in the *Centenary Review of the ASB*, part 2, p. 85 f.

result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.¹

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta's accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśoka's *abhishēka* might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council.² Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.³ Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.⁴

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XV, 4:⁵

‘[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit; inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat; siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humili quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis impulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingentis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profluentem lingua ei detersit expergefactumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis ultro se obtulit et veluti domita mansuetudine eum tergo excepit duxque belli et proeliorum insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus conpositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.’

McCrindle translates this as follows:⁶

‘[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble

¹ JRAS, 1909. 333, 335.

² *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Chullavagga*, beginning of last chapter (XII); *Dīpavaṃsa*, IV, 47, and V, 15 f.; *Mahāvāṃsa*, IV, 8; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 293.

³ Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in SBE, 13. xxii: ‘This is no doubt a round number; and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question.’

⁴ Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvāṃsa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 94 ff.

⁵ Ruehl's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119

⁶ *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminster), p. 327 f.

life,¹ but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,² and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonus.'

The same transactions are referred to in Appian's 'Ρωμαϊκά, book Συριακή, chapter 55 :³

[Σέλευκος] τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττω βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο.

'[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.'⁴

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.⁵ We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.⁶ Strabo adds that Deimachus was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta's son, whom he calls Amitrochades :⁷

Ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὁ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὁ δὲ Διήμαχος πρὸς Ἀλιτροχάδην⁸ τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν· ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον τοιαῦτα.

'Megasthenes and Deimachus were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country'.⁹

¹ According to the *Mudrārākṣha*, Chandragupta was a Vṛishala, i.e. a member of the Sūdra caste; see above, p. xxix, n. 3.

² This 'Nandrus' must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 12 (1857). 262. Instead of the accusative 'Nandrum' the older editions read 'Alexandrum'; cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been 'Nandum'.

³ Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), I. 426.

⁴ McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 114.

⁵ Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 217 f.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 132 f.; Krom, *Hermes*, 44. 154 ff.

⁶ Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn, 1846), p. 19; C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (Paris, 1848). 398; McCrindle, IA, 6. 115.

⁷ *Geographica*, ed. Müller et Dübner, II, 1, 9 (p. 58 f.).

⁸ The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for Ἀμιτροχάδην or Ἀμιτροχάτην.

⁹ McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 115.

It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname **Amitraghāta**,¹ i.e. 'the slayer of enemies'. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of **Antiochus** (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus:²

Οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες ὥς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράψαι Ἀντίοχῳ ἀξιούντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι· 'ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἑλλήσιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.'

'Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men that even Amitrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: "We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine; but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist."'

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitraghāta, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Deimachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusāra-Amitraghāta. From Pliny³ we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), sent **Dionysius** as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusāra or Aśoka.⁴

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280) 'arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.'⁵ Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between B.C. 323 (Alexander's death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his *Ἰνδικά*, reached from Paṭṇā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Fleet has proposed.⁶ With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the *Mahāvamsa* is accepted, **Chandragupta** would have ruled 320-296, and **Bindusāra** 296-268. **Aśoka** would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Aśoka's thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above (p. xxxi), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his *abhishēka*. 264-12/13 = 252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Aśoka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the *Antiyoka* of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

¹ See P. von Bohlen, *das alte Indien* (Königsberg, 1830), I. 92. The word *amitrāghāta* is mentioned by Patañjali on Pāṇini, III, 2, 87; cf. JRAS, 1909. 425.

² *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, ed. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1890), XIV, 67 (vol. 3, p. 444).

³ *Naturalis historia*, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454 f.).

⁴ As stated above (p. xxxi), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Aśoka's rock-edicts.

⁵ Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3.

⁶ JRAS, 1906. 985.

Antiochus II (261–246), and that the *Alikasudara* of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but **Alexander of Corinth** (252–c. 244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the *Purāṇas* assign to Bindusāra twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśōka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. **Eight years** after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kaliṅgas; rock-edict XIII.
2. **Ten years** after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Sāmbōdhi (i.e. Bōdh-Gayā); rock-edict VIII.
3. **Twelve years** after the coronation (B.C. 252):
 - (1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years; rock-edict III.
 - (2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects; rock-edict IV.
 - (3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.
 - (4) He gave two caves to the Ājivikas; two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
4. **Thirteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality; rock-edict V.
5. **Fourteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana to the double (of its size); Nigālī Sāgar pillar.
6. **Nineteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājivikas); the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.
7. **Twenty years** after the coronation (B.C. 244). He visited the Buddha's birth-place at Lūmmini and the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana; Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
8. **Twenty-six years** after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI.
9. **Twenty-seven years** after the coronation (B.C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII.

CHAPTER III.

ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśōka of Magadha. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśōka's empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Gīrnār on the Kāthiāvār peninsula and at Sōpārā on the

Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State; and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugada in the Purī and Ganjām districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā in the Peshāvar and Hazāra districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindēi pillars in the Nepalese Tarāi and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāran district.

The capital of this vast empire was Pāṭaliputra, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables *Pāṭa*, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sārnāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 25, &c.) and the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was Aśōka's capital. From the *Mudrārākṣhaśa* and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather Chandragupta. As I have stated before (p. xxxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the Παλιβοθρα or Παλιμβοθρα of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta's court, described it as a very large city:¹

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μήκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵναπερ μακροτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐωντῆς ὄκισται ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίου, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα· τάφρον δὲ περιβεβλησθαι τῇ πόλει τὸ εὖρος ἐξάπλεθρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχεων· πύργους δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐξήκοντα.

'Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates.'²

The identity of Pāṭaliputra with the modern Patnā is well known to the Hindūs.³ The capital belonged to the ancient province of Magadha,⁴ which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśōka styles himself *Māgadha*, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C, he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.⁵ This is Sāmbōdhi, now Bōdh-Gayā to the south of Patnā.

The Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar mentions Kōsambī (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit), which is the modern Kōsam (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Aśōka addressed the Kauśāmbī edict to his *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times,⁶ Kauśāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhauli separate edict I, AA and BB, viz., Ujjōnī (*Ujjayinī*) and Takkhasilā (*Takshaśilā*). Aśōka's governor of the former was a royal prince (*kumāra*). In Buddhist tradition Aśōka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayinī in the life-time of his father Bindusāra.⁷ Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, and the 'Οζήνη of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, is the modern Ujjain in the Gwalior State. Takshaśilā, the Τάξιλα of the

¹ Arrian's *Ἰνδική*, ed. by Eberhard in *Arriani Scripta Minora* (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f. (p. 13).

² McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 131.

³ Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, 3rd ed., 2. 136.

⁴ BRWW, 2. 82 ff.; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 452 ff.

⁵ BRWW, 2. 115.

⁶ BRWW, 1. 235 ff.; EI, 11. 141.

⁷ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 15; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 39, and XIII, 8.

Greeks, was identified by Cunningham with **Shāhdhōrī** in the Rāvalpindī district, Panjāb.¹

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśōka's southernmost province was a place of the name **Suvarṇagiri**, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayinī, was a royal prince (*āryaputra*). Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of **Isila**, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. Isila may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with its synonym **Kanakagiri** in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśōka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.²

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśōka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of **Kaliṅga**³ on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the Purī and Ganjām districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I–X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauli were addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsalī**, who were headed by a royal prince (*kumāra*, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugaḍa belonged was called **Samāpā**,⁴ and the Jaugaḍa rock had then the name **Khēpiṅgala**.⁵

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barābar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as **Khalatika**. The Rumindēi pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. **Lummini**, or, as it is called in Buddhist works, **Lumbinī**.

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśōka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (*anta*).⁶ Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were 'the **Yōnas**, **Kambōjas**, and **Gandhāras**, the **Raṭhikas** (*Riṣṭika*, which is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭika*, at Gīrnār) and **Pitinikas** (also spelt *Pitēnika* or *Pētēnika*).⁷ As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambōjas have to be placed in Kābul.⁸ Gandhāra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province; at the time of the *Sī-yu-ki*, its capital was **Purushapura**, now **Peshāvar**.⁹ The Raṭhikas or Rāṣṭikas (= *Rāṣṭrika* in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kāṭhīāvār, whose governor bore the title of *Rāṣṭriya*.⁹ The Pitinikas or Pitēnikas¹⁰ have not yet been localized.

¹ *Arch. Reports*, 2, 116, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 111.

² Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.

³ In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of *Modogalinga*, i.e. 'the three Kaliṅgas' (from Telugu *mūḍu*, 'three', + *Kaliṅga*); see IA, 6, 338, and Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 32 f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Mactocalingae or Maccocalingae as a tribe of Brāhmaṇas. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of *Mukkaliṅga*, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu *Mūḍugaliṅga*. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression *Trikaliṅga* see Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s. v. The earliest king of Kaliṅga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravēla; see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 160 f.

⁴ See the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, B, and II, B.

⁵ See the Jaugaḍa rock-edict I, A.

⁶ See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I.

⁷ See Text, p. 10, n. 1.

⁸ See Beal's BRWW, 1, 97. The Gandhāris are mentioned already in the *Rīgvēda*, and Gandāra in the inscriptions of Darius; cf. Zimmer's *Altind. Leben*, p. 30 f.

⁹ See the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word *Rāṣṭrika* see Text, p. 56, n. 21.

¹⁰ The identification of Pitēnika with Pratishṭhāna is phonetically impossible; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 262.

According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśoka's borderers to the south were 'the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmraparṇī.' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamiḷ country, and Tāmraparṇī is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon.¹ The Chōḍas or Chōḷas (*Śōḷa* in Tamiḷ) were known to Ptolemy,² the Pāṇḍya king (Πανδύων) to the author of the *Periplus* as well, and Tāmraparṇī (Ταμροβαρνή) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmraparṇī two other borderers, viz. Satiyaputra (*Sātiyaputa* at Kālsī) and Kēralaputra. The former has not yet been identified successfully.³ The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called Κηρόβορπος in the *Periplus*⁴ and Κηρόβοθρος by Ptolemy.⁵

The two sections in which the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Tāmraparṇī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśoka's borderers, the Yōna king Antiyoka and his four neighbours.⁶ The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (*iha rāja-vishayē*), viz. 'the Yōnas and Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis (*Nabhiti* at Shāhbāzgarhī), the Bhōjas and Pitinikas (*Pitinikya* at Kālsī), the Andhras and Pārindas.' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yōnas of section R apart from the Yōna kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitinikas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśoka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince;⁷ and the Bhōjas, who are coupled with the Pitinikas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhōjas whose king (*Bhōjādhirāja*) is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kaśmīr.⁸ Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire.⁹ Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the *Andarae*, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race.¹⁰ As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Pārindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe.¹¹ The Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśoka's empire.¹²

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśoka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

¹ See Text, p. 3, n. 10.

² See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 95 f.

³ See Text, p. 3, n. 7.

⁴ ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).

⁵ See Text, p. 3, n. 8, and cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 99.

⁶ See above, p. xxx f.

⁷ Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta; see above, p. xxxiv.

⁸ *Rājatarāṅginī*, V, verse 151; cf. EI, I. 155. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title *Mahābhōja* in the cave-inscriptions. See also Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 100, and Senart, EI, 7. 50.

⁹ See Rapson's *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.

¹⁰ See IA, 6. 339.

¹¹ The variant at Kālsī, *Pālada*, might be the same as the Sanskrit *Pārada*, but the Pāradas were probably a people in Gedrosia; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, I (sec. ed.). 1028.

¹² According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Krakuchchhanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavāstu; see BRWW, I. xlviii. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 19 b) assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus; see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 138.

entrusted to royal princes (*kumāra* or *āryaputra*), viz. Ujjayinī, Tōsalī, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two *Kumāras* were probably sons of the king himself, and the *Āryaputra* perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne¹ is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar we learn that his second queen had the name *Kāluvākī* and was the mother of *Tīvala*.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the Yavana king *Tushāspha* who was governing Gīrnār in the time of the Maurya *Aśōka*.² Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named *Mahāmātra*,³ or, as they seem to be called in one place, *Prādēśika*.⁴ Other *Mahāmātras* were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the *Mahāmātras* at *Isila* were subordinate to the prince and the *Mahāmātras* at *Suvarṇagiri*.⁵ In two places⁶ we hear of a council (*parishad*) of the *Mahāmātras* or 'ministers', which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The Kauśāmbī edict was addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at *Kōsambī*, the Sārṇāth edict perhaps to those at *Pāṭa*[liputra], and the Queen's edict to 'the *Mahāmātras* everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term *āhāla* (= *āhāra* in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the Rūpnāth edict, L, and in the Sārṇāth edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (*kōṭṭa-vishaya* in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (*aṭavī*) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The *Mahāmātras* at *Tōsalī* and *Samāpā* were exercising judicial functions⁷ in the city (*nagara-vyavahāraka* or *nāgaraka*).⁸ At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered,⁹ i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) *Anta-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of *Mahāmātras* was created by *Aśōka* when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the *Dharma-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of morality',⁹ whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special *Mahāmātras* had to supervise Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas and Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.¹⁰ Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (*stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra*, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word *Mahāmātra* is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In *Aśōka's* edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.¹¹

Another class of high officers were the *Rājūkas*¹² or *Lajūkas*. They were 'placed

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 19 f., 33; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

² See the Junāgaṛh rock-inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8. 47.

³ See the Dhāuli separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, A.

⁴ See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.

⁵ See the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts, section A.

⁶ See the rock-edict III, E, and VI, F.

⁷ See the first separate edict at Dhāuli, A and Y, and at Jaugaḍa, B and Z.

⁸ See the second separate edict at Dhāuli, F, and at Jaugaḍa, G.

⁹ See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M; the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.

¹⁰ See the same pillar-edict, Z.

¹¹ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 387) suggests the translations 'official' or 'dignitary'.

¹² See the Gīrnār rock-edict III, C.

in charge of many hundred thousands of men',¹ and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'.² Bühler has shown that the two dialectical forms *Rājūka* and *Lajūka* are derived from **Rajjūka*, and that this is an abbreviation of *rajju-gāhaka*, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the *Jātaka*.³ The *Rajjūka* originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.⁴

Along with the *Rājūka* and the *Prādēsika*, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the *Yutas* or 'secretaries', who correspond to the *Yuktas* of the *Kautiliya*.⁵ The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahāmātras* or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (*dūta*) of *Dēvānāmpriya* do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Aśōka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz. those of the five Greek kings, the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśōka's court.⁶

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (*chāra* or *gūḍha-purusha*).⁷ It seems probable that these are meant by the word *Purusha* in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into 'high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank' (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the *Lajūkas* (IV, G), and were 'placed in charge of many people' (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśōka himself, were the 'reporters' (*prativēdaka*), who were posted everywhere, as he says, 'in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks'.⁸ It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśōka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant-park (*nāga-vana*) of the king. As Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Mēdhātithi,⁹ the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

¹ See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.

² See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.

³ See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Collector*. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (*ἀρχοι*) who 'superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.'

⁵ See Text, p. 5, n. 1.

⁶ See above, p. xxxv.

⁷ These are evidently the *ἔφοροι* or *ἐπίσκοποι* of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 124). According to Arrian (id., p. 237) 'they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king', and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) 'some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp [cf. *Māgha*, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'

⁸ See the Girnār rock-edict VI, D.

⁹ Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.

'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the *Aśvādhyaksha* and *Hastyaadhyaksha* of the *Kautilīya* (p. 132 ff.). The *Gōdhyaksha* of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the *Vracha-bhūmikas* or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpen is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśoka uses the word *lipikara*, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikareṇa* in Kharōṣṭhī characters,¹ showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India.² The word *lipi*, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the *Unādisūtras* (IV, 119) derives *lipi* from the root *lip*, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharōṣṭhī versions use instead of *lipi* the form *dipi*, which is found in the Achæmenidan inscriptions.³ Besides, the participles *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita* are replaced at Shāhbāzgarhī by *nipista*, *nipesita*, *nipesapita*,⁴ which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root *nish-pish*, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian *ni-pish*, 'to write'.⁵ The words *ayi dhrama-dipi nipista*, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhbāzgarhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15:—*[tu]vam kā hya aparam imām dipim vaināhy tyām adam niyapi[sha]m*, 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written';⁶ and Xerxes says at Van:—*yanaiy dipim naiy nipishtām akunaush pasāva adam niyashatāyam imām dipim nipishtanaiy*, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written; afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'.⁷ The conclusion is irresistible that neither *dipi* nor *nipista* are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of **Sindhu** and **Gandhāra** belonged to the Persian empire.⁸ The Kharōṣṭhī alphabet⁹ and the Persepolitan capital¹⁰ came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśoka's edicts: 'king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achæmenidan formula: *θātiy Dārayavaush (Xshayārshā, Artaxshatrā) xshāyathiya*, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspa, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśoka's governor of Gīrnār,¹¹ seems to be a Persian word like Vishtāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśoka enlisted Irānians in his service.

¹ Brahmagiri, l. 13; Siddāpura, l. 22; Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, l. 22.

² Bühler, EI, 3. 135.

³ Cf. Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 33 f.

⁴ See JRAS, 1913. 654.

⁵ See id., 1914. 97.

⁶ See Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon* (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f.

⁷ See id., p. 53 f.

⁸ The provinces of Hindu and Gandāra are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f.) names the *Ivdoí* and *Tavdāpioi* among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.

⁹ See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 8.

¹⁰ See the Indices to Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2. 515, and to V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 513.

¹¹ See above, p. xl and n. 2.

CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

FROM Buddhist literature we learn that Aśoka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kaśmīr historian Kalhaṇa also reports that Aśoka 'adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)' and built many *Stūpas*.¹ According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*), and the accounts of the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 72) and of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his *abhiśhēka*.² He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 *Vihāras* in as many towns, besides the *Aśokārāma* at Pāṭaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.³

Aśoka's inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. This will be clear from the subjoined references.

(1) In the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the *Samgha* or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* or doctrine, and the *Samgha*, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven 'expositions of the *Dharma*' selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.⁴

(2) In the Kauśāmbī, Sārnchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the *Samgha*. This order of the king is known to the tradition of the Southern Buddhists.⁵

(3) The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to *Sāmbōdhi*, i.e. *Bōdh-Gayā*, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the *Dīvyāvadāna* (p. 393), Aśoka visited *Bōdhi* in the company of the *Sthavira* Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

(4) The same sum he is said to have spent at *Lumbinī-vana*, the site of Buddha's birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rumindēī pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village of *Lummini* and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

(5) The Nigālī Sāgar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the (mythical) Buddha Kōṇākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

(6) The Kālsī and Dhauli rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'.⁶ On the Girnār rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white

¹ *Rājatarāṅginī*, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 3391, Aśoka seems to have had the surname *Śāntāvasāda*.

² See *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 18, 24; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 34; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 300.

³ According to the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 209, in his sixth year; but see IA, 20, 233, n. 18.

⁴ See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

⁵ See Text, p. 160, n. 5.

⁶ See Text, p. 50, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.

elephant;¹ cf. the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the 'descent of the Blessed one' on the Bharaut *Stūpa*.²

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (*śrāvāṇa*) as Aśoka calls them himself, were issued 'two and a half years and somewhat more' after he had become a Buddhist (*Śākya* at Rūpnāth, *Buddha-Śākya* at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*, Sahasrām, &c.), and 'a year and somewhat more' after he had approached the *Samgha* (Rūpnāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the *Dīpavaṃsa* that Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka* (above, p. xliii). In section D the word 'approached' (*upēta*) is ambiguous. Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of 'entered'; and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading *adhitisāni* at Rūpnāth) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśoka's conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpnāth edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6. 153). After Oldenberg had shown that *adhitisāni* was a misreading for *adhatiyāni*, 'two and a half',³ Bühler was obliged 'to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition' (EI, 3. 137). As Aśoka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,⁴ Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts to the last years of the king's life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that 'the *Divyāvadāna* relates that Aśoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist *Samgha*'.⁵ Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (*āṇapayati*, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśoka inscriptions for two reasons:—(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fait accompli*;⁶ (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśoka's *Dharma*, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühler (EI, 3. 141) believed that, as the Rūpnāth edict contrasts the words 'since I have approached the *Samgha*' with the words 'since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper', the former cannot convey any other meaning but 'that he had entered the *Samgha*, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases *yajñam*, *vratham*, or *brahmacharyam upa-i*'. But the only other testimony for such a *pabbajjā* is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk;⁷ and the expression *saṃgham upa-i* for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order' is, as Senart (IA, 20. 163) reminds us, 'vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

¹ See Text, p. 27, n. 2.

² Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 28, and IA, 21. 235, No. 98: *Bhagavato ūkrānti* (read thus instead of *okramti* and see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, section C, No. 6).

³ See Text, p. 167, n. 17.

⁴ See *Dīpavaṃsa*, V, 101; *Mahāvamsa*, XX, 6.

⁵ Fleet in JRAS, 1913. 657.

⁶ See Senart, IA, 20. 236.

⁷ See Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 496.

form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period.' These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word *upēta* in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the *Samgha*.¹ Aśoka's first visit to the *Samgha* is placed by the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI, 78), *Mahāvamsa* (V, 76), and *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpnāth and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśoka's 84,000 *Stūpas*, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the *Samgha*'.²

As stated above (p. xlv), the Rūpnāth edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśoka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the *Samgha* (section D). The word *sumi*, 'I am', in section B of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the *Samgha*, but included the second period.³ Instead of section C of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts read: 'but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year'. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśoka, having visited the *Samgha*, showed himself very zealous.⁴ In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, 'men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods'. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the 'gods' (*dēva*) may be compared with the 'divine figures' (*divyāni rūpāni*) of the rock-edict IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited 'representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures', evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven.⁵ The 'festive meetings' (*samāja*) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word *vivāsa* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb *vivaseti* in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as *vivāsayati* in section I of the Sārnāth edict. As I have shown elsewhere,⁶ this section adds nothing new to the king's order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate *vivāsayati* at Sārnāth and, along with it, *vivaseti* at Rūpnāth by 'causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)'.⁷ Consequently the substantive *vivāsa* seems to mean 'staying away from home, remaining on tour'. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpnāth with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

¹ See IA, 20. 234, and cf. JA (11), 7. 435 ff.

² *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 3; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 185; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 304.

³ This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892; see JA (8), 19. 481, and cf. my remarks in JRAS, 1910. 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7. 436.

⁴ See Rūpnāth, D; Maski, C; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, E.

⁵ See JRAS, 1913. 652 f.

⁶ See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

⁷ Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15. 518.

issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśoka himself,¹ when he had spent 256 nights² on tour. It follows that Aśoka had started on tour a few months after visiting the *Samgha*, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rūpnāth and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśoka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the *Samgha* took place; but they furnish a few details which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz.:

- (a) Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka*.
- (b) He visited the *Samgha* one year after (a).
- (c) He started on tour.
- (d) He issued the Rūpnāth edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (a), more than one year after (b), and 256 nights after (c).

On p. xxxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśoka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form:

No. 1	Rock-edict XIII	8 years after the <i>abhishēka</i>	Conquest of Kalinga.
" 2	" " VIII	10 " " "	Visit to Sambōdhi.
" 3	Pillar-edict VI	12 " " "	Publication of rescripts on morality.
" 4	Rock-edict IV	" " " "	Institution of public shows of edifying subjects.

On p. xlv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśoka's *abhishēka*, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign.³ If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (a) and assume that Aśoka's visit to Sambōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (b) would fall in his twelfth year and (c) about the end of the same year. No. 1 explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kalinga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'.⁴ Herewith we may compare the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 189:

'Before, he had been known as Chaṇḍāśoka (i.e. the fierce Aśoka) on account of his evil deeds; afterwards he became known as Dharmāśoka (i.e. the pious Aśoka) on account of his virtuous deeds'.⁵

The *Mahāvamsa* places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśoka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous.⁶ But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśoka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

¹ See Text, p. 169, n. 8.

² The discovery of the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty-three years, is due to Thomas; see JA (10), 15. 520.

³ This view is confirmed by section E of the Rūpnāth edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.

⁴ See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.

⁵ The same statement is made in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 382.

⁶ Cf. Senart's remarks, IA, 20. 235.

At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Aśoka with the *Dēvānāmpriya* who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Aśoka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the rock-edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Sāmbōdhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (*dharma-yātrā*) for 'visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the rock-edict V which records the appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātras* thirteen years after the *abhishēka*. As the tour during which Aśoka issued the Rūpnāth edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first *dharma-yātrā*. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar;¹ but, as I believe I have shown that the Rūpnāth and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāṇa.²

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription or 'letter to the *Samgha*' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the *Samgha*, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauśāmbī, Sārnāth, and Sārnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.³

CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Aśoka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (*dharma-śrāvana*) or 'rescripts on morality' (*dharma-lipi*) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J-L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B:

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not

¹ JRAS, 1911. 1097.

² id., 1910. 1307 f.

³ See above, p. xix.

transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xliv), Aśoka's first proclamations (*śrāvana*)¹ were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars.² In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C) :

'Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rājūka*, and the *Prādesika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.'³

In the next year of his reign he created special '*Mahāmātras* of morality' (*Dharma-mahāmātra*, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xl). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the *abhishēka*, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindūs have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vēdānta and the atheistic Sāṃkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindū kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśoka. As a pious Hindū he acknowledged the 'debt' (*riṇa*) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (*śaḍbhāga*) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (*pālana*) :

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).'⁴

In the same spirit he says :

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.'⁵

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C-E :

'(Thinking) : "thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)", I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

¹ Rūpnāth, H, M ; Sahasrām, H, J ; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I, K.

² Rūpnāth, J, K ; Sahasrām, L, M ; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P.

³ Cf. also the Dhaulī separate edict I, Z—CC.

⁴ See the rock-edict VI, L, and cf. the second separate edict at Dhaulī, H, and at Jaugaḍa, I. On the other hand, the king reminds the *Mahāmātras* that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him ; see id., L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.

⁵ See the first separate edict at Jaugaḍa, F, G, and the second, E, F.

Accordingly he directed his *Dharma-mahāmātras* to busy themselves with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājīvikas,¹ Nirganthas (i.e. Jainas), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock-edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects² and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other:

'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely' (section H).

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (*samavāya*, section I) and the guarding of speech (*vachō-guṇṭi*, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhistic in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Aśoka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men.³ The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the *abhishēka*, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight *kōs* he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R–T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his *abhishēka*, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his *Lajūkas*, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days' respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhauli, J, K, Y; Jaugada, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapada*, i.e. 'words of morality'. Here we find Buddhism *in statu nascendi*. 'From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *Dharma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.'⁴ 'The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions.' The *Dhammapada* 'lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

¹ The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājīvikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Aśoka.

² Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, E, and VII, Y.

³ Megasthenes speaks of officers who 'construct roads, and at every ten *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances' (IA, 6, 238), and of the 'royal road' (*ὁδὸς βασιλική* = *rāja-patha* in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pāṭaliputra, which 'has been measured by *schoeni* (1 *σχοῖνος* = 40 *stadia*), and is in length 10,000 *stadia*' (id., p. 126).

⁴ Senart, IA, 20. 260.

us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.¹

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M-Q):

‘Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (*dharma-guṇa*) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.’

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

‘Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious’ (III, D).

‘Abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged’ (IV, C).

‘Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas’ (IX, G).

‘Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals’ (XI, C).

‘Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion’ (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section HH, speaks of a progress ‘in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants’.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.² As Senart (IA, 20. 263) has shown, the *Dhammapada*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśoka denounces Brāhmaṇical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns ‘many and various vulgar (“offensive” at Shāhbāzgarhī) and useless ceremonies’ which women are practising ‘during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey’, and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.³ Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naïvely confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the ‘abstention from killing animals’ which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen; but he promises that even this

¹ Senart, IA, 20. 26

² Megasthenes mentions the *Βραχμάναι* and *Σαρμάναι* as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι; see IA, 6. 243.

³ Cf. the *Maṅgala-sutta* (*Khuddaka-pāṭha*, V; JRAS, 1870. 312 ff.) or *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta* (*Suttanipāṭa*, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers ‘the highest *maṅgala*’.

slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (*samāja*, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals,¹ and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Aśoka's 'good deeds' the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (*posatha*).² From the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of *ahimsā* was a concession which Aśoka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects :

'Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by instruction.³ But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals' (sections JJ-NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśoka's *Dharma* was liberality or charity (*dāna*). He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD :

'Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.'

According to the next section (EE) 'noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men'; while the pillar-edict II (B, C) says:—'What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.' These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the *Dhammapada*, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods :

Sachchaṃ bhaṇe na kujjheyya dajjā appasmi yāchito ।
eteḥi tīni ṭhānehi gachchhe devāna santike ॥

With the words 'few sins, many virtuous deeds' in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, 20. 262) compares verse 183 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbapāpass' akaraṇaṃ kusalass' ūpasampadā ।
sachittaparyodapanam etaṃ Buddhāna sāsaṇaṃ ॥

¹ See Thomas, JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.

² Cf. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 99 f., and *Vinaya Texts*, part I (SBE, 13), p. x. The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sārnāth pillar-edict, H.

³ This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of *nijhāti*. Cf. *Suttanipāta*, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.

In the fourth rock-edict Aśoka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (*aśīlasya*, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (*dharmē śīlē tiśhantaḥ*, F). In the *Dhammapada* we read in verse 217 :

Sīla-dassana-sampannaṃ dhammaṭṭhaṃ sachchavādinam ।

and in verse 84 :

sa sīlavā paññavā dhammiko siyā ॥

Aśoka's remark : *sukaraṃ hi pāpaṃ*, 'for sin is easily committed' (Girnār edict V, G), reminds us of *sukarāṇi asādhūni* in verse 163 of the *Dhammapada*, and the words : *dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā*, 'now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise' (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252 :

Sudassaṃ vajjam aññesaṃ attano pana duddasaṃ ।

and of verse 50 :

Na paresaṃ vilomāni na paresaṃ katākataṃ ।
attano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni cha ॥

The lists of evil passions (*āsinava-gāmīni*, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (*jātāni*)¹ do not tally with the *āsavas* and *kilesas* of the Buddhists.² To counteract these dispositions, Aśoka recommends 'the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry'³ and continues :

'Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise ; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)' (Jaugaḍa, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the *Dhammapada* :

Uttiṭṭhe nappamajjeyya dhammaṃ sucharitaṃ chare ।

Already Aśoka's earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākrama* or *prakrama*) for their subject.⁴ He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*utthāna*, sections H, J) or zeal (*parākrama*, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the *Dhammapada* recommends *utthāna* (verses 24, 25, 280), *parakkama* (verses 23, 383), and *appamāda* (verses 21-32). In two of his sermons on 'zeal' Aśoka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well ; see the Rūpnāth edict, sections G, H :

'And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.'

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F :

'But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).'

¹ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, M, and at Jaugaḍa, N.

² See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

³ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, O, and at Jaugaḍa, P.

⁴ Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, F-H ; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, G-I.

A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E :

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (*dharma-dāna*). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti.

Spiritual insight (*chakkhu*), which Aśoka claims to have spread in many ways,¹ is alluded to in the *Dhammapada*, verse 273 :

virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṃ dipadānaṃ cha chakkhumā ॥

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) '*Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven'.²

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the *Dhammapada* :³

Akkodhena jine kodham asādhum sādhumā jine ।
jine kadaryaṃ dānena sacchenālikavādinaṃ ॥

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M–O) continues thus :

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.⁴ And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Dēvānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For *Dēvānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (*dharma-vijaya*) which Aśoka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P–U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Aśoka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the *Dhammapada* : they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*, but presuppose the general Hindū belief that the rewards of the practice of *Dharma* are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict IX, M, N (Kālsī) ; X, C ; XI, E ; XIII, W, Y, AA ; the Dhauri separate edict I, F ; II, E, G, K ; the pillar-edict I, C ; III, H ; IV, E, M, N ; VII, PP. Cf. the *Dhammapada*, verse 219 f. :

Chirappavāsīṃ purisaṃ dūrato sotthim āgataṃ ।
ñātimittā suhajā cha abhinandanti āgataṃ ॥
Tath' eva katapuññaṃ pi asmā lokā paraṃ gataṃ ।
puññaṇi patigaṇhanti piyaṃ ñātiva āgataṃ ॥

¹ See the pillar-edict II, D.

² Cf. the Dhauri separate edict II, G.

³ The same verse occurs both in the *Jātaka* and in the *Mahābhārata* ; see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20. 320 ff.

⁴ See above, p. li, n. 3.

Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśoka often uses the term 'heaven' (*svarga*). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, H; the rock-edict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauli separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The *Dhammapada* (verse 126), however, distinguishes *Nirvāṇa* from *Svarga*:

saggaṃ sugatino yanti parinibbant' anāsavaṃ ||

* * * * *

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśoka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālsī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa.¹ The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI-XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauli and Jaugaḍa formed part of the newly conquered country of Kalinga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that *Dēvānāmpriya* will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauli separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbāzgarhī:

'And *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.'²

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśoka issued twelve years after his *abhisheka*, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauli must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahāmātras* as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśoka inscriptions.

I. Buddhist Inscriptions.

- (1) Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.
- (2) Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
- (3) Kauśāmbī, Sārnchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts.

II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

- (1) Early edicts.
 - (a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski.
 - (b) Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

¹ See Text, p. 39, n. 1.

² See above, p. liii and n. 4.

(2) Rock-edicts.

(a) Edicts I-XIV at Gīrnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.

(b) Edicts I-X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

(3) Pillar-edicts.

(a) Edicts I-VI at Delhi-Mīraṭh, &c.

(b) Edicts I-VII at Delhi-Tōprā.

III. Donative inscriptions.

(1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

(2) Queen's pillar-edict.



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CHAPTER VI.

GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is replaced by *u* in *osudha* (=Skt. *ausadha*, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the *o* in the preceding syllable; cf. *udupāna*=Skt. *udapāna* in the Māgadha dialect.¹

The *e* of *eta* (= **itra*?) seems to be developed from an original *i*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (XIII, 6), while the form *guru* occurs three times. The *a* may have been introduced from the comparative *garīyas* and the superlative *garishṭha*; see Michelson, IF, 23, 260, n. 1. In *kho* (=Skt. *khalu*) the *a* is lost by syncope, the *l* is assimilated to the preceding *kh*, and Skt. *u* is represented by *o*. The form *kho* is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prakṛits have *khu* (for **khlu*, an enclitic form of *khalu*) instead of it.²

In the foreign name *Aṁtiyaka*=*Ἀντίοχος*, *ῥ* is expressed by *a*. In [*A*]m[*ek*]ina=*Ἀντίγονος*, *e* and *i* correspond to *i* and *ῥ*, and in *Turamāya*=*Πτολεμαῖος*, *u* and *a* to *ῥ* and *ῥ*.

The Gīrnār dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. *ṛi*, which became *i* (after the stress accent) in *etārisa*, *tārisa*, *yārisa* (=Skt. *ētādrīṣa*, &c.), and *u* (after labials) in *paripuchhā* and *vuta* (= *vṛitta*, X, 2), but generally *a*:—*ānainna* (= *ānṛiṇya*), *kacha* (= *kritya*), *kata*, *dadha*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *maga*, *magavyā*, *mata* (= *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *vislata*, *vṛāpata*, *suhadaya*³ (IX, 7), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛiddhi*, IV, 11). In *vadhi* (= *vṛiddhi*, XII, 2, 8, 9) and *usata*⁴ the *ṛi*, which became *a*, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In *vṛachha* (= *vṛiksha*, II, 8) the vowel *ṛi* is represented by the syllable *ra*, and in *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) by *ru* through the influence of other forms of the root *śru*.

Of diphthongs, *ai* is found only in *thaira*, *traidasa*, and *samachaira*, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvii f.), and *au* is always changed to *o*:—*dvo*, *pāralokika*, *poṭra*, *prapota*, *osudha*, *opaga* and *opaya*.

Short vowels are lengthened in *ānaintaram*⁵ (=Skt. *anantaram*, VI, 8), *āchāyī[ke]*⁶ (= *ātyayikam*, VI, 7), *mādhuratā* (= *madhuratā*, XIV, 4), *ñātisu* (IV, 1), *abhikāra* (= **abhikāra*, V, 7), *abhīramaka* (VIII, 2), *paṭivesiya* (= *prativēśya*, XI, 3), *paṭibhā[g]a* (XIII, 4), *saṁpratipati* (=Skt. *saṁpratipatti*, IV, 2; also spelt *saṁpratipati* and *saṁpaṭipati*), *vīvāha*⁷ (= *vivāha*, IX, 2), *vijaya* (XIII, 10; also *vijaya*), *bahūhi* (= *bahubhiḥ*, IV, 4), and at the end of words in *tatrā* (XIII, 1), *paratrā* (VI, 12), *sarvatrā* (II, 6), *etamhī* (IX, 2), *paṁthesū* (II, 8).

Initial *ā* is shortened in *aropitani*, and final *ā* in *tatha* (= *tathā*, XII, 6), [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) = *Yona-rājā* (II, 3), and in the enclitic *va*, which is far more frequent than its original form *vā*. The three forms *āradho*,⁸ *āradhī* (i.e. **āraddhi*), and *aparadha* are perhaps to be derived from the root *radh*

¹ I use the term 'Māgadha dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśoka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhi of the Prakṛit grammarians; cf. Michelson, AJP, 30, 284.

² S. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 148, and cf. Michelson, IF, 23, 269 f.

³ This word is used in the sense of Skt. *suhrīd*, 'a friend'. Cf. *suhajja* in the *Dhammapada*.

⁴ This participle corresponds in form to Skt. *utsṛita*, but its meaning agrees with that of Prakṛit *ussiya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64)=Skt. *uchchhṛita*. In other words, the Gīrnār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of *uchchhṛita* from the root *sṛi* instead of *śri*.

⁵ The length of the initial *ā* may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadha *ānāntaliyāni*; see the Dhāuli and Jaugada versions, VI, 4.

⁶ Kālsī, Dhāuli, and Jaugada have *atiyāyike*, Pāli both *achchāyika* and *achcheka* (i.e. **achchayika*).

⁷ Cf. Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *vivāha*, and Pān. VI, 3, 122.

⁸ Cf. *āraddha-chitta* in the *Dighanikāya*, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.

used in the same sense as *rādḥ*. The short *a* of *etarisaṃ* (= *ētādrisaṃ*), *etārisani* (= *ētādrisāni*), *dana* (= *dānam*) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final *i* is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in *-in*:—*Priyadasi*, *hasti*.

The initial *a* of the enclitic *api* is dropped everywhere except in *evam:api* (II, 2). The initial *i* of *iti* is generally preserved, but it is dropped in *-nisrito ti* (V, 8) and in the compound *kinti* or *kiti*.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek χ and γ are expressed by *k* in *Antiyaka* = *Ἀντίλοχος* and *[A]nt[ek]ina* = *Ἀντίγονος*. In *-opaga* and *-opaya* we seem to have a change of *g* into *y*; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9. 345 ff. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahuka*.

In *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9), *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*; cf. *vrachamti* = Skt. *vrajanti* at Shāhbāzgarhī.

Skt. *ṇ* is preserved in *kalāṇa* (= *kalyāṇa*), *gaṇanā*, *charaṇa*, *prakarana* and *pakarana*, *prāṇa* and *pāṇa*, *vinikhamana* (from *vinish-kram*), *sramaṇa* and *samaṇa* (= *śramaṇa*). In terminations, however, dental *n* is not, as in Sanskrit, lingualized after *r* and *sh*:—*agena* (= *agrēṇa*), *parākramena*, *putrena* and *putena*, *mitrena*, *abhīramakāni*, *rūpāni*, *sahasrāni*, *Gaṃdhārānam*, *gurūnam*, *thairānam*, *manusānam* and *mānūsānam* (= *mānushānām*). On the other hand, lingual *ṇ* is newly developed after *r* in *prāpuṇati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *darsana* and *dasana* (= *darśana*), *saṃtīraṇā* (from *śrayati*), and without apparent reason in *Yona* (V, 5), while *Yona* (with dental *n*) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are lingualized after the vowel *ṛi* in *usaṭa* and *vaḍhi*, and *d* becomes *r* before an original *ṛi* in *etārisa*, &c. Similarly, *dh* has turned to *ḍh* through the influence of the preceding *sh* in *osudha* (= Skt. *auśhadha*), and *t* becomes *ṭ* after *r* in the preposition *paṭi* (ten times), while the original form *prati* occurs four times in *pratipati* and *saṃpratipati*. In *lipi* (= *dīpi* in Ancient Persian; see above, p. xlii) *d* has become *l*. In *idha* the Gīrnār dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. *iha*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 266.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumentals *bahūhi* (= *bahubhiḥ*), *tehi* (= Vedic *tēbhīḥ*), *paṭivesiyehi*, *satehi*, and in some forms of the root *bhū*, viz. *hoti* (= *bhavati*), *aho* (= *abhavat*), and *ahumsu*, while *bh* is preserved in *bhavati*, *bhave*, *bhūta*.

The semivowel *y* is developed out of *i* in *Antiyaka* = *Ἀντίλοχος*, and *Πτολεμαῖος* becomes *Turamāyo*. Initial *y* is lost in *ā* = Skt. *yā* (II, 2) and *āva* = Skt. *yāvat*. In the dative *athā* (XII, 9) = Skt. *arthāya* the whole syllable *ya* seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes *aya* and *ayi* sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to *ai* (*aya* by *Samprasāraṇa*, and *ayi* by the elision of *y*) and contracted to *e*. Thus Skt. *prativēdayata* becomes *paṭivedetha*, while e.g. *pūjayati* remains unaltered, and Skt. *hāpayishyati*, *ārādhayitum*, *rōchayitavya*, *a-rōchayitvā* are converted to *hāpesati*, *ārīdhetu*, *lochetavya*, *[a]-lochetpā*, while *ayi* remains in *dasayitpā* = Skt. *darśayitvā*. Similarly, Skt. *mayūra* becomes first **maūra* and then *mora* (I, 11). In two instances an original *aya* is not represented by *e*, but by *ai*: **trayadaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) becomes *traidasa* (V, 4), and Skt. **sama-charya*, having passed through the intermediate stages **samachariya* and **samacharia*, becomes *samachaira* (XIII, 7) through metathesis.¹

Lingual *ḍ* corresponds to Sanskrit *ḍ* in *mahiḍā*, and to Tamil *ḍ* in *Choḍa*. The *l* of *lochetavya* and *[a]-lochetpā*, which corresponds to Skt. *r*, is due to the influence of the Māgadha dialect; see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek λ is represented by *r* in *Turamāyo* = *Πτολεμαῖος*. This word proves that the Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhī versions are translations from the Māgadha dialect, where the λ of the Greek original is preserved (*Tulamaye* at Kālsī).² Another instance in which *r* corresponds to *l* is **arabhatē*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālābhatē*; see below, p. lxvi.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* in *vuta* (= Skt. *ukta*, IX, 6; XIV, 4). As *aya* to *ai* and *e*, *ava* is changed by *Samprasāraṇa* to *ai* and *o*. In this way *bhavati*, *abhavat*, *avarōdhana*, **avavāditavya* become *hoti*, *aho*, *orodhana*, *ovāditavya*. The contracted form *hoti* and its original,

¹ Cf. Geiger's *Pālī*, § 27, and *puiṇa* (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. *pūṇya* and presupposes the intermediate forms **puiṇya* and **puiṇya*.

² If my explanation of *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauri, and Jaugaḍa (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right, *supadarave* at Mānsehrā would be another wrong translation from the Māgadha dialect.

bhavati, are about equally frequent in the Gīrnār text. In *thaira* = Skt. *sthavira*, *v* is elided and *ai* contracted to *ai*.

As in most Prākṛits, the two sibilants *ś* and *ṣh* have become *s* throughout: e.g. *paśu* = Skt. *paśu*, *dosa* = *dōsha*.

As in all other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in *-a* ends in *-ā* (= *-āt*); Skt. *tat*, *ētat*, *yat*, and *yāvat* become *ta*, *eta*, *ya*, and *āva*; Skt. *bhavēt*, *abhavat*, *vasēyuh* become *bhave*, *aho*, *vaseyu*; and the nom. plur. of masculines in *-a* and of feminines in *-ā* ends in *-ā* (= *-āḥ*). But *ā* is shortened in the dative-genitive *imāya dhammānusastīya* (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. *chikīchha* (II, 4), and in the 3. sing. optative *tisteya* (for **tishṭhēyāt*). Final *as* generally becomes *o* (e.g. *yaso* = Skt. *yaśaḥ*, *rāṇo* = *rājñāḥ*, *tistānto* = *tishṭhantah*, *Devānāmpriyo* = *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ*); but in some instances the corresponding Māgadhā form in *-e* is improperly used (e.g. *Devānāmpiye*, XII, 1), and in others we have *-ā* (*Magā*, XII, 8; *sā* = Skt. *saḥ*, XIII, 10; *esā* = *ēśaḥ*¹) or *-a* ([*A*]m[*ek*]ina, XIII, 8, *bhuya* = *bhūyaḥ*, VIII, 5, and *esa*). Final *is* becomes *i* in *apachiti*, *rati*, *hīni*, but *ī* in *līpī*, &c.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + Anusvāra, and Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. Skt. *dānam* becomes *dānaṁ*, and *karuṁ* (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. *karōti* on the analogy of Skt. *kurvan*. Just as in modern Hindī, Anusvāra is, however, omitted frequently in writing; see *ida* (XI, 3), *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavyam*, IX, 6), *dana* (= *dānam*, IX, 7), *phala*, *mata* (= *matam*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛitam*, XIII, 1), *mādava*, *vinikhamana*, *saka* (= *śakyam*), *ki* (IX, 9), *kiti* and *kīti* (= *kīrtim*), *chhāti* (= *kshāntim*), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛiddhim*), *susūmsera* (= *śūśrūṣhēran*), *karu* (for *karuṁ*), *ārādhetu* (= *ārādhayitum*), *eva* (= *ēvam*, IX, 1).²

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. *gaṇanāyaṁ*, *bhūtānaṁ*, *yesaṁ*, *ñātinaṁ*, *gurūnaṁ*, *anuvātaraṁ*); but it is preserved in *bhūtānaṁ* (XIII, 7), *pūjāṁ*, *yātāṁ*, *anuvīdhiyatāṁ*. Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (= Skt. *pūjām*, XII, 2), *mahāthāvah[ā]*, *susru[ṁ]sā*, *susrusatā*. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *tesa* (= *tēśhām*, XIII, 4) and *saṁtīraṇāya* (loc. sing. of *saṁtīraṇā*, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

III. SANDHI.

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvāra. In *tad-opayā* (VIII, 5) and *tad-aññāthā* (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base *tad* is preserved in composition,³ and final *m* remains before an initial vowel in *evam-āpi* (II, 2) and *katavyam-eva* (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [*a*]ñam-aññasa (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 7) and *bhatam-ayesu* (= *bhrītā-ryēshu*, V, 5; cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases, *a* + *ā* are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into *ā*; e.g. *nāsti*, *dhammānusāsanaṁ*, *prāṇāraṁbho*. But the first *a* is elided before *a* in *dhamm-avāyo* (XIII, 1), *dham-anugaho* (IX, 7), *dham-adhistānāya* (V, 4), *et-ayam* (= **itra + ayam*, VIII, 3); before *e* in *etāy-eva* (III, 3), *ch-eva* (IV, 7; XIV, 3), *ch-esā* (XIII, 4), *ta[tē]ta* (= *tatratat*, IX, 4), *ten-esā* (VIII, 3); before *o* in *m[a]nus-opagān[ī]* (II, 5), and *u* before *o* in *pas-o[pa]gāni* (II, 6). The result of *i* + *a* is *ī* in *ithijhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 9).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The Gīrnār dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prākṛits. As remarked by Bühler (*Ind. Pal.*, § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Gīrnār alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

(a) *tp* (written *pt*) in *ārabhitpā*, *dasayitpā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*, *-hitatpā*, *tadātpāno(ne)*, *chatpāro*, *ātpa-*.

(b) *vy* (written *yv*) in *vyamjanato*, *vyasanaṁ*, *vyāpatā*, *apa-vyayatā*, *divyāni*, *magaryā*, *katavya*, *vataavyam*, *prajūhitavyam*, *ovādītavyam*, *vijetavyam*, *lochetavyā*, *paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yam*.

¹ Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.

² It deserves to be noted that in the Rīgvēda *eva* is used nearly throughout in the sense of *ēvam*.

³ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 341.

(c) *ṣ* (written *ṣ*) in *anusastī*, *seṣe*, *tiṣṭānto*, *tiṣṭeya*, *ṣṭitā*, *-adhikṣṭānāya*, *uṣṭāna*, *niṣṭānāya*.

Although in the words given under (a) *ṭ* is written as *ṭ*, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe *ṭ*. Michelson (JAOS, 31. 235 f.) supports this view by referring to *dbādasa* = Skt. *dvādaśa* (III, 1; IV, 12): 'There is no question but that *db* represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic *dv* becomes *db*, then Indic *tv* surely should become *ṭ*. Hence gerunds in *-ṭpā* (Skt. *-tvā*) are to be read as such. This settles the reading *ātpa* (Skt. *ātma*-) without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (b) *vy* which is written *yv*. Dr. Michelson writes to me:—'It is inconsistent to transcribe *divyāni*, *vyasanam*, but *-tayva*, as the same symbol is used in all cases. *yvasanam* would be unpronounceable. Bühler's argument from Pāli that *yv* is correct from the analogy of *yh* from Skt. *hy* is useless, as *vy* does not become *yv* but *bb* (or remains) in Pāli.' See also JAOS, 31. 235.

On the same analogy (c) *ṣ* has been transcribed by *ṣ*, although Franke (*Gurupūjākaumudī*, p. 26, note) thinks that *ṣ* represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Gīrnār alphabet marks the letter *r* in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 1. 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (IA, 10. 106 and note). Although the *r* is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe *kr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, and not *rḱ*, *rt*, *rṭ*, *rb*. The symbol *rs*, however, does duty for both *sr* and *rs*, and *rv* for *vr* and *rv*. The former must certainly be read *sr* in *sahasra*, *srūnāru*, *bahu-srutā*, *susrūśā*, *srāvāpakaṁ*, *-sramaṇānaṁ*, *-nisrito*, *a[pa]-parisrave*, but it cannot be meant for anything but *rs* in *vimāna-darsanā* (IV, 3) and *dasa-varsābhisito* (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol *rv* may be read *vr* in *vrachhā* (II, 8), but must be intended for *rv* in *sarva* and *sarvata* or *sarvatra*. The spelling *bhūta-pruva* (V, 4; VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31. 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadha form *-puluva* which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce *-purva*, but committed the mistake of connecting the *r* with the *p* instead of inserting it before the *v*; cf. the same spelling in the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānschrā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prākṛit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman (EI, 8. 144, and 9. 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśōka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e.g. *aggi* = Skt. *agni* is written *agi*, *attha* = *artha* becomes *atha*, *laddha* = *labdha* becomes *ladha*, *gabbha* = *garbha* becomes *gabha*, and *nijjhatti* = **nidhyapti* is spelt *nijhati*. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e.g. *dhanma* and *dhama* = *dharma*, *amūna* and *aūna* = *anya*.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prākṛits; e.g. *ñāti* = Skt. *jñāti*, *ti* = *tri*, *pāna* = *prāna*, *bhātrā* = *bhrātrā*, *chhuda* (i.e. *chhudda*) = *kshudra*. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened; see *kāsati* (also *kasati*, i.e. *kassati*) = **karshyati*, *dhāma* (also *dhanma*) = *dharma*, *vāsa* (also *varsa*) = *varsha*, *chikīchhā* = *chikitsā*, *rājūka* (from *rajju* or *rajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened; see *anusastī* = Skt. *anuśastī*, *ayesu* (i.e. *ayyesu*) = *āryēshu*, *kiti* (i.e. *kitti*) = *kīrti*, *digha* (i.e. *diggha*) = *dirgha*, *puva* (i.e. *puvva*) = *pūrva*. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyāḥ*), *anuvīdhiyare* and *anuvīdhiyatām* (from Skt. *anuvīdhiyatē*) suggests that these words have to be read *bhuyya*, *anuvīdhiyyare* and *anuvīdhiyyatām*, and that consequently *tiṣṭeya* (VI, 13) may be meant for *tiṣṭēyya* with doubled *y* and short *e*, as in the corresponding Pāli form of the 3. sing. opt. act.¹ But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged; see *asamāt[a]m* (= Skt. *asamāptam*), *āchāy[ke]* (= *ātyayikam*), *āñāpayāmi* (= *ājñāpayāmi*), *ātpa* (= *ātma*-), *tadātpano(ne)*, *nāsti*, *parākrama*, *brā[m]haṇa* and *bāmhaṇa* (also *bramhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa*), *bhātrā*, *mahāmāta* and *mahāmātra*, *mādava* (= *mārdava*), *mahāthāvaha* (= *mahārthāvaha*), *rāñā*

¹ Similarly *nichā* may represent **nichchā*, into which *nichā* has been changed on the analogy of *uchchā*; see SPAW, 1914. 844.

(= *rājñā*), *Ri(Rā)stika* (= *Rāshtrika*), *sūpāthāya* (= *sūpārthāya*), *ithijhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*), *kīti* (= *kīrti*), *tī[v]o* (= *tivrah*), *sāmīp[am]* (= *sāmīpyam*).

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lviii), in *Tambapannī* (= Skt. *Tāmrāparṇī*) and *Devānāmpriya*, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in *atīkrāta* and *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), *[ā]parātā* (= *āparāntāḥ*), *chhāti* (= *kshānti*), *[n]iyātu* (= *niyāntu*), *Pādā* (= *Pāṇḍyāḥ*), *bhāḍa* (= *bhāṇḍa*), *karote* (for **karonte*, IX, 3), *karoto* (for **karonto*), *pāti* (read *hoti*, for **hoṁti*). In *avihīsā* (IV, 6) *ī* has taken the place of the *im* of *vihimsā* (IV, 1). Conversely in *susru[m]sā*, *susumsā*, *susumsera* the short nasalized vowel *um* is substituted for the *ū* of *susrusā* (III, 4), and in *susrusā* and *susrusatā* the Anusvāra of *um* is omitted.¹ There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel:—*magala* (IX, 3) = *maṅgala*, the two 3. pers. plur. *ichhati* (VII, 2) and *prāpunati* (XIII, 4), *sambadha* (XI, 1) = *sambandha*, *sastuta* (twice) = *saṁstuta*, *sachhāya* (XIV, 5) = *saṁkṣāya*, *pāsaḍa* (twice) = *pāshaṇḍa*, *sayama* = *saṁyama*, *savaṭa* (also *saṁvaṭa*) = *saṁvarta*, *kich[i]* (also *kiṁchi*) = *kiṁchit*, *kiti* (also *kiṁti*) = *kiṁti*. In the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form *pāsaḍa* (= Skt. *pārshada*) is a recognised variant of *pāsaṁḍa* (passim); cf. *prashaḍa* and *prashamḍa* at Shāhbāzgarhī. In *sayama*, which occurs four times, and in *savaṭa* the nasal may have been assimilated to the following semi-vowel; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms *kichi* and *kiti* occur again in other Aśoka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for *kichchi* and *kitti* = **kid + chid* and **kid + iti*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 90.

So far we have seen that the Gīrnār dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (*svarabhakti*) between two consonants. This vowel is *a* in *garahati* and *garahā* (= Skt. *garhati* and *garhā*), *i* in *paṭivesiya* (= *prativēśya*), *puīṇa* (for **puṇiya* = Skt. *puṇya*), *samachaira* (for **samachariya* = Skt. **sama-charya*), and *u* after a labial in *prāpunati* (3. plur. ind. pres. act. of Skt. *prāpnōti*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to an initial group in *ithī* (i.e. *itthī*, = Skt. *strī*).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Gīrnār equivalents.

kt becomes *t* (i.e. *tt*) in *abhisita*, *bhati*, *yūta*, *vataryam*, *vutam*.

ky becomes *k* (i.e. *kk*) in *saka*.

kr remains in *atīkrāt[a]m* (VI, 1), *parākramāmi*, *parākramena*, but becomes *k* in *atīkātam*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate* (X, 3).

kś becomes *chh* in *sachhāya* (XIV, 5); see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 142.

ksh becomes *kh* in *ithijhakha*, *saṁkhit[e]na*: *chh* in *chhaṇati*, *achhatiṁ*, *chhamitave*, *chhāti*, *chhudam*, *chhudakena*, *vrachhā*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*.

gr becomes *g* in *agena*, *-anugaho*.

jñ becomes *mñ* or *ñ* in *kataññatā*, *rāñā*, *rāño*, *añapayāmi*, *añapayisati*, *añapitam*, *ñāti*, *ñātika*.

dy becomes *ḍ* in *Pādā* (= Skt. *Pāṇḍyāḥ*).

ny becomes *mñ* in *ānaññam*, *hirañña*; *mñ* or *ñ* in *apumñam* and *puñnam*.²

tm becomes *tp* in *ātpa*-. Cf. *tp* = *tv*, below.

ty becomes *ch* in *[a]pacham*, *āchāyī[ke]*, *ilokachasa*, *ekachā*, *kacham*, *parichajitpā*, *prachamitesu*.

Other instances of palatalization are *j* = *dy*, *jh* = *dhy*, *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*.

tr remains or becomes *t*; see e.g. *trī* and *tī*, *tatra* and *tata*, *añatra* and *añata*, *sarvatra* and *sarvata*, *putra* and *puta*, *mitra* and *mita*, *mahāmātra* and *mahāmāta*.

tv becomes *tp* in *chatpāro*, *ārabhitpā*, *[a]-lochetpā*, *dasayitpā*, *parichajitpā*, *tadātpano(ne)*, *-hitatpā*. Cf. *db* = *dv* in *dbādasa*.

ts becomes *chh* in *chikichhā*; *s* in *usaḥena*.³

tsth becomes *sṭ* in *ustāna* for **ut-sthāna*,⁴ while the corresponding Sanskrit word is *utthāna*.

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajetha*; *y* in *nyānesu*.

¹ Perhaps *susrusā* is meant for *susrussā*, as *bhuya* for *bhuyya*; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger's *Pāli*, § 6.

² For the epenthesis of *i* see above, p. lvii, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. *thāna* = Skt. *sthāna* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 309.

³ See above, p. lvi, n. 4.

dr becomes *d* in *chhudam*, *chhudakena*.

dv remains in *dvo*, *dve*, but becomes *db* in *dbādasā*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *ithijhakha*, *nijhatī*, *majhamena*.

dhr remains in *dhruvo*, [*A**]*ndhra*.

ny becomes *mñ* or *ñ* in *amñā* and *añā*, *manñate* and *mañate*, *ñayāsu*. Cf. *apumñā* = Skt.

apunya.

pt becomes *t* in *gutī*, *nijhatī*, *asamāṭ[a]m*, *saṅkhit[e]na*, *Turamāyo* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

pn becomes *pun* in *prāpuṇati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

py becomes *p* in *sāmīp[am]*.

pr remains or becomes *p*; see e.g. *prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa* (IX, 8), *prāṇa* and *pāṇa* (IX, 5), *Devānaṃpriya* and *Devānaṃpiya*, *Priyadasi* and *Piyadasi*, *pratipatī* and *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4), *sampratipatī* and *samṭipatī* (IV, 6).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladhesu*.

br remains in *brā[m]haṇa* (IV, 2) and *brahmaṇa* (IV, 6), but becomes *b* in *bāmhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa* (IX, 5).

bky becomes *bh* in the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare*.

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhātrā* or *bhāt[ā]*.

my remains in *samya-*.

mr becomes *m̐b* (through the intermediate stage **mbr*) in *Tambapaṃñī*.

rg becomes *g* in *svaga*.

rg becomes *gh* in *dighāya*.

rn becomes *m̐n* in *Tambapaṃñī*.

rt becomes *t* in *katavya*, *kiti* or *kīti*, *anuv[a]tare*, *anuvatarām*, *anuvatisare*; *ṭ* in *samvāṭa* or *savaṭa*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha*.

rd becomes *d* in *mādava*.

rdh becomes *dh* in [*pra**]*vadhayisam̐ti* (IV, 9); *dh* in *vadhayati* (XII, 4), *vadhayisati* (IV, 7), *vadhita*. Cf. *ṭ* for *rt* in *samvāṭa*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhāgāramhi*.

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rm becomes *m̐m* or *m* in *kam̐ma* (= Skt. *karman*), *dham̐ma* and *dhama*.

ry becomes *y* in *ayesu*,¹ but is represented by *riy* in *samachairam̐*, which presupposes the form **samachariyam̐* (= Skt. **sama-charyam*); see above, p. lvii.

rv remains or becomes *v* in *sarva* or *sava*. Instead of Skt. *pūrva* we have *puva* in IV, 5, while *pruva*, which is probably meant for *purva*, occurs in two places; see above, p. lix.

rś becomes *rs* in *vimāna-darsanā*, but *s* in *hasti-da[sa]ṇā*, *dasanē*, *dasayitpā*, *Priyadasi*; *daspanam̐* (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for *darsanam̐*.

rsh becomes *rs* in *varsa* (VIII, 2), but *s* in *vāsa* (= Skt. *varsha*).

rshy becomes *s* in *kāsati*, *kāsam̐ti*, *kasa[m̐]ti*.

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati*, *garahā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapā*.

ly becomes *l* in *kalāṇa*.

vy remains in *vyam̐janato*, *-vyayatā*, *vyasanam̐*, *vyāpatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, and in the affix *-tavya* (seven instances), but becomes *y* in *pūjetayā* (XII, 4).

vr becomes *v* in *tī[v]o*, [*pa*]*vajitāni*, *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9) = Skt. *vraja*.

śch becomes *chh* in *pachhā*. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are *kh* = *sk*, *shkr*, *ksh*; *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*; *th* = *str*.

śy becomes *s* in *pasati*, but *siy* in *paṭivesiyehi* (XI, 3).

śr becomes *sr* in *sramaṇa*, *susrūsā*, *susru[m̐]sā*, *susrusā*, *susrusātā*, *bahu-srutā*, *srāvāpakam̐*, *nisrito*, but *s* in *samaṇa*, *susum̐sā*, *susum̐sera*, *seṣṭe* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭham*).

śv becomes *sv* in *sveto*.

shk becomes *k* in [*du*]*katam̐*, *dukaram̐*.

shkr becomes *kh* in *vinikhamāṇa*.

¹ The 3. plur. imper. act. [*n*]*iyātu* (III, 3) need not be derived from *nir-yā*, but may stand for *niyāntu*; cf. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) from *ni-yā* used in the sense of *nir-yā*.

shtr becomes *ṣṭ* in *Ri(Rā)ṣṭika*.

shṭh loses its aspiration and becomes *ṣṭ* in *seṣṭe*, *tisṭeya*, *tisṭamto*, *nisṭānāya*, *-adhisṭānāya*. Cf. the Māgadhi forms *ṣustu* = Skt. *sushṭhu* and *koṣṭāgālam* = *kōshṭhāgāram* (Hēmachandra, IV, 290, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 303), and at Girnār *ṣṭita* = Skt. *sthita*, *uṣṭāna* = **ut-sthāna*, *Ri(Rā)ṣṭika* = *Rāshṭrika*, *anusasṭi* = *anuṣāsti*.

shy becomes *s* in *manusa*, *āñapayisati*, and in other futures.

sk becomes *kh* in *agi-kh[a]mḍhāni*.

st remains in *asti*, *nāsti*, *hasti*, *saṁstuta*, *visṭata*; it becomes *ṣṭ* in *anusasṭi*.

str becomes *th* in *ithi*.

sth becomes *th* in *thaira*, *st* in *gharastāni*,¹ and *ṣṭ* in *ṣṭitā*.

sm becomes *mh* in the locatives in *-amhi*.

sy becomes *s* in the genitives in *-asa*, and in the optatives *asa*, *asu* of root *as*.

sr remains in *saḥasra* and *a[pa]-parisrave*, but becomes *s* in *parisave* (X, 3).

sv remains in *svaga*, *svāmikena*, *svayaṁ*, but becomes *s* in *sarasake* (XIII, 11).

hm becomes *mh*, as in Prākṛit, in *bamhaṇa* and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pāli word *brāhmaṇa*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jano</i> , &c.	} neut. <i>dānaṁ</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>morā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>janam</i> , &c.		Masc. <i>yute</i> , <i>athe</i> ; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>rūpāni</i> .
Instr. <i>janena</i> , &c.		<i>paṭivesiyehi</i> , <i>satehi</i> .
Dat. <i>athāya</i> , &c.		
Abl. <i>kapā</i> , <i>-hitatpā</i> , <i>pachhā</i> .		
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.		<i>thairānaṁ</i> , &c.
Loc. (a) <i>athamhi</i> , &c.; (b) <i>kāle</i> , &c.		<i>thairesu</i> , &c.

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Nom. sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. *phala*, *mata*, *mādava* (acc.), *vinikhamana*. In many instances the Māgadha termination *-e* is used; (a) masculines:—*parisave*,² *a[pa]-parisrave*, *Devānaṁpiye* (XII, 1), *prādesike*, *bhā[g]e*, *rājūke*, *sakale*, *sayame*; (b) neuters:—*āchāyī[ke]*, *kaṁme*, *-charaṇe*, *tārise*, *dasane*, *dāne*, *-puve*, *bahuvīdhe*, *maṁgale*, *-mate*, *mah[ā]-phale*, *mahālake*, *mūle*, *yārise*, *vadhite*, *vip[ul]e*, *seṣṭe*. The wrong form *-paṭividhāno* (VIII, 4) is probably due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Girnār version thoughtlessly replaced the *-e* of the Māgadha neuter *paṭividhāne* by *-o*, as in the masculine *jano*, &c. = Māgadha *jane*, &c. The foreign name *[A]m[ek]ina* (XIII, 8) has no termination, while *Magā* lengthens its final *a*.

Dat. sing.—The form *athā* (XII, 9) for *athāya* is found also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII; cf. Text, p. 22, n. 3, and Michelson, JAOS, 31. 240.

Loc. sing.—In *pravāsammhi* (IX, 2) the *m* is doubled. The termination *-e* occurs also in *pakarane*, *prakarane*, *Pāṭalipute*, *vijaye*, *vijite*, *sarasake*; *tadātpano* is a mistake for *tadātpane*.³

The acc. plur. masc. uses the termination *-āni*, which, as shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamāgadhi dialect, in four instances:—*agi-kh[a]mḍhāni* (IV, 4) and *sava-pāsamḍāni cha* *[pa]vajitāni cha* *gharastāni cha* *pūjayati* (XII, 1).

The acc. plur. neut. has the termination *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *vimāna-darsanā cha* *hasti-da[sa]nā cha* (IV, 3).

Gen. plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in *bhūtānām* (XIII, 7).

Loc. plur.—The final *u* is lengthened in *paṁthesū* (II, 8).

¹ In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hēmachandra, II, 144, Skt. *gṛiha* is replaced by *ghara*.

² The corresponding Pāli word *parissaya* is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1004 and n. 5.

³ Cf. *-paṭividhāno* for *-paṭividhāne* in the nom. sing.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.
Nom. <i>ichhā</i> , &c.
Acc. <i>pūjām</i> , <i>yātām</i> .
Instr. <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>gaṇanāyaṁ</i> , <i>parisāyaṁ</i> .

Plural.
(a) <i>katā</i> (II, 4); (b) <i>mahidāyo</i> .

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (XII, 2), *mahāthāvaḥ[ā]* (X, 1), *susru[m]sā* (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In *saṁtīraṇāya* (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

Nom. plur.—In *chikīchha* (II, 4) the long *ā* of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with -āo in the Prākṛits; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 376.

II. BASES IN -ī.

(1) Masculines in -ī.

Nom. plur. <i>trī</i> , <i>tī</i> .
Gen. plur. <i>ñātīnaṁ</i> .
Loc. plur. <i>ñātīsu</i> .

The nom. plur. in -ī is common in Prākṛit; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 380.

(2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>lipī</i> , &c.	<i>aṭaviyo</i> .
Acc. <i>Sambodhiṁ</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>-anusastīyā</i> , <i>bhastīyā</i> .	
Dat. <i>-anusastīya</i> (with final <i>ā</i> shortened).	
Nom. sing.—The final <i>i</i> remains short in <i>apachiti</i> , <i>rati</i> , <i>kīni</i> .	
Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in <i>kiti</i> (X, 2), <i>kīti</i> (X, 1), <i>chhāti</i> (XIII, 11), <i>v[a]dhi</i> (IV, 11).	

III. BASES IN -u.

Besides the gen. plur. masc. *gurūnaṁ* we have three forms of the neuter base *bahu*, viz. nom. sing. *bahu*, nom. and acc. plur. *bahūni*, and instr. plur. *bahūhi*. The nom. sing. *sādhū* is the same in all three genders.

IV. BASES IN -ri.

Instr. sing. masc. <i>pitā</i> (for <i>pitṛā</i>), <i>bhātrā</i> or <i>bhāt[ā]</i> .
Loc. sing. <i>pitari</i> , <i>mātari</i> and <i>mātr[i]</i> .

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

As in other Prākṛits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the *a*-declension. Thus the feminine base *parishad* becomes *parisā* (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. *parisāyaṁ* (VI, 7). The present participle *sat* forms the nom. sing. masc. *saṁto*. Of bases in -an, *panthan* forms the loc. plur. *paṁthesū*, and the neuter *karman* the Māgadha nom. sing. *kaṁme* and the dat. sing. *kaṁmāy[a]*.

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. <i>karuṁ</i> or <i>karu</i> .
Nom. plur. masc. <i>tisṭaṁto</i> .

The nom. sing. *karuṁ* is derived from the Sanskrit verb *karōti*. In *karu* the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, *karoto* (for **karōnto*) and *saṁto* (from root *as*) follow the analogy of the *a*-declension.

(2) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.
 Nom. masc. *rājā*.
 Acc. neut. *nāma*.
 Instr. *rāñā*.
 Gen. *rāño*.

Plural.
rājāno.

In the nom. sing. masc. [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) the final *ā* is shortened, while II, 3 has *Yona-rājā*.

(3) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Priyadasi*, *hasti*.
 Instr. sing. *Priyadasinā*.
 Gen. sing. *Priyadasino*.

(4) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. Sing. *yaso*, *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyah*).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *aham*.
 Instr. sing. *mayā*.
 Gen. sing. *mama*, *me*.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.
 Nom. masc. *so* } neut. *ta*.
 Acc. }
 Instr. *tena*.
 Dat. *tāya*.
 Gen. *tasa*.
 Loc. *tamhi*.

Plural.
 Masc. *te*.
tehi.
te[sa]ni, *tesa*.

Nom. sing. fem. *sā*.

In *pīti-raso sā* (XIII, 10) the nom. sing. masc. ends in *-ā*. The neuter *ta* (= Skt. *ta*) occurs twice (X, 3; XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadha equivalent *se* is taken over unchanged in I, 10.

(3) Base *na*.

Acc. plur. masc. *ne*; neut. *nāni*.

For this pronoun see Hēmachandra, III, 70, 77.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.
 Nom. masc. *esa* (X, 3),¹ *esā*; neut. *eta*, *etam*, *esa*.
 Acc. neut. *eta* (XI, 3).
 Dat. *etāya*, *etakāya*.
 Gen. *etasa*.
 Loc. *etamhī*.

Plural.
 Masc. *ete*.

Nom. sing. fem. *esā* (VIII, 3).

With the nom. sing. masc. *esā* (VIII, 5;² XIII, 4) cf. *sā* (= Skt. *saḥ*, XIII, 10) and *Magā* (XIII, 8). The neuter *eta* (= Skt. *etat*) occurs twice, and *etam* once (X, 4), while the masculine

¹ Cf. above, p. lxii, n. 2.

² See Text, p. 15, n. 7.

form *esa* is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hēmachandra (III, 85), who quotes *esa siram* (= Skt. *ētachchhirak*). Cf. the Māgadha nom. sing. *se*, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. *saḥ* and *tat*), and see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ayam</i> ; neut. <i>idam</i> , <i>ayam</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>idam</i> .	
Instr. <i>iminā</i> .	
Gen. <i>imasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>imamhi</i> .	
	Nom. sing. fem. <i>iyam</i> , <i>ayam</i> .
	Dat. sing. fem. <i>imāya</i> .

The Anusvāra of the neuter *idam* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3). The masculine *ayam* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *iyam* (I, 1) five times. In Pāli only *ayam* is used as feminine.

(6) Interrogative Pronoun.

The nom. sing. neut. *ki* (for *kim*) occurs in IX, 9, and *kaṁ*, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base *kimchid* we have the nom. sing. masc. *kochi* (XII, 5) and the neuter *kimchi* or *kich[i]* (X, 3). The compound *kimti* or *kiti* (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'.

(7) Relative Pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>yo</i> ; neut. <i>ya</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>ya</i> , <i>ya[n]</i> .	
Gen. <i>yasa</i> .	<i>yesam</i> .
	Nom. plur. fem. <i>yā</i> .

The acc. sing. neut. *ya[n]* is found only in X, 3, while *ya* (= Skt. *yat*) occurs ten times.

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aññe</i> ; neut. <i>añ[a]</i> , <i>añe</i> .	Masc. <i>a[n]</i> ñ[e], <i>añe</i> } neut. <i>añāni</i> .
Acc.	Acc.
Dat. <i>añāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>[a]ñnamaññasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>añamhi</i> .	

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. *aññe* (VIII, 5) and *añe* (IV, 7) are Māgadha forms,¹ while *añ[a]* (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. *anyat*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. and acc. sing. neut. <i>sarvam</i> , <i>savam</i> .	Masc. <i>savē</i> .
Loc. <i>sarve</i> , <i>s[a]ve</i> .	<i>[sa]vesu</i> .

(10) Base *ekatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekataramhi*.

(11) Base **ēkatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekachā*.²

¹ Cf. above, p. lxii.

² The corresponding Pāli form is *ekachche*; see Childers, s. v., and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 113.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eko*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *dvo*; fem. *dve*.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Gīrnār dialect.

Three.

Nom. masc. *trī*, *tī*.

Four.

Nom. masc. *catvāro*.

Five.

Loc. *pañchasu*.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

dasa, *dbādasa*, *traidasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sahasrāni*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parākramāmi*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate*. The active form *kramati* occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has *krāmati* in the active and *kramatē* in the middle.

Root *gam*: *gachheyām*.Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *ḍrīṣ*: *pasati* (i.e. *passati* = Skt. *paśyati*).Root *bhū*: *bhavati* and *hoti*.

Root *labh*. The absolutive *ārabhitpā* and the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare* presuppose the present **ārabhate*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabbhatē*).

Root *vas*: *vaseyu*.Root *vrit*: *anuv[a]tare*.Root *sthā*: *tisteya*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.Root *yā*: *[n]iyātu*.Root *han* follows the analogy of the ninth class: *upahanāti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *prajūhitavyam* presupposes the present **jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati* (for **juhvati*); see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajetha* (= Skt. *pratipadyēta*).Root *man*: *maññate* (= Skt. *manyatē*).

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class : *prāpuṇati* (for °*ṇanti*).¹

Root *śru* follows the ninth class and forms the 3. plur. imperative active *sruṇāru*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Both *bhuj* (*bhuñj*[*a*]mānasa, VI, 3) and *yuj* (*yujāntu*, IV, 11) follow the *a*-conjugation.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *karoti*.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *chhaṇati*.

Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives.

(a) With *aya*: *pūjayati*, *dasayitpā*, *dīpayema*, *ārādhayañtu*, *vaḍhayati*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetha*, *paṭ[i]vedeta*[*v*]yañ, *pūjetayā*, *ārādhetu*, *lochetavyā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*.

(b) With *paya*: *hāpesati* and the derivative *dāpaka*. The long vowel of the root *jñā* is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before *paya* in *āñāpayāmi*. With this agrees the Prākṛit *āñavedi*, while Pāli has *āñāpeti* with long *ā*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 8.

(c) With *āpaya*: *likhāpayisañ*, *sukhāpayāmi* (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of *sukha*), and the derivatives *khānāpita*, *lekhāpita*, *hārāpita*, *srāvāpaka*. In *lekhāpita* the vowel *i* of the root *likh* is strengthened by Guṇa, while in *likhāpayisañ* it remains unchanged.

(d) With *pāpaya*: *ropāpita*.

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

Active.

1. sing. *parākramāmi*, *karomi*, *āñāpayāmi*.

3. sing. *garahati*, *pasati*, *bhavati* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahanāti*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *chhaṇati*, *pūjayati*, *vaḍhayati*.

3. plur. *pāti* (read *hoti*, XIII, 6), *ichhati* (VII, 2), *prāpuṇati* (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination *-nti* instead of *-ti*.

Middle.

3. sing. *pari(rā)k[a]mate*, *maññate* or *mañate*, *karote*, which follows the analogy of the active *karōti*, while Sanskrit has the weak form *kurutē*.

3. plur. *karote* (IX, 3) for **karōnte*. The termination is *-re* in *anuv[a]tare* (XIII, 9), in the future *anuvatisare*, in the two passives *anuvīdhiyare* and *ārābhare*, and in the future passive *ārābhisare*. The same termination is known from Vedic Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and Pāli; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 458.

(b) Subjunctive.

Active.

1. sing. *sukhāpayāmi* (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative *gachheyañ* and the imperative *ārādhayañtu*.

3. sing. *maññā* (XIII, 11) from *maññate*. Cf. *paśyāt* and many other Vedic forms.

(c) Optative.

Active.

1. sing. *gachheyañ*.

3. sing. *asa* (= Pāli *assa* for **asyāt* from root *as*), *bhave*, *tiṣṭeya*. Pāli, too, has both the terminations *-e* and *-eyya*.

1. plur. *dīpayema*.

3. plur. *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for **asyuh*), *vaseyu*.

¹ Cf. the Ardhamāgadhī form *pāṇṇanti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504.

Middle.

3. sing. *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4). The termination *-tha* (= Skt. *-ta*) is the same in Pāli; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 129.

3. plur. *susumsera* (desiderative of *śru*) with the termination *-ra* for Pāli *-raṃ* = Skt. *-ran*.

(d) Imperative.

Active.

2. plur. *paṭivedetha* (VI, 5). As in Prākṛit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. *yujāntu*, *ārādhayāntu*, [*n*]iyātu (with *-tu* for *-ntu*), *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) from **sruṇāti* = Skt. *śṛṇōti*. With the termination *-ru* cf. the middle termination *-re* in the indicative, the optative *susumsera*, and the imperative *anuvataṛam*.

Middle.

3. sing. *anuvidhiyatām* (passive) and *susrusatā* (desiderative).

3. plur. *anuvataṛam* (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) compared the Vēdic imperative *duhrām*. The middle termination *-ram* (for *-rām*) corresponds to Skt. *-ntām*, as the active termination *-ru* to Skt. *-ntu*, and as the indicative middle termination *-re* to Skt. *-ntē*. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination *-ran* agrees with Gīrnār and Pāli.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. *aho* for **abhot* = Skt. *abhavat*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 30, last section.

II. AORIST.

3. plur. act. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) = Skt. **nyayāsuḥ* from root *yā* with the preposition *ni* in the sense of *nis*; cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 245. The form *alum̐su* (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. *ahu* (= Skt. *abhūt*), as Pāli *āsimsu* on *āsi* (= Skt. *āsīt*). In *ārabhisu* (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive *ārabhare* (I, 11) = Skt. *ālabhyantē*, the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bbh*.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. act. *āha*. The form *ayāya* (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root *yā*. It may be as well a perfect of root *i*, = Skt. *iyāya*, but with modified reduplication.

IV. FUTURE.

Active.

1. sing. *likhāpayisaṃ* (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prākṛit and Pāli.

3. sing. *āṇapayisati*, *vaḍhayisati*, *hāpesati*, *kāsati* (= Pāli *kāhati*) from **karshyati*.

3. plur. [*pra*]**vaḍhayisaṃti*, *anusāsisaṃti*, *kāsaṃti* and *kasa[m̐]ti* from root *kṛi*.

Middle.

3. plur. *anuvatisare* (V, 2). In the passive *ārabhisare* (I, 12) the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bbh*; cf. the remark on the aorist *ārabhisu*, above, section II.

V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Gīrnār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives *ālabhyatē* and *anuvidhiyatē*:

3. plur. indicative *ārabhare*, *anuvidhiyare* are defective spellings for *ārabbbhare*, *anuvidhiyyare*; see above, p. lix.

3. sing. imperative *anuvidhiyatām*.

3. plur. aorist *ārabhis*.

3. plur. future *ārabhisare*.

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative *susumsera* (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative *susrusatā* (X, 2) are derived from Skt. *śusrūshatē*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *sthā*: nom. plur. masc. *tistānto*.

Root *as*: nom. sing. masc. *san̄to*.

Root *kṛi*: nom. sing. masc. *karoto*, *karuṇ*, *karu*.

Middle.

Root *bhuj*: *bhujy*[a]māna.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *kata* (= *kṛita*), *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *vistata* (= *vistr̥ita*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *nisṛita* (= **nīṣṛita*), *st̥ita* (= *st̥hita*), *atīkr̥ata* (VI, 1) or *atīkāta* (= *atīkr̥anta*), *vuta* (= *ukta*), *saṁāta* (= *saṁāpta*), *saṁkh̥ita* (= *saṁk̥sh̥ipta*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *āṇapita*, &c. The participles *vijita* and *vin̄ita* (VI, 4) are used as substantives.

(b) The only participle in *-na* is *prasanna*.

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tava*: *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavya*), *vataṇva* (= *vaktavya*), *prajūhitavya* (from **jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati*), *ovāditavya* (from Pāli *ovadati*), *viṇetavya* (from *vi-ji*), *pūjetavya* (= *pūjayitavya*), *lochetavya* (= *rōchayitavya*), *paṣ[i]vedeta[v]ya*.

(b) In *-ya*: *kacha* (= Skt. *kṛitya*, IX, 8), *saka* (= *śakya*).

VIII. INFINITIVE.

(a) Accusative: *ārādhetu* (= Skt. *ārādhayitum*).

(b) Dative: *chhamitave* from root *ksham*; cf. Vedic forms like *charitave*, and *gantave*, &c., in Pāli.

IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tpā* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ārābh̥itpā*, *parichaj̥itpā* (from root *tyaj*), *dasayitpā* (from causative of *dr̥iś*), *[a]-lochetpā* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) The only absolute in *-ya* is *sakh̥āya* from *saṁ-k̥śā* (= *saṁ-k̥hyā*).

F.—SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) *Kṛit* suffixes.

(a) *-anā*: *saṁtīranā* from Skt. *tīrayati*.

(b) *-ti*: *nijhati* = **nidhyapti*, *anusast̥i* = Skt. *anuśāst̥i* (Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, 5, 991), while Pāli *anusit̥thi* agrees with Skt. *anuśist̥h̥i*.

(c) *-ni*: *h̄ini* (IV, 11) from root *hā* on the analogy of the participle *h̄ina*.

The first member of the compound *vachi-guti* (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31, 230) thinks, but must be connected with Ardhamāgadhi *vaī* or *vaī* = **vāchī*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

(2) *Taddhita* suffixes.

(a) *-ka*: *rājūka* (from *rajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2), and often pleonastic: *etaka*, *y[ā]vata[k]a*, *tāvataka*, *sarasaka*, *ñātika*.

(b) *-ālaka*: *mahālaka* (from Skt. *mahat̥*) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* and *mahallaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, pp. 402, 404).

(c) *-ika*: *ilokika* and *pāralokika* (XIII, 12).

(d) *-tya*: *ilokacha* (XI, 4), *ekacha* (I, 6). The first component of *ilokacha* and *ilokika* is the pronominal base *i*, from which Skt. *itara*, *itas*, and *iha* (for *idha*) are derived; see Franke in GN, 1895. 535.

(e) *-tara*, added to participles and substantives: *bādhataran̄i*, *katavyataran̄i*, *kaṁmataran̄i* from Skt. *karman*.

(f) *-tvana*: *tadātpano(ne)*; see Text, p. 18, n. 8.

G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in *atikātaṃ amtaraṃ*, 'in times past' (IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; VIII, 1), the instrumental in *bahūhi v[āsa]-satehi*, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in *dighāya*, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in *pañchasu pañchasu vāsesu*, 'every five years' (III, 2), *sarve kāle*, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and *tadātpano(ne)*, 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4:—*so t[a]thā karu*, 'if one is acting thus', and the genitive absolute in VI, 3:—*bhūñj[a]mānasa me*, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with *bhavati* (IV, 10) and *nāsti* (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with *kata* (= *kṛta*, II, 4), *sādhu-matā* (I, 6 f.), and *katavya-mate* (VI, 9).

The 3. sing. *asti* is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and *nāsti* in three places (II, 6, 7; XIII, 5); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 350. In XIV, 1 f., *asti* is used as a particle in the sense of *vā*. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the *Pañchatantra*; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), p. 234, n. 2. For instances from Prākṛit literature see Pischel, op. cit., p. 294.

CHAPTER VII.

GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* becomes *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= *madhyama*), *vaḍhiyati* (= *vardhayati*), *vaḍhiyisati*, and *u* after a labial in *muta*,¹ *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchāvucha*. In *gih[i]tha* (= *grihastha*, XIII, 37) and *ud[u]pāna* (= *udapāna*) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In *Alīkyāshudale* (XIII, 8) the *u* is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name Ἀλέξανδρος from *alika*, 'the forehead', and *sundara*, 'beautiful'.

The *e* of *heta* or *hetā* (= **itra*) perhaps goes back to an original *i*; see above, p. lvi. In *edisa* and *heḍisa* the vowel *e* corresponds to the *i* of Skt. *īdṛiśa*.²

The *a* of *galu* corresponds to Skt. *u*; cf. above, p. lvi. In *munisa* (II, 6) the *u* of Skt. *manushya* has become *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* in the next syllable; cf. the form *manuśa* (i.e. *manuśśa*) at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, in which the *y* has palatalized the preceding *sh*.³ In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākṛits, the Skt. vowel *ṛi* is lost. It becomes *a* in *[a]naniya* (= Skt. *ānṛiṇya*), *[u]shaṭa*, *kaṭa*, *dukaṭa*,⁴ *gahaṭa* (= *grihastha*, XII, 31), *dakhati*, *bhaṭa*,⁵ *bhaṭaka*, *maṭe*, *vataṃ* (= *vṛittam*, X, 27), *vaḍhi* and *vaḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*), *viṭhaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; *i* in *edisa* and *heḍisa*, *tādisa*, *[ā]disa* (= *yādṛiśa*), *kiṭanāt[ā]* (= *kṛitajñātā*), *gih[i]tha*, *diḍha*, *paṇātikya* (= **praṇapṭrika*), *pitisu*, *bhātinā*, *mige*, *migaviyā*; *u* in *ushuṭa*,⁶ *shune[y]u*,⁷ and after a labial in *a[gabhu]t[i]*, *palipuchhā*, *n[v]uti* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vutām* (= *vṛittam*, XIII, 11), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*). It will be observed that in some of these words the original *ṛi* has caused the lingualization of the following dentals, and in *heḍisa* = Skt. *īdṛiśa* it has lingualized the preceding *d*. In *[lu]kha* (II, 6) the syllable *lu* corresponds to the syllable *vṛi* of Skt. *vṛiksha*; cf. Greek λυκος = Skt. *vṛika*, and see Wackernagel's *Altind.*

¹ The same form occurs in Pāli; see Geiger, § 18.

² Pāli has *edisa* and *erisa*, Prākṛit *īdisa* and *erisa*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 121.

³ Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) thinks that the vocalization of *munisa* may have followed the analogy of Māgadha *pulisa* = Skt. *purusha*. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of *munisa*, which stands for *munissa*.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *vikāṭa* (for *vikṛita*), *utkāṭa*, *saṃkāṭa*.

⁵ This Prākṛit word is used also in Sanskrit.

⁶ Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in *ud[u]pāna* = Skt. *udapāna*.

⁷ Here the *u* is due to the analogy of other forms of the root *śru*.

Grammatik, vol. I, § 184, b). The Gīrnār equivalent *vrachha* disproves the etymology advocated by Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 320), who derived Prakṛit *rukkha* from Skt. *ruksha* (*Rigveda*, VI, 3, 7), to which Roth (*VIIIth Oriental Congress, Aryan Section*, p. 3) had assigned the meaning 'a tree', although the traditional meaning 'bright' gives a satisfactory sense.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are both lost. The former becomes *e* in *nī[che]* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchāḥ*, VII, 22) and in the feminine case-termination *-e*; the second becomes *o* in *papōtā* (XIII, 15), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya*, *-opaga* and *-opa[ya]*.

Short *a* is lengthened in *a[tiyāyike]* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *vyāma* (= *udyama*), *lāti* (= *ratī*, VIII, 23), and at the end of a few bases in *-a*, viz. *uchāvuchā-* (VII, 21), *kiṭanā-* (= *kṛitajña*, VII, 22), *v[ī]yā-* (= *vyaya*, III, 8), *śālā-* or *śh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *śhāvā-* (= *sarva*, XII, 31), *samanā-* (= *śramaṇa*, XI, 29). The lengthening of *a* is very frequent at the end of words; e.g. *ajā* (= *adya*), *atā* (= *atra* and *yatra*), *anatā* (= *anyatra*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *āhā*, *evā* or *vā*, *chā*, *janasā*, *tasā* (= *tasya*), *tenā*, *dānenā*, *nā*, *nāmā*, *nikhamithā*, *Piyadasisā*, *mamā*, *hidā* (= *iha*), *hetā* (= **itra*).

Long *i* and *u* are nowhere distinguished in writing from the corresponding short vowels except in *osadhīn[i]* (II, 5), *Pi[ya]dasī* (I, 2), *s[ī]lasi* (IV, 12), *[chū]* (I, 4), *majūl[ā]* (I, 4), *laj[ū]k[e]* (III, 7).

Similarly, *ā* is often represented by *a*. Although in some cases this defective spelling is perhaps due to the negligence of the writer, the subjoined list will not be considered superfluous.

(1) At the beginning: *akāla(le)na*, *anam[ta]l[i]yenā*, *[a]naniyam*, *apalamtā*,¹ *ayatiye*, *alam-bhiyisu*, *alabhi[yam]ti*, *alābhi[y]isā[m]ti*, *av[āha]si*, *ahā*² (= Skt. *āha*, V, 13).

(2) In the interior of words: *adisha* (= *yādṛīsam*, XI, 29), *anathesu* (= *anāthesu* at Dhauli), *apavahe* (= Skt. *apavāhaḥ*), *ava* (= *yāvat*, IX, 25), *ava[ta]ke*, *kala* (VI, 17), *Devanampiyem* (X, 28), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya* (= *pālalokika* in the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa), *paśaḍa* (= Skt. *pāśhaṇḍa*, XII, 31), *badham* (XII, 32), *madhuliyāye*, *lajā*, *lajāne*, *lajinā*, *vijina-mane*, *v[ī]dh[a]nā[m]*, *vimana-*, *viyapaṭā* (V, 15), *vividh[aye]*, *shav[i]bhage*.

(3) At the end: *a* (= Skt. *ā*, XIII, 6), *anathā* (= *anyathā*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *[e]sh[a]* (XIII, 37), *ma* (XIII, 16), *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *māta-pitisu* (III, 8), *lāja* (IV, 11), *va* (twice = *vā*), *h[ī]da[lo]kika* (XIII, 18).

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= *apī*) and *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*); *i* in *ti* (= *itī*), also in *kiṁti* (only XII, 33) and *kiti*; *e* in *va* (only IX, 26) and *vā*, besides which the full forms *eva* and *evā* are also employed.³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The Kālsī dialect agrees with the Māgadha one in replacing the semivowel *r* by *l*, and the two nasals *ṇ* and *ṣ* by dental *n*, throughout.

The two gutturals *k* and *g* were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups *ky* and *gy*, of which the latter occurs three times in the word *Kaligya* (= Skt. *Kalīṅga*), and the former in *[n]iky[ā]y[ā]* (XII, 34), *Alīkyashudale* (XIII, 8), and in the affixes *-ka* and *-ika* of *akāliky[e]*, *-thitikyā* and *-thitikyā*, *nātikya*, *panātikyā*, *pālamtikya*, *Pitinikyē[sh]u*, *-bh[u]mikyā*, *sh[a](shu)vām[i]kyena*, *sa[m]sayikyē*, *hidalokikya* and *pa[la]lokikya* (XIII, 18). Instead of the two last words we find also the forms *h[ī]da[lo]kika* and *palalokiya* (XIII, 17 f), which suggest that *-ika* became *-iya* through the intermediate stage *-ikyā*. In the same way Franke (VOJ, 9, 347, n. 2) explains *nilathiya*, which corresponds at Kālsī (IX, 24) to *niratha* at Gīrnār.⁴ Another instance of the change of *k* to *y* after *i* would be *diyaḍha* (XIII, 35), which Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 230) derived from **dvikārdha*. To this may be added the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* in *mahālaka* and *supadālaya* (V, 14); see below, p. lxxxiv.⁵ The Kālsī

¹ Dhauli reads *āpalamtā*, and Gīrnār *[ā]parātā*. Cf. the adjective *Āparāntaka* in the *Kautiliya*, p. 81, l. 5.

² This may be an unreduplicated perfect, as in the pillar-edicts; see Michelson, IF, 23, 244.

³ Instead of *no* at XIII, 16, we have perhaps to read *yo*, as at Shāhbāzgarhī. For *yo* = Prakṛit *yeva* see below, p. lxxxv.

⁴ Cf. also *ata-patiya* in the pillar-edict IV, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rummindēi pillar.

⁵ In Turkish the guttural ڭ (*kyaf*) is liable to a similar palatalization and change to *y*; thus from كوپک (*kyöpek*), 'a dog', is formed كوپكى (*kyöpeki*), 'his dog'.

dialect, like the Gīrnār dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of *y* from *g* in *-opaga* (II, 5) and *-opa[ya]* (VIII, 23). From the form *Kaligya*, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kālsī, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was **-opagya*. Greek *γ* is expressed by *k* in *Amteki[ne]* and *Makā*, and *χ* by *g* in *Am̐tiyoga*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

Of palatals, *ch* has been aspirated in *kechha* (= Skt. *kēcha*, XII, 32) and *kichhi* (= **kid + chid*). In *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*. The letter *j* has become *d* in *palitiditu* (X, 28), the absolute of Skt. *parityajati*. Cf. Kuhn (*Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 36), who quotes from *Dhammapāda*, p. 144 [l. 13], the aorist *parichchadi*; E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 25; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 215.

Dentals are lingualized in *duvādasa*; before *ri* in *heḍisa*; after *ri* in *[u]shaṭa* and *ushuṭa*, *kaṭa*, *dukaṭa*, *kiṭanāt[ā]*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*, *maṭe*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (= Skt. *prati*). Dental *t* is palatalized in *chiṭhiṭ[u]* (IV, 12), the absolute of Prākṛit *chittṭhadi*¹ (= Skt. *tishṭhati*). It is replaced by *d* in *dose* (VI, 19) and *hida-sukhāye* (V, 15).² In *tatopa[yā]* (= *tadopayā* at Gīrnār and Dhauri) it looks as if *t* had taken the place of *d*. But the first member of the compound might be, not *tad*, but *tata* (= Skt. *tatra*); cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 194. In *hida* (= *idha* at Gīrnār) the *d* apparently corresponds to an original *dh*; but Johansson (*Shāhb.*, § 57) may be right in connecting *hida* with Vedic *idā*, 'now'.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, *huvēyu*, *husu*, and in the participle *huta* (= Skt. *bhūta*), while *bhuta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* has become *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 4); *v* in *visava* (= *vishaya*, XIII, 9) and *vas[e]vu* (= *vasēyuh*, VII, 21); *h* in *ye[ham]* (VI, 20).³ Initial *y* is lost in *am* (= Skt. *yat*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *e* (= *yah*, *yat*, *yē*), *at[a]* (= *yatra*), *aiḥā* (= *yathā*), *[ā]disa* (= *yādṛiṣa*), *āva* (= *yāvat*), *ava[ta]ke* (XIII, 39). In *apavudha* (= *apōdha*) *v* was developed out of *ū*.

The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *palitiditu*, the absolute of Skt. *parityajati*, and in *[a]pa-v[i]yātā* (= *apa-vyayātā* at Gīrnār), and *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*).

In *t[e]dasa* (= **trayadaśa*) *aya* is contracted to *e*. The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *dasayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *pujeti*, *pujetav[i]ya*, &c.); in *vadhiyati* and *vadhiyisati* the second *a* is changed to *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* which follows it. In the 3. sing. optative *nivatey[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) the *e* corresponds to an original *aye*.⁴ For *ava* we have *o* in *olodhana*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*.

Cases of Cockneyism are *hida* (= Skt. *iha*), *heḍisa* (= *īdṛiṣa*), *heta* (= **itra*), *hevaṃ*, and perhaps the conjunction *hamche* (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli *sache*, 'if'. Johansson (*Shāhb.*, I. 66) derives it from Pāli *yamche* (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 603, *a*) through the intermediate form **amche*, while Senart (IA, 21. 88) traces it directly to *sache*.

In the edicts I-IX the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Gīrnār one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *sh* by *s*.⁵ From edict X the writer employs, besides *s*, the signs for *ś* and *sh*. In a few cases, *sh* is used where Sanskrit would require it; see *eshe*, *[va]sha* (= *varsha*, XIII, 35), *pāshamḍa*, *manu[shāna]m*, *tesham*, *yesham*, *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *Kambojeshu*, *Kalī[m]geshu*, *nātikeshu*, *Nābhapam̐tishu*, *Pitinikeye[sh]u*, *pitishu*, *Y[o]nesh[u]*, *ladhesha[shu]*, *manishu*. But in the majority of instances both *sh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible; see e.g. *taśa* and *tasha* (= Skt. *tasya*), *dāśa* and *dāsha* (= *dāsa*), *śam̐huta* and *sham̐huta* (= *śam̐stuta*), *ś[a]va* and *shava* (= *sarva*), *śālā-* and *sh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *śiyāti* and *shiyāti* (= *syāt*), *[ś]e* and *she*, *shaha[ś]a* and *shahasha* (= *sahasra*). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant.⁶ In other words, the letters *ś* and *sh* at Kālsī are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every *ś* and *sh* is a vicarious symbol expressing dental *s*.

As in the Gīrnār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened; see *s[a]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*, Pāli *sammā*), *palisā* (= Skt. *parishad*), *puna*

¹ Cf. Singhalese *siṭṭinu* or *hiṭṭinu*, 'to stand', in Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 47, l. 3 f.

² Cf. below, p. lxxxv and n. 4.

³ For similar forms of the 1. sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.

⁴ For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxii.

⁵ But *ś* occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (*vaśa* = Skt. *varsha*, and *Piyadaśinā*).

⁶ Cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 37, and Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 14, last section.

and *punā* (= *punar*), *āva*, *ava*, *avā* (= *yāvat*). It is nasalized in *avañ* (XIII, 8). The termination *-ās* generally becomes *-ā* (e.g. *putā*), but the *ā* is shortened in a few cases; see below, p. lxxvi. Final *-as* becomes *-e*; e.g. *jane* (nom. sing.), *natāle* (= Skt. *napātārah*), *lājine* (gen. sing.), *lājane* (nom. plur.), *bh[u]ye* (= *bhūyāḥ*), *ne* (= *naḥ*), *se* (= *saḥ*), *ye* or *e*, *añne*, *eke*, [*p*]ule (= Pāli *pure*, Skt. *purāḥ*), [*m*]u[khā]i[e], *viyañjanat[e]*. But *o* is found instead of *e*, as at Gīrnār, in *Sātiyaputo*, *Ke[lala]puto*, *jani[yo]*, *lā[j]āno*, *yaso* or *yasho*, *tato*; *ā* in *Makā*; *a* in *vadha* (XIII, 36), *hidālokikya* (XIII, 17), *esh[a]* (XIII, 38), *va[cha]* (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. *dhañmam*, *dānam*, and the two present participles *sañtam* and *kalañtam* (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt. *san* and *kurvan*. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted; see *kala[nita]* (XI, 30) and *kalata* (XII, 32) for *kalañtam*, *anata* (XI, 30) for *anañtam*, *adisha* (= Skt. *yādṛiṣam*, XI, 29), *pāshañḍa*, *pāshaḍa*, and *pāṣaḍa*, *bāḍha* (XIII, 36), *madava* (= *mārdavam*, XIII, 4), *viñay[a]* and *viñayataviya* (XIII, 16), [*sha*]va (= *sarvam*, X, 28), *heva* (= *ēvam*, XII, 32), and the accusatives feminine *-anusa[thi]* (XIII, 12), *kiti*, *khañti*, *vadhi*, *Saṃbodhi*, *sudhi*, *hini*. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding *a* lengthened; see [*ā*]disā (= Skt. *yādṛiṣam*, IV, 10), *kañma[ta]lā* (= **karmataram*, VI, 20), *khudā* (= *kshudram*, IX, 24), *dosā* (I, 2), *nilathiyā* (IX, 24), *pāṣaḍā* (XII, 32), *punā* (thrice = *punyam*), *bahuk[ā]* (I, 2), *maha-phalā* (= *mahā-phalam*, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in *-e*; see *se*, *she*, *ese*, *eshe*, *ye*, *e*, *añne*, *save*, *shave*, *i[ta]le*, *dāne*, &c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in *dāne* (XII, 31), *bāḍhatale* (XII, 33), and in the particles *e* (XIII, 38), *se*, *she*.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long *ā* is generally shortened; e.g. *pāñānam*, *tānam* (XIII, 38), *tesham* (XIII, 37), *nāti[nañ]* (IV, 10), *bhā[tina]ñ* (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped; see the genitives plural [*ba*]ñibha-nānā (XI, 29), *nātinā* (IV, 9), *bh[agā]ñi[nā]* (V, 16), *gulunā* (IX, 25), and the accusatives singular *pujā* (XII, 31), *-damḍatā* (XIII, 17), *dishā* (XIV, 23), [*ma*]hathāhvā (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for *mahathāhvahā* (= Skt. *mahārthāhvahām*). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time; see *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*, V, 15), *pāṣaḍāna* (XII, 31), *m[a]ñushāñ[a]* (XIII, 39), *i[dā]ñi* (= *idāñim*, I, 3).

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III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *ēva* in *tame-eva*, *i[ā]ñam-ēv[ā]*, [*e*]vam-ēvā, *pālañtikiyam-eve(va)*. Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds *añnam-anashā* (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 33) and *bhañam-ayesu* (V, 15).

a + a are contracted into *ā* in *etāyāthāye* (XII, 34), [*kaṭābhikā*]le, *kuvāpi* (= Skt. *kvāpi*), *gabhā-gāla*, *-vasābhisita*, *dhañmāñusa[thi]* (XIII, 12) or *dhañmāñushathi* (twice), &c., but into short *a* in *dhañmanusathi* (thrice), *dhamma[vāy]e* (XIII, 35), *li[p]ikalapalādhena* (XIV, 23), and before an original group of consonants in *a[ta]tā* (twice = Skt. *yatra yatra*), *apalañtā* (= *āparāñtāḥ*, V, 15), *tenatā* (= *tēnātra*, VIII, 23), *diyaḍha* (= **dvikārdha*, XIII, 35), *nathi* (= *nāsti*), *supāthāy[e]* (= *sūpārthāya*, I, 3).

a + ā becomes *ā* in *pā[nā]lambhe* (IV, 9) and [*ma*]hathāhvā (= Skt. *mahārtha + āvahām* (?), X, 27).

ā + a becomes *a* before an original group in [*ma*]hatha (= *makā + artha*, X, 27).

ā + u becomes *o* in *pajopadāne(ye)*, on which see below, p. lxxv, n. 1.

a is elided before *i*, *e*, *o* in *bāñbhan-iñhesu* (V, 15), *ch-eva*, *manus-opagāni* (II, 5),¹ and before *u* in *chu*, 'but',² which corresponds to *chō* (= *cha + u*) in Buddhist *gāthās*.³

i + a are contracted into *i* in *iñhidhiyakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 34).

u is elided before *o* in *pas-opagāni* (II, 5).

a is dropped after *e* in *e-yañ* (V, 15), *tā[ye-ṭh]ā[ye]* (VI, 19), *etā[y]e-ṭhāye* (VI, 20).

¹ For *tatopayā* see above, p. lxxii.

² Michelson (IF, 23, 261) considers *chu* a contamination of *tu* and *cha*.

³ See Kern's translation of the *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka* (SBE, vol. 21), Introduction, p. xvii.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *tv*, *dhr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv*. For the two groups *ky* and *gy* see above, p. lxxi.

Long *ā* preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *a[tiyāyike]* (= *ātiyāyikam*),¹ *anap[a]yisanti* (III, 8), *anusathi* (= *anūsāsti*), *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *ayesu* (= *āryēshu*), *āladhe* (= **ārāddham*), *gadha* (= **gāddhā*), *tadatvāye*, *palakamāmi*, *palakamātu*, *palakamenā*, *pasavati* (= *prasāvyaṭē*), *ma[g]a* (= *mārga*, II, 6), *madava* (= *mārdava*, XIII, 4), *mahāmata* (= *mahāmātra*). But the length is preserved in *ānapayite* and *mahāmāta*. Long *i* preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in *timni* (= *trīni*, I, 3). Similarly, *bh[u]ye*, *vedaniya*, *anuvīdhiyama* (read *°yamti*) may be meant for *bhuyye*, *vedaniyya*, *anuvīdhiyyamti*; cf. above, p. lix. Short *a* preceding a group is lengthened in *ānatā* (= *anyatra*, XIII, 38), *panātikya* (= **pranāptika*, IV, 11), and *shāvā-* (= *sarva-*, XII, 31). In *pālantikya* (twice = *pāratrika*) the short *a* preceding the group *tr* has been nasalized.²

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in *atikamtam* (= *atīkrāntam*), *khamti* (= *kshānti*, XIII, 16), *Tambapāmini* (= *Tāmraparnī*), *Paṇḍiyā* (= *Pāṇḍyāḥ*), *bāmbhana* (= *brāhmaṇa*), *[bha]m[da]* (= *bhāṇḍa*, III, 8), *sa[m]sayikye* (= *sāmsayikam*, IX, 26). In *b[ā]bhanā* (XIII, 37), *Devānāpiye* (twice), and in the third persons plural *pāpunāta(tī)*, *palakamātu*,³ *lochetu* (XIII, 17), *[paṭi*]vedetu* (VI, 18), the Anusvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel; see *Atiyoge* (XIII, 6), *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *anata* (= *ananta*), *anubadh[ā]* (= *anubandhāt*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *alabhi[yaṁ]ti* (cf. the aorist *alambhijisu*, I, 3), *Alīkyashudale* (= *Ἀλέξανδρος*), *Kaligya* (= *Kaliṅga*), *pāśaḍa* and *pāshaḍa* (= *pāshaṇḍa*),⁴ *magala* (= *maṅgala*), *vihisā* (= *vihīnsā*), *shāmbadh[e]* (= *sāmbandhaḥ*), *shav[i]bhage* (= *samvibhāgah*), *sayama* and *saṁyama* (IX, 25), *vashati* (= *vasanti*), and *manatu* (3. plur. imperative of root *man*).

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is *a* in *ga[la]hati* (= Skt. *garhati*), *galahā*, *Alīkyashudale* (= *Ἀλέξανδρος*); *u* before or after labials in *kuvāpi*, *duve*, *duvāḍaṣa*, *ḥuluva* (= *pūrva*), *suḥāmika*, *pāpunāta(tī)*; and frequently *i*; see *lājinā* (= *rājñā*), *lājine* (= *rājñah*), the future passive participles in *-taviya*, *-adhiyakha* (= *adhyaksha*), *[a]naniya* (= *ānṛiṇya*), *apatiye*, *alabhi[yaṁ]ti*, *[e]katiyā*, *Paṇḍiyā*, *paṭivesiya*, *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *viyaṁjana*, *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *[shamacha]liya* (= **sama-charya*), *shinehe* (= *snēhah*), *siyā* (= *syāt*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to the group *str* in *ithi* (= *strī*).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *dr*, *pr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *s* throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

kt becomes *t* in *Nābhapaṁti*, &c.

kv becomes *kuv* in *kuvāpi*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *-adhiyakha*, *khamti* (= Skt. *kshānti*), *khuda* (= *kshudra*), *dakhati*,⁵ *[lu]kha* (= *vṛiksha*), *mokha*, *su(saṁ)khita* (= *saṁkshipta*); *chh* in *chhanati*.

khy becomes *kh* in *shāmkheye* (read *saṁkhāya*).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*.

jñ becomes *n* in *kiṭanāt[ā]* (= Skt. *kṛitajñātā*), *nāti*, *ānapayite*, but *jīn* in *lājinā* (= *rājñā*) and *lājine* (= *rājñah*).

¹ *atiyāyika* presupposes an intermediate form **atyāyika*, in which the initial *ā* was shortened before the group *ty*.

² Cf. *vanika* = Skt. *vakra*, *sumka* = Skt. *sulka*, &c., in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

³ For these two forms see below, p. lxxxii.

⁴ The form *pāshaḍa* may be derived from Skt. *pārshada*; see above, p. lx.

⁵ Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 554) derives this form from **drikshti*, which is preserved in *idriksa*, *tādrishta*, &c.

- ḍy* becomes *ḍiy* in *Paṁḍiyā*.
ny becomes *nn* or *n* in *kilaṁna*, *punā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*), but *niy* in *[a]naniya* (= *ānṛiṇya*).
ṭp becomes *p* in *pajopadāne*(*ya*).¹
tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).
ty becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, *a[tiyāyike]*, *[e]katiyā*; *ky* in *nikyam*.
tv remains in *tadatvāye* (X, 27), where the *ā* of *tadā* has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix *-tva*; but *tv* is assimilated in *chatāli* (= Skt. *chatvāri*, XIII, 7).
ts becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *chikisā*, *chikisakā*, *[u]shaṭe[na]* and *ushuṭena*.
tsth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhāna*; cf. *uṣṭāna* at Gīrnār.
ḍy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyā*; *y* in *[u]y[ānāsi]*, *uyāma*.
dv becomes *d* in *diyadhā*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvādasa*.
dhy becomes *jh* in *n[i]jhati*, *majhimenā*, but *dhiy* in *-adhiyakha*.
dhr remains in *dhruve* (I, 4); but it seems to be assimilated in *[Adha]* (= *Andhra*, XIII, 10).
ny becomes *nn* or *n* in *aṁna* and *ana*, *maṁna[i]* and *manati*.
pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *n[i]jhati*, *asamati*, *su(sam)khitena*, *natāle* (= Skt. *naptārah*), *panātikyā*, *Tulamaye* (= *Πτολεμαῖος*).
pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāta(ti)*.
bḍh becomes *dh* in *ladha*.
bhy becomes *bh* in *-ibhesu*, but *bhiy* in *alabhi[yaṁ]ti*, *alambhiyisu*, *alābhi[y]isa[m]ti*.
my remains in *s[a]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*).
mr becomes *m̐b* in *Tambapaṁni*.
rg becomes *g* in *m[a]ge[s]u*, *vagenā*, *svagam*.
rṇ becomes *nn* in *Tambapaṁni*.
rt becomes *t* in *kiti*, *anuvataṁti*, *[a]nuvat[a]tu*, *nivateti*; *ṭ* in *kaṭaviya*, *anuvataṭisa[m]ti*, *nī[va*]ṭeti*, *nivatēy[ā]*.
rth becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha*; *th* in *atha* and *nilathiyā*; see above, p. lxxi and n. 4.
rd becomes *d* in *madava* (= Skt. *mārdava*).
rdh becomes *dh* in *vadhite*, *vadhiyisati*; *ḍh* in *vadhite*, *vadhiyati*, *[pa]v[a]ḍhayisaṁt[i]*, *diyadhā*.
rbh becomes *bh* in *gabdhāgālas[i]*.
rm becomes *mm* or *m* in *kaṁma* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhaṁma* and *dhama*.
ry becomes *y* in *ayesu* (= Skt. *āryēṣhu*), but *liy* in *anaṁ[ta]l[i]ya* (= *ānantarya*), *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *[shamacha]liya* (= **sama-charya*).
rv becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivateti*, *niv[u]tiyā*, but *luv* in *puluva*.
rś becomes *s* in *dasana*, *dasayitu*, *Piyadasi* (also spelt *Piyadashi* and *Piyadaṣi*).
rsh becomes *s* in *vasa* (also spelt *[va]sha* and *vaśa*).
rh becomes *lah* in *ga[la]hati*, *galahā*.
lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kaṭam*.
ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.
vy remains in *divyāni* (IV, 10); but it is assimilated in *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvyaṭē*, IX, 27), and it becomes *viy* in *viyaṁjana*, *viyashanaṁ*, *viyāpaṭā*, *migaviyā*, and in the affix *-taviya*.
vr becomes *v* in *tive*, *pav[a]jita[n]i*, *vācha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) = Skt. *vraja*.
sch becomes *chh* in *[pa]chhā*.
sy becomes *siy* in *paṭivesiyenā*.
shk becomes *k* in *dukata*, *dukala*.
shkr becomes *kh* in *nikham[am]tu*, *nikhamisu*, *nikhamithā*, *vinikhamane*.
skṭ becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha* (XIII, 35); *th* in *nikhamithā*.
skṭh becomes *ṭh* in *sethe*, *chithi[ṭu]*; *th* in *adhithā[nāye]*.
sky becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *manusa* and *manusha*, *anap[a]yisaṁti* and other futures.
sk becomes *k* in *agi-kamdh[ā]ni*, while Gīrnār has *agi-kh[a]mḍhāni* (with *kh*).
st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *[ha]thini*, *samthuta*, *vithaṭenā*, *anusathi*.

¹ Dhauri and Jaugada read °dāye, Mānsehrā °daye, but Shāhbāzgarhī *pajupadane*, which might correspond to Skt. *prajōtpādane*. At Kalsī the locative of *utpādane* is excluded, because it would end in *-asi*. For *upadā* = Skt. **utpad* see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 431 f.

str becomes *th* in *ithi* (= Skt. *strī*).

sth becomes *th* in *gathāni*, *gih[i]thā*, *chi[la]-thitikyā* (V, 17), but *th* in *chila-thitikyā* (VI, 20).

sn becomes *shin* in *shinehe*.

sm becomes *s* in the locatives in *-asi*, but *ph* in *[ta]phā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*, XIII, 35).

sy becomes *siy* (*siy* or *shiy*) in *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *shiyāti* (= Skt. *syāt*), but *s* in *a[su]* (3. plur. optative of root *as*) and in the genitives in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svagam* (VI, 20); but it is assimilated in *shayaka* (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. *svayam*,¹ and it becomes *svv* in *svāmika* (IX, 25).

hm becomes *m̐bh* in *bar̐bhana*. The form *bar̐mhmana* (XIII, 39) is intermediate between **bahmana* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) and **bamhana* (*bamhaṇa* at Gīṛnār, IX, 5).

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhamman</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dānam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>yutāni</i> , &c.; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>lupāni</i> .
Instr. <i>dānena</i> or <i>dānenā</i> , &c.	[<i>sa</i>]tehi.
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmat[e]hi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubadh[ā]</i> , [<i>pa</i>]chhā.	
Gen. <i>jana[sa]</i> (IV, 10) or <i>janasā</i> , &c.	<i>pānānam</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>dhammasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—There are two forms in *-o* (*Sātiyaputo* and *Ke[lala]puto*, II, 4), two in *a* (*vadha*, XIII, 36, and *hidālokikya*, XIII, 17), and one in *-ā* (*Makā*, XIII, 7).

Nom. sing. neut.—In four instances the termination is *-am* (*anāntam*, IX, 26, 27, *-anusāsanaṁ* and *kaṁm[am]*, IV, 12). It is *-a* in *adisha* (XI, 29), and *-ā* in [*ā*]disā (IV, 10), *kaṁ[ma]talā* (VI, 20), *punā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśaḍa* (four times, XII, 32), *-pāshaḍa* and *-pāshaṁḍa* (XII, 33), [*shayama*] (XIII, 4), *viṇay[a]* and *viṇayataviya* (XIII, 16). The termination *-am* is replaced by *-ā* in *ata-pāśaḍā* (XII, 32), *bahuk[ā]* and *dosā* (I, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The termination is *-a* in *madava* (XIII, 4); *-ā* in *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *khudā* and *nilathiyā* (IX, 24); *-e* in *dāne* (XII, 31) and *bādhatale* (XII, 33).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *-[nā]tikya* (XIII, 38), *pāśamḍa* (XIII, 37), *-pāshaṁḍa* (XII, 34), *-[pāsa]ṁḍa* (VII, 21), *-puluva* (V, 14), *puṇetav[i]ya* (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. neut.—In *hālāpitā chā lopāpitā chā* (II, B and C), the termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni*. The Sanskrit masculine *vr̥kṣha* is used as neuter: [*lu*]khāni (II, 6).²

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. in *-āni* are *-kaṁdh[ā]ni* (IV, 10), *Kaligayāni* (XIII, 36), *-pāsham[ḍān]i*, *pav[a]jitā[n]i*, *gathāni* (XII, 31).

Acc. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* in *vimana-dasan[ā]* (IV, 9).

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśaḍāna* (XII, 31) and *m[a]nushān[a]* (XIII, 39). The termination is *-ā* in *-[bā]m̐bhanānā* (XI, 29).

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Singular.

Nom. *ichhā*, &c.

Acc. *pujā*, &c.

Instr. *puj[ā]ye*.

Gen. or loc. *saṁti[ā]nāye*.

Nom. sing.—In *hi[da]lokika* (XIII, 18) the final *ā* is shortened.

¹ See Text, p. 49, n. 2.

² Cf. *ruchhāni* at Mānsehrā, II, 8

Acc. sing.—In [-yātaṁ] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination -ām seems to be preserved, and the ā to be shortened before it.

Instr. sing.—In *vividh[aye]* (XII, 31) the penultimate ā seems to be shortened.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. neut. *asamati*.

Nom. plur. neut. *osadhī[ni]*,¹ *tini*, *timni*.

Gen. plur. *nāti[nam]*, *nātinā*.

Loc. plur. *Nābhapaṁtishu*.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>lipi</i> , &c.	<i>jani[yo]</i> . ²
Acc. <i>Sam̐bodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>bhātīyā</i> , - <i>anusathīye</i> .	
Dat. - <i>anusathīyā</i> , <i>vaḍhiyā</i> .	
Abl. <i>nī[v]utiyā</i> , <i>Taṁbapaṁniyā</i> .	
Gen.	<i>bh[agi]nī[nā]</i> .
Loc. <i>ayatiye</i> .	

III. BASES IN -u.

The nom. sing. *sādhū* or *shādhū* is the same in all three genders.

Nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*.

Instr. plur. *ba[h]u[h]*.

Gen. plur. *guluṇā*.³

IV. MASCULINES IN -ī.

Nom. plur. *natāle* (= Skt. *nap̐tārak̐*).

Gen. plur. *bhā[tina]m* (= Skt. *bhr̐tr̐ṇām*).

Loc. plur. *pitisu* or *pitishu* (= Skt. *pit̐r̐ishu*).

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension : *pitinā*, *bhātīnā*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

The nom. sing. masc. has a very curious form; it affixes the termination -ām, which is evidently derived from Skt. -an, to the strong form of the base : *saṁtaṁ* from root *as*, *kalam̐taṁ* (*kala[m̐ta]*), *kalata* from root *kṛi*.

(2) Bases in -vat.

Nom. sing. masc. *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).

Instr. sing. *hetuvatā*.³

With the nom. sing. cf. Pāli *guṇavā* = Skt. *guṇavān*.

¹ The Kālśī dialect has mixed up *osadhi* (= Skt. *ōshadhi*, fem.) with *osadha* (= Skt. *auśhadha*, neut.).

² From Vēdic *jani*, 'a wife'.

³ In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not *hetuvāt*, but *hētumat*; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 601.

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā, lajā, lāja.</i>	<i>lā[j]āno, lajāne.</i>
Acc. neut. <i>nāma, nāmā.</i>	
Instr. <i>lājina, lajina.</i>	
Gen. <i>lājine.</i>	

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *k[arṇ]me* or *kam[arṇ]*, dat. *kam[mā]ye*.

(4) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. <i>Pi[ya]dasī</i> (I, 2), <i>Piyadasi, Piyadashi.</i>
Instr. sing. <i>Piyadasinā, Piyadašinā.</i>
Gen. sing. <i>Piyadasine, Piyadashine, Piyadasisā.</i>
Acc. plur. <i>[ha]thini</i> (= <i>hathini</i> at Dhauli, IV, 2).

The gen. sing. *Piyadasisā* follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.

With the acc. plur. masc. *[ha]thini* (i. e. *hathini*), cf. *yutāni*, &c., in the *a*-declension (above, p. lxxvi).

(5) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. *yaso* or *yasho, bh[u]ye.*

The base *va[cha]*- (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.

(6) Other bases in consonants.

The feminine base *diṣ* (or *diṣā*) forms the acc. sing. *dishā* (for *disāni*). The two feminine bases **utpad* and *parishad* also follow the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *pajopadāne(ye)* (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), *palis[ā]ye*; nom. plur. *palisā*.

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C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>hakaṇ.</i>	
Instr. <i>mamāyā, me</i> (III, 7).	
Gen. <i>[mama], mamā, me.</i>	<i>ne</i> (V, 16).

The nom. sing. *hakaṇ* must be derived from *ahakam* (= *ahaan* in *Māhārāshṭrī*); see Pāṇ. V, 3, 71, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 417.

The instr. sing. *mamāyā* for Skt. *mayā* is due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. Cf. *mamae*, *Hēmachandra*, III, 109.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>se, [ś]e, she</i> ; neut. <i>ta, se, [ś]e.</i>	Masc. <i>te.</i>
Acc. masc. <i>taṇ</i> ; neut. <i>se, she.</i>	<i>tehi.</i>
Instr. <i>tena, tenā.</i>	<i>te[hi].</i>
Dat. <i>tā[ye].</i>	
Abl. <i>[ta]phā, t[ā].</i>	
Gen. <i>taśa, tasha, tasā, tashā.</i>	<i>teshaṇ, tānaṇ.</i>
Loc. <i>taśi.</i>	

Nom sing. fem. *sā, shā.*

As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl. sing. *[ta]phā* goes back to *tamhā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*); cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. The abl. *t[ā]* is used as conjunction (V, 13); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 425.

(3) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. [e]se (VIII, 23), ¹ [e]she (X, 28), ² <i>esh[a]</i> (XIII, 38); neut. <i>ese</i> , <i>eshe</i> .	Neut. <i>e[t]āni</i> .
Instr. <i>etakenā</i> .	
Dat. <i>etāya</i> (XII, 34), <i>etāye</i> , <i>dha(e)ta[k]āye</i> .	
Gen. <i>etishā</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. [e]sh[a] (XIII, 37).

With the gen. sing. *etishā* cf. *etisa* at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā.

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ayaṁ</i> , <i>iyaṁ</i> ; neut. <i>iyaṁ</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>imaṁ</i> .	
Gen. <i>imas[ā]</i> .	
	Nom. sing. fem. <i>iyaṁ</i> .
	Dat. sing. fem. <i>imāya</i> .

The nom. masc. *ayaṁ* is taken from V, 15, where *eyaṁ* perhaps stands for *e + ayaṁ* (= Skt. *yō-yam*). The form *iyaṁ* is used as masculine in V, 16; elsewhere as feminine and neuter.

(5) Interrogative pronoun.

The acc. plur. neut. [kā]ni is used as a demonstrative; see Text, p. 35, n. 12. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *chha* = Skt. *cha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechha*) or *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*). As at Girnār, the compounds *kīmti* (XII, 33) and *kiti* are used in the sense of 'that'.

(6) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> ; neut. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>a</i> , <i>aṁ</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>yaṁ</i> , <i>aṁ</i> , <i>e</i> (XIII, 38).	
Instr. <i>yena</i> .	
Gen. <i>asā</i> .	<i>yeshaṁ</i> .
Loc.	<i>yeśu</i> .

(7) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>aṁne</i> .	Masc. <i>aṁne</i> , <i>ane</i> ; } neut. <i>aṁnāni</i> .
Acc.	
Dat. <i>aṁnāye</i> .	
Gen. <i>aṁnamanashā</i> .	

(8) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. <i>save</i> , <i>shave</i> , [sha]va.	Masc. [sa]ve.
Acc. masc. <i>savaṁ</i> ; neut. <i>savaṁ</i> , <i>shava[m]</i> .	<i>s[a]ves[u]</i> , <i>shaveshu</i> .
Loc.	

Nom. sing. fem. *shavā*.

(9)

Nom. sing. neut. *i[ta]le*, while classical Sanskrit has *itarat*.

¹ Cf. above, p. lxiv, n. 2.

² Cf. id., n. 1.

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(10) Base *ubhaya*.Gen. plur. *ubhaye[sa]ni*.(11) Base *ēkatara*.Loc. sing. *ekatalash[i]*.(12) Base **ēkatya*.Nom. plur. masc. [*e*]katiyā.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *duve*.

This form may be used for all genders in all Prākṛits ; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 437.

Three.

Nom. neut. *tinī, tinīni*.

Cf. Prākṛit *tinī* ; Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 91, 438.

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Four.

The nom. neut. *chatāli* is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7). The same irregularity is frequent in Prākṛit ; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439.

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchasu, shashu* (= Prākṛit *chhasu*).

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

aṭha, das[a], duvāḍasa (with lingual *ḍ*),¹ *t[e]dasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni* ; instr. [*sa*]tehi ; loc. *shateshu*.

The ordinal is *shata* (= Skt. *śatātama*) ; see XIII, 39.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *śaḥ[a]śa* (= Skt. *sahasrātama*) ; see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śaḥ[a]-śaḥa[ś]e*.Nom. plur. [*sa**]śa-sahasāni.

¹ The *ḍ* has been further changed to *r* in Prākṛit *bārasa* and *bāraha*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases.*

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *palakamāmi*, *nikham[am]tu*.Root *garh*: *ga[la]hati*.

Root *ji*: the participle *vinamane* and the absolutive *vin[i]tu* (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākṛit *jinādi*) and subsequently the *a*-conjugation (Prākṛit *jinādi*).¹

Root *dṛiś*: *dakhati*.²Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huveyu* (sixth class).Root *vas*: *vashati*, *vas[e]vu*.Root *vṛit*: *anuvataṃti*.Root *sthā*. The absolutive *chithi[u]* (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākṛit present *chithiadi*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *ad* follows the *a*-conjugation: *adamāna*.Root *as*: *athi*.Root *i* or *yā*: *yaniti*.Root *yā*: *ye[ham]*; see below, p. lxxxii.Root *han*: *up[a]hami[i]*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *pajohitaviye* (I, 1) is derived from the present **johati*, in which the *ū* of **jūhati* (see above, p. lxvi) is strengthened by *Guṇa*.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyā*.Root *man*: *manas[i]* and *manati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *pāpunāta(ti)*.Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *shune[y]u*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*. The 3. sing. *kaleti* follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3. plur. *ka[la]nti* the *a*-conjugation. Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 509.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *chhanati*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dasayitu*, *[a]ipayema*, *ālādhayi(yam)tu*, *a-lochayitu*, *alochayisu*, *[pa]v[a]dha-yisam[i]*. The character *aya* is changed to *iya* in *vaḍhiyati* (XII, 32) and *vaḍhiyisati* (IV, 11) and is contracted to *e* in *pujeti*, *pujetav[i]ya*, *lochetu*, *nivateti* and *ni[va*]teti*, *[paṭi*]vedetu*.

¹ See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 473.² See above, p. lxxxiv, n. 5.

- (b) With *āya*: *sukhāyāmi* (VI, 20).
 (c) With *paya*: *hāpa[y]i[sat]i*, [*ānapayā*]mi, *anap[a]yisaṃti*, *ānapayite*, *lopita*.
 (d) With *āpaya*: *lekhāpēsāmi*, *likhāpita* (without Guṇa of the radical vowel), *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*.
 (e) With *pāpaya*: *lopāpita*.

(2) *Moods.*

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist *nikhamithā* and the two participles present *adamāna* and *vijinamana*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *palakamāni*, [*ānapayā*]mi.
 3. sing. [*pa**]lakamati, *ga[la]hati*, *dakhati*, *hoti*, *athi*, *up[a]haṃti[i]*, *maṃnat[i]* and *manati*, *ichhati*, *kaleti*, *chhanati*, *pujati*, *nivateti* and *ni[va*]teti*, *vaḍhiyati*.
 3. plur. *anuvataṃti*, *vashati* (= Skt. *vasanti*), *yaṃti*, *ichhaṃti*, *ka[la]ṃti*. In *pāpunāta(ti)* the termination *-ti* (for *-nti*) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (*pāpunā-*); cf. the 3. sing. *pāpunāti* and the 2. plur. *pāpunātha* in the first separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhāyāmi* (with indicative termination).
 3. sing. *susushātu* (desiderative, with imperative termination).
 3. plur. *palakamātu* (with *-tu* for *-ntu*).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ye[ham]* (for **yeyam*) from root *yā* (VI, 20). Cf. [*pa*]ti[*pāday*]eham (or *paṭipātayeham*) and *ālābheham* in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Senart has noted similar forms in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. I of his edition of this work, p. 403): *tishṭheham*, *abhisambudhyeham*, *gachchheham*.
 3. sing. *nivāṭey[ā]*, *paṭipajeyā*, *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *shiyāti*. The two last forms (= Skt. *syāt*) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form *nivāṭey[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*, IX, 26) Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 215) compares Pāli *nibbatteyyam* (for *nibbattayeyyam*) in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, p. 143 [l. 2]. Cf. also *choreyya* for *chorayeyya* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 110, *dāve* = Skt. *dapayēh* and *paḍigāhe* = Skt. *prati-grāhayēh* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 460.

1. plur. [*a*]ipayema.

3. plur. *a[su]* (cf. above, p. lxvii), *huveyu*,¹ *shune[y]u*, *shushusheyu* (desiderative). The *y* of the optative is replaced by *v* in *vas[e]vu* (VII, 21).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, [*a*]nuva[*ta*]tu.
 3. plur. *nikham[am]tu*, *manatu*, *yujamtu*, *ālādhayi(yam)tu*, *lochetu* (= Skt. *rōchayantu*), [*paṭi**]-*vedetu*, *anuvi[dh]iya[m]tu* (passive).

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (from root *bhū*).

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle *nikhamithā* (from *nish-kram*, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī the termination is *-ittha* and *-itthā*; see E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 115, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 517.

3. plur. active *nikhamisu*, *husu* (= *ahimsu* at Girnār). The two forms *manishu* (XIII, 16) and *alochayisu*² are used as subjunctives.

¹ Hēmachandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes *huveyya* (= Skt. *bhavēt*) from the Paisāchī dialect.

² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āhā, ahā* (V, 13) = Skt. *āha*.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kachhāmi*,¹ *lekhāpeśāmi*.

3. sing. *kachhati*, *vadhiyisati*, *hāpa[y]i[sat]i*.

3. plur. *kachham[i]i*, *anuvāṭisa[m]ti*, *anusāsisaṃti*, *anap[a]yisaṃti*, *[pa]v[a]dhayisaṃti[i]*, and the two passives *[a]nuvidhiyisāma* (read °*saṃti*) and *alābhi[y]isa[m]ti*.

V. PASSIVE.

The terminations are those of the active.

The 3. sing. indicative *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvyaṭē*) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (*pavasati*, IX, 26, and *paṣavati*, XI, 30); cf. Text, p. 39, n. 3.

3. plur. indicative *anuvidhiyāma* (read °*yaṃti*, = Skt. *anuvidhiyantē*), *alabhi[yam]ti*.

3. plur. imperative *anuvi[dh]iya[m]tu*.

3. plur. aorist *alambhiyisu*.²

3. plur. future *[a]nuvidhiyisāma* (read °*saṃti*), *alābhi[y]isa[m]ti* (cf. the Sanskrit aorist passive *alābhi*).

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. subjunctive *susushātu*.

3. plur. optative *shushusheyu*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *saṃtam*.

Root *kṛi*: *kalaṃtam* (*kala[m]ta*), *kalata*.

Middle.

Root *ji*: *viḥnamana*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Root *ad*: *adamāna*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *maṭa* (= *mṛita*), *kaṭa* (= *kṛita*), *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *viṭhaṭa* (= *vistrita*), *[u]shaṭa* and *ushuṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *nisita* (= **nisṛita*), *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita*, *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*, *lopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānapayita*,³ *huta* (= *bhūta*), *atikaṃta* (= *atīkrānta*), *su(sam)khita* (= *samkshipta*), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavudha* (= *apōdha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *ālādha* (= **ārāddha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *p[a]sh[am]na*, *vipahina* (i. e. °*hina*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya* (see above, p. lxxxii), *vijayataviya* (for Skt. *vijētavya* under the influence of the substantive *vijaya*), *pūjetav[i]ya*, *paṭi[vedeta*]viya*.

(b) In *-āniya*: *vedāniya*.

¹ Johansson (*Shākh.*, § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from **kajjati* (= **karyati*), and compares the Ardhamāgadhī passive *kajjāi*.

² The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive *alambhi* or of the substantive *ālambha* (III, 8, &c.).

³ This barbarous equivalent of Skt. *ājñāpta* and *ājñāpita* retains the causative character *aya* of the present *ānapayati*.

VIII. ABSOLUTE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ālabhitu*, *palitiditu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasāraṇa of *ya* and dentalization of *j*), *chiṭhit[u]* (from the Prākṛit present *chiṭṭhadi*), *vijin[i]tu* (from the present **vi-jinati*; see above, p. lxxxi), *sutu* (from root *śru*), *dasayitu*, *a-lochayitu* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) In *-ya*: *śamkheye* (read *śamkhāya*) from *śam-khyā*.

F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix *-ka* (or *-kya*) occurs in *hakam* (= Skt. *aham*), *etaka*, *ava[ta]ka* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *tāvataka*, *nātika* or *nātikya* (= Skt. *jñāti*), *panātikya* (= *pranāptṛi*), *svāmika* (= *svāmin*). The adjective *shayaka* seems to be formed from Skt. *svayam*; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* is formed *mahālaka*, 'wide' (XIV, 20), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākṛit *mahālaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 33, n. 3), *supadālaya* (V, 14) seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes *-tara* and *-tama* are added to substantives in *kam[ma]talā* (i.e. *karmataram*, VI, 20) and *gajatalame*, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS,
WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgarhī version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johansson:—*Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-Redaktion der vierzehn Edikte des Königs Aśoka*. (Tiré des Actes du 8^e Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania). [Part 1,] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after a labial in *mut[a]* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8) and *uchavoucha*. In *meñati* (= *manyatē*, XIII, 11) the change of *a* into *ē* is perhaps caused by the palatal *ñ*.¹

If the reading *etrā* (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here *iyam*, *eshe*, &c.), it would correspond to *eta* (Girnār) and *heta* (Kālsī) = **itra*; see above, pp. lvi and lxx. As at Kālsī, the vowel *e* corresponds to Skt. *ī* in *ediśa* (= *īdṛiśa*).

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (VI, 14, 15) = *puna* (six times, for Skt. *punaḥ*), and in *garuna* (IX, 19) = *guruna* (XIII, 4, for Skt. *gurūṇām*). Michelson suggests that the form *pana* may be due to vowel-assimilation; see IF, 23. 258, n. 1. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

The vowel *ṛi* is replaced by (1) *a*, (2) *i*, (3) *u*, (4) *ra*, (5) *ri*, (6) *ir*, (7) *ru*, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) *usaṭena*, *dukaṭam*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*, *vaḍhi* (= Skt. *vṛiddhi*), *vapaṭa* and *viyapaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *anariyam*, *[da]khati*; (2) *kiṭa*, *s[u]kiṭa[m]*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *pranatika*; (3) bases in *-ṛi*: *pitushu*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛiṇām*),

¹ With *meñati* Johansson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (*Altind. Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. xx) compare Gothic *ga-mainjan* and German *meinen* (English *to mean*).

and for *ri* after a labial: *agrabhuṭi*, *viyapuṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *muṭa*, *vutaṃ* and *vuṭaṃ* (= *vṛitaṃ*), *nivuṭa* (= *nirvṛita*), *nivūṭi* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *grahatha* (= *grihastha*); (5) [*kr*][*i*][*ṭa*] (II, 4), *driḍha*, *visṭriṣṭena*; (6) *kiṭra* (i.e. *kirṭa*, = Skt. *krīta*);¹ (7) for *ri* after a labial: *pa[ri]p[ru]chha*, *mrugo*, *mrugaya* (= *mṛigayā*). In *śruṇeyu* (XII, 7) the *ru* is due to the influence of *śruta*, *śrutu*, &c.

In a few cases the vowel *e*, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectal changes (cf. Johansson, § 23), appears to have become *i*; see *duv[i]* = *du[v]e* at Mānsehrā for Skt. *dvē* (II, 4) and *dvan* (I, 3), *ayi* for **aye* = Skt. *ayam*, *amūi* (VIII, 17) for *amūe* = Skt. *anyah*, *Amṭikini* (nom. sing., XIII, 9), *rajani* (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs *ai* and *au* have become *e* and *o*, respectively; see *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchāiḥ*, VII, 5), [*o*]*sha[dha]ni* (II, 5), *papotra* (XIII, 11), *paralokika*, *-opaka* and *-opaya*.

The Kharōṣṭhī alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and we must always keep in mind that every *a*, *i*, *u* of the text may be meant for *a* or *ā*, *i* or *ī*, *u* or *ū*, respectively.

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*); *i* in *ti* (= *iti*) and *kiti* (= **kid + iti*); *e* generally in *va*, while *eva* is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides *va*, the text often uses the two forms *vo* (= Vēdic *ēvō*, i.e. *ēva + u*)² and *yo*, which Johansson (§ 36) derives from Prākṛit *yeva* (= Skt. *ēva*).³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The guttural *k* has become *y* in *nirathiya* (= *nilathiya* at Kālsī) and *-opaya* (VIII, 17) = *-opaka* (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānsehrā) have *-opaga*. It seems to be dropped altogether in *diadha* = **dvikārdha*. Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amṭiyoka*, and *γ* by the same in *Amṭikini* and *Maka*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

The palatal *j* has become *y* in *Kamboya*, [*p*]*rayuhotave*, *samaya* (= Skt. *samāja*, I, 1, 2), *raya* (= *rājā*), and is represented by *ch* in *vrahaspi*, *vracha-bhumika* (also at Mānsehrā), and in *vrachanti*, *v[r]acheyam*; cf. Prākṛit *vachchai* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati*.

Skt. *n* is generally preserved, except in *kshamanaye*, *garana*, *aviprahino*, *pranatika*, *Pitinika* (= *P[e]tenika* at Gīrnār). In terminations, however, dental *n* is never lingualized after *ri*, *r*, or *sh*; see *akarena*, *agrena*, *anamṭariyena*, *khudrakena*, *Devanamṭriyena*, *parakramena*, *putrena*, *vagrena*, *abhiramani*, *rupani*, *sahasani*, *Gandharanam*, *manuṣanam*, *mahamatranam*, *Rathikanam*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *pituna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*. On the other hand lingual *n* is newly developed after *r* in *prapūṇati* (from Skt. *prāpṇōti*), *saṃtirāṇa* (from *tirayati*), and wrongly in *Devanamṭriy[e]* (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original *ri* (see above, p. lxxxiv), after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (eight times) or *praṭi* (twice) for *prati* (five times), and after *sha* in [*o*]*sha[dha]ni* (II, 5), *prashamḍa* and *prashaḍa* (for **pārshamḍa* and **pārshaḍa* = Skt. *pārshada*). Between vowels *t* is replaced by *d* in *hapeṣadi* (= *hapeṣati* at Mānsehrā) and, as at Kālsī, in *hida-sukhaye* (V, 12).⁴ Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic *t* underwent in the Śaurasēnī dialect. For *hida* (five times) = *idha* at Gīrnār, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākṛit, the labial *p* becomes *v* between vowels in *avatrapeyu* (XIII, 8). Initial *b* is replaced by *p* in *paḍham* (VII, 5) for *badham* (XIII, 3). The aspirate *bh* has turned to *h* in *hoti* (only VIII, section E, for the usual *bhoti*), *aho*, and in the termination *-hi* (= Skt. *-bhiḥ*) of *bahuki* and *ṣatehi*.

As at Kālsī, *y* becomes *j* in *majura* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 3), and *v* in *vishava* (XIII, 9). It is dropped at the beginning of *ava* (five times) for *yava* (IX, 19) = Skt. *yāvat* and of [*e*] (XIII, 5) for *ye* = Skt. *yat*, and between two vowels in *Priadrasi* (thrice), *Devanamṭriasa* (four times) or

¹ The spelling *kiṭra* suggests that (5) [*kr*][*i*][*ṭa*] is also meant for *kirṭa*. Cf. Johansson, § 27; Michelson, AJP, 31. 57; and below, p. lxxxvii.

² See Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirste.

³ Michelson (JAOS, 30. 86, n. 4) identifies *yo* with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative pronoun.

⁴ At Mānsehrā (VIII, 35) *t* is softened also before *r* in *yada* (for **yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*); and *tenada* (= *tēnātra*) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form **tenadra*. Cf. *adra*, *pudra*, *midra* in the Wardak vase-inscription; EI, II. 208, n. 3.

*piasa (I, 2), *ekatia* (I, 2), *vijetav[i]a* (XIII, 11). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *paritijitu* (= *palitiditu* at Kālsī). The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *anapayami*, *draṣayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *anapemi*, *anapeśamti*, &c.). The same contraction takes place in *anuneti* (XIII, 7). The *e* of the 3. sing. optative *nivāṭeyati* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) corresponds to an original *aye*, and the *o* of the numeral *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) to an original *ayo*.¹

The change of *r* into *l* in *palig[o]dha* (V, 12), *palibodha* (V, 13), *sala* (= Skt. *sāra*, XII, 2, 8), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* and *a-locheti*² is a Māgadhiśm, while, as at Gīrnār, *r* corresponds to *l* in **arabhati*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē* (see below, p. xciv), and in *Turamaye* = Πτολεμαῖος (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvii), this wrong translation of the foreign name *Tulamaye* (Kālsī) proves that the Shāhbāzgarhī version is based on a Māgadha original. In *Keraḍaputro* (II, 4) the *q* corresponds to the lingual *l* of Tamil *Kēraḷa*; the other versions of the rock-edicts have *l* instead of *l*.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* and *ū* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *vuta* (= *uṭta*, II, 5), and *apavudha* (= *apōdha*). As at Kālsī, the syllable *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*). Contraction of *ava* into *o* takes place in *orodhana*, *bhoti*, *hoti*, *bhotu*, *aho*.

Like the Kālsī version, the Shāhbāzgarhī one distinguishes the three sibilants *ś*, *sh*, *s*, but with one important difference. While at Kālsī these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxxii), the Shāhbāzgarhī text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit.³ Thus we find *ś* in *anusasti*, *asamana*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *daśa*, *deśa*, *draśana*, *draṣayitu*, *Priyadrasī*, *paśu*, *pradeśi[ka]*, *yaśo*, *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*), *śata*, *śila* (i. e. *śīla*), *[śilana]* (i. e. *śīlana*), *śudhi* (i. e. *suddhi*), *saśayike*, *prativeśiya*, *niśita* (= Skt. **nīśrita*), *śramana*, *śravaka*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, *śruneṣu*; and *sh* in *eshe*, *esha*, *[o]sha[dha]ni*, *ghosha*, *tosho*, *dosha*, *parisha*, *prashamda*, *vishava* (= *vishaya*), *pitushu*, in the loc. plur. in *-eshu*, in the gen. plur. *tesha[m]* and *yesha*, in the 3. plur. aorist *nikramishu*, *mañishu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, in *vasha* (= *varsha*) and *kashati* (= **karshyati*). Exceptions are not frequent: *s* for *ś* in *anusochana*, *[s]reṭha* (= *śreṣṭha*); *s* for *sh* in *abhisita* (= *abhishikta*), *yesu*, *u[bha]y[e]sa*, *[arabhi]yis[u]*; *sh* for *s* in *pañchashu* and *shashu*. In *manuśa* (= *manushya*) and in the futures in *-iśati* and *-eśati* the *ś* is a defective spelling for *śś*, in which the original *sh* had been palatalized through the influence of the following *y*. In *suśrusha*, *suśrushatu*, *suśrusheṣu* the first *s* (for *ś*) is probably due to dissimilation, and in *an[u]śaśana*, *anuśaśamti* the second *ś* (for *s*) is due to assimilation.⁴

Cases of Cockneyism are *hamche* (see above, p. lxxii), *hahati* (twice) for *ahati* (thrice) = Skt. *āha*, *hida* (see above, p. lxxii), *hidatlokika*. Conversely, *h* is dropped at the beginning of *[a]stina* = Skt. *hastinaḥ*, and between two vowels in *maa* = Prakṛit *maha* (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), *ia* (= Skt. *iha*) and *ialoka*.

As at Gīrnār and Kālsī, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the *s* of final *as*; see *jana*, &c. (below, p. xc), *[sa]* (XIII, 10), *ekatia* (I, 2), *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastinaḥ*, IV, 8), *vacha-* (XII, 2). But generally final *as* becomes *o*, and frequently, as in the Māgadha dialect, *e*; see *bhuy[e]*, *chature*, and the nom. sing. masc. *eshe*, *y[e]* (V, 13), *añe* (XII, 9), *jane*, &c. (below, p. xc). In *amñi* (VIII, 17), *Amṭikini* (XIII, 9), *rajani* (XIII, 9) = *rajano* (II, 4), *-i* has taken the place of *-e*.

The Anusvāra of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*), *ida* (IX, 20) = *idam* (XIII, 3), *ima* (IX, 19) = *imam* (passim), *aya* (twice) = *ayam* (V, 13), *[i]dani* (= Skt. *idānim*),⁵ *eva* (twice) = *evam* (passim), the acc. sing. masc. *aṭh[r]a*, *dosha*, *ba[hu]ka*, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. *dana*, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. *puja*, &c., and *Sabodhi*, &c., the gen. plur. *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*, *tesha*, *yesha*, *u[bha]y[e]sa*, *abhiratana*, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadha dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in *-e* instead of *-am*; see *eshe* (X, section E), *ye* (VI, section F; IX, F and I; XIII, 1), *savre* (XII, 5; XIV, 13), *[saha]sre*

¹ Mānsehrā has *tredaśa*, Dhāuli and Kālsī *tedaśa*, for **trayadaśa*.

² But not in *rochetu*; see Text, p. 8, n. 3.

³ I differ here from Johansson, §§ 14, 48, and side with Michelson, AJP, 30, 289.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *śaśa* instead of **śasa*, which is presupposed by German *Hase* (English *hare*).

⁵ Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 29.

(XIII, 1), *dane*, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine.¹ The termination *-e* is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (*sayame*, VII, 2) and in the particle [*e*] (= Skt. *yat*, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have *-e* for *-o* (see above, p. lxxxvi), the *-e* of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by *-o* in *kaṭavo* and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun *idam* has once the form *iyo* (XII, 2) for *iyam* (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. *so* is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative *yo* (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. *yat*. Instead of *anudīvasam* at Gīrnār we find *anudīvaso* (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine *dhrama* is *dhramo*. Finally it must be noted that *ayi* occurs repeatedly instead of *ayam* and *aya* (= Skt. *ayam* and *iyam*).

III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in [*e*]vam-eva and paratri[ka]m-eva, and hiatus is prevented by *m* in *añam-añasa* and *bhaṭam-ayeshu*.

As the length of *ā* is not marked in the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet, the result of *a+a* always appears in writing as short *a*; see *kiṭabhikaro*, *grabhagāra*, *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*), *nasti*, *praṇa-rambho*, *mahābhavaha*, *-vashabhisita*, *supāṭhay[e]*, *dhramanuṣāsti*, &c. The hiatus remains in [*aṭha*]vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa] (XIII, 1).

a is elided before *i* in *bramaṇ-ibheshu*; before *u* in *chu* (= *cha+u*) and *paj-upadane*; before *e* in *ch-eva*; before *o* in *manuṣ-opakani* and *tat-opayaṇi* (see above, p. lxxii); and *u* before *o* in *paś-opakani*.

i+a are contracted into *i* in *ī[stīdhi]yaksha* (= Skt. *stry-adhyaksha*).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

As at Gīrnār (above, p. lix), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. 'The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations':²

(1) *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*

(a) in *rbh*: *grabhagāra* (= *garbhāgāra*).

(b) in *rm*: *dhrama* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhramma* (i. e. *dharmma*), *krama* (= Skt. *karman*) and *kramma* (i. e. *karmma*).

(c) in *rv*: *pruva* (= Skt. *pūrva*).

(d) in *rś*: *draśanā* (i. e. *darśana*), *draśayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadrasi*.

(e) in *rsh*: *prashamda* and *prashada* (from Skt. *pārshada*).

(2) *r* is attached to the next following consonant

(a) in *rg*: *vagra* (i. e. *varga*), *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*).

(b) in *rṭ*: *kiṭra* (i. e. *kiṛṭa*, = Skt. *kṛita*), *kiṭri* (= Skt. *kīrti*).

(c) in *rth* and *rṭh*: *athra* and *aṭhra* (= Skt. *artha*).

(d) in *rv*: *savra* (i. e. *sarva*) and *savratra* (i. e. *sarvatra*).

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants; see *atara* and *am̐tara*, *atikrata* (= Skt. *atīkrānta*), *Atiyoka* and *Am̐tiyoka*, *anata* and *anam̐ta*, *Alikasudaro* (= Ἀλέξανδρος), *karatam̐* and *karam̐tam̐*, *Kaliga*, *Devanapriya* and *Devanam̐priya*, *prashada* and *prasham̐da*,³ *badhana* and *sam̐ba[m̐]dha*, *magala* and *maṁgala*, *vihisa* (= Skt. *vihimsā*), *sataṁ* and *sa[m̐]tam̐*, *Sabodhi*, *sayama* and *sa[m̐]yama*, *s[a]yuta* (= *sam̐yukta*), *saśayika* (= *sam̐śayika*),

¹ Cf. above, pp. lxii, lxxiii, and Johansson, part 2, p. 47.

² Bühler, ZDMG, 43, 133. Cf. Johansson, § 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30, 289, n. 2.

³ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.

sastuta and *saṁstuta*, and the 3. plur. *karo[ti]* (IX, section C), *prapūṇati* (XIII, 6), *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati* (XIII, 4), *nik[r]amatu*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradhetu*, *paṭivedetu*, *rochetu*.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is *a* in *garahati*; *u* before or after a labial in *duv[i]*, *prapūṇati*; and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Shāhbāzgarhī will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadhisms and alien to the Shāhbāzgarhī dialect; see his articles in AJP, vols. 30 and 31, and JAOS, vol. 30.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

ky becomes *k* in *śako* (= Skt. *śakya*).

kr remains in *atikratam*, &c.

ksh remains¹ in *akshati*, [*adhi*] *yaksha*, [*kshaṁ*] *ti*, *kshanati*, *kshamanaye*, *kshamitaviya*, *mo[kshaye]*, *saṁkshitenā*, but becomes *kh* in *khudrakena* and [*da*] *khati*.²

kshy becomes *ksh* in *vraکشامتی*.

khy becomes *kh* in *mukha* (= Skt. *mukhya*, XIII, 8), *saṁkhy[a]* (= *saṁkhyāya*).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr remains in *agra*, [*a*] *pag[r]atho* (XIII, 5), but the *g* seems to be aspirated in *apaghratho* (XIII, 6).

chy becomes *ch* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*).

jñ becomes *ñ* in *kiṭrañāta* (= Skt. *kṛitajñātā*), *ñati*, *ñatika*, *ñanam*, *raña*, *raño*; *ṇ*, as in literary Prakṛit, in *anapayami* and *anapemi*, *anapeśamti*, *anapita*.

jy becomes *j* in *joti*- (= Skt. *jyōtis*, IV, 8).

ñj becomes *mñ* in *vaṁñanato* (= Skt. *vaññanataḥ*).

dy becomes *d*, as at Gīrnār, in *Paṁḍa* (XIII, 9), but *diy*, as at Kālsī, in *Paṁḍiya* (II, 4).

ny becomes *ñ* in *puña*, *hiraña*, but *niy* in *ananiya* (= Skt. *ānṛiṇya*).

tp becomes *p* in *pajupadane*.³

tm becomes *t* in *ata*- (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *ti* in *ekatia*, but *ch* in *achayika*, *apacha*, *chati*.

tr remains in *trayo*, *atra*, *putra*, *savatra*, &c., but becomes *t* in *savata* (V, section N) and *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*, V, 11), and *d* in *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*, VIII, 17).⁴

tv remains in *tadatvaye*, but becomes *t* in the absolutes in *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvī*).

ts becomes *s* in *usaṭena*, *chikisa*.

tsth becomes *th* in *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), but *th* in *uṭhanam* (ibid.).⁵

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyati*; *y* in *uyana* (= Skt. *udyāna*).

dr remains in *khudrakena*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duv[i]*, but *b* in *badaya(śa)* (cf. *dbādasa* at Gīrnār), and *d* in *diadhā*.

As at Kālsī, *dhy* becomes *jh* in *nijha[i]* and *anunija(jha)peti* (= [*a*] *nu[nijha]paya[ti]* at Mānsehrā), but *dhiy* in [*adhi*] *yaksha*.

dhr remains in *dhruva* and *Aindhra*.

nm becomes *m* in *yamatra* (= Skt. *yanmātra*).

ny becomes *mñ* or *ñ* in *añña* and *aña*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *mañishu*, *hamñamti[i]*, [*ha*] *mñeyasu*.

pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *nijha[t]i*, *vuta* (= Skt. *upta*, II, 5), *asamatam*, *saṁkshitenā*, *nataro* (= *naptārah*), *pranatika*, *Turamayē* (= *Πτολεμαῖος*).

pn becomes *pun* in *prapūṇati*.

pr remains in *Priyadraśi*, *Devanāmpriya*, *priti* (i. e. *prīti*), *prakara[ṇ]e* (XII, 3), *p[r]aja* and *prajava* (V, 13), *praṇa* (i. e. *prāṇa*), *pradeśi[ka]*, *pranatika*, *prapūṇati*, *prabhava*, [*p*] *rayuhotave*, *pra[va]dh[e]śamti*, *pravase*, *pravrajita*, *prasado*, *prasana*, *prasavati*, *aviprahino*, *pratipa[ti]* (XIII, 5), *pratibhagam*, *pratibh[o]gaye*, *prativedīyena*, *p[r]atīvidhane* (VIII, 17), *prativedetavo* (VI, 14), but becomes *p* in *Devanāpiasa* (I, 2), [*a*] *pakaraṇasī* (XII, 3), *pajupadane* (IX, 18), *papotra*, *paṭipajeyati*,

¹ For the sign which I have transcribed by *ksh*, see Text, p. 55, note 5.

² See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

³ See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.

⁴ Mānsehrā has *yada* (for **yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*) in the same section.

⁵ Mānsehrā has *uṭhana* in both cases.

paṭipati (twice), *saṃpaṭipati* (twice), *paṭividhana* (V, 13), *paṭivedaka*, *paṭivedana*, *paṭivedetu*, *paṭivedavo* (VI, 15).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladha*.

br remains in *bramaṇa* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*).

ḍhy becomes *bh* in *-ibheshu*, *arabhiśamti* (future passive), but *bhiy* in *[arabhi]yis[u]* (aorist passive).

bhr remains in *bhratuna*.

my becomes *mm* (also spelt *imm*) in *samma-* and *saṃmma-*.

mr becomes *m̐b* in *Tambapam̐ni*.

rg remains in *vagra* (i. e. *varga*; see above, p. lxxxvii) and *spagra* (i. e. *sparga* = Skt. *svarga*).

rn̐ becomes *m̐n̐* in *Tambapam̐ni*.

rt becomes *t* in *anuvatatū*, but *r̐t* in *kiṭri* (i. e. *kiṭti* = Skt. *kīrti*), and *t̐* in *kaṭava*, *anuvataṃti*, *an[u]vaṭiśamti*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*.

rth remains in *athra* (i. e. *artha*, IV, 10), but becomes *r̐th* in *aṭhra* (i. e. *ar̐tha*, VI, 14; IX, 19), and *th* in *aṭha* (passim), *niraṭhiyam*.

rdh becomes *dh* in *vaḍhiśati*, *vaḍheti*, *pra[va]ḍh[e]śamti*, *vaḍhita*, *diadha*.

rbh remains in *grabhagara* (i. e. *garbhāgāra*).

rm remains in *krama* (i. e. *karma*) and *kramma* (i. e. *karmma*, III, 6), *dhrama* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhramma* (i. e. *dharmma*).¹

ry becomes *y* in *-ayeshu* (= Skt. *āryēshu*), but *riy* in *anantariyena*, *madhuriyaye*, *sama[cha]-riyam*.

rv remains in *pruva* (i. e. *purva* = Skt. *pūrva*), *savra* (i. e. *sarva*), but becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*, *nivuta*, *nivuti*.

rś remains in *draśana* (i. e. *darśana*), *draśayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadraśi* (= °*darśin*), but becomes *ś* in *daśana* (VIII, 17).

rsh remains in *prasham̐da* (i. e. **pārsham̐da*)² and *prashaḍa*, but becomes *sh* in *vasha*, *pasham̐da* (XII, 3) and *pashaḍa* (XII, 9).

rshy becomes *sh* in *kasham̐*, *kashati*, *kasham̐ti*.

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati*: *r* in *garana* (= Skt. *garhaṇā*).³

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapa*.

ly becomes *l* in *kalana* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

vy becomes *v* in *vaṃṇana*, *vapaṭa* (twice), *apa-vayata*, *vasana*, *divani*, *prasavati*, *kaṭava*, *paṭivedetavo*, *[p]rayuhotave*, *vatavo*, but *vi* in *vijetav[ā]*, and *viy* in *viyapaṭa* and *viyapuṭa* (V, 13), *kshamitaviya*, *pujetaviya*.

vr remains in *[tivre]*, *pravrajita*, *vracham̐ti*, *v[r]acheyam̐*, *vraksham̐ti*, *vrachaspi* and *vrachabhūmika* (also at Mānsehrā).

sch becomes *ch* in *kachi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*), *pacha* (= *paśchāt*).

śy becomes *śiy* in *prativeśiyena*.

śr remains in *śramana*, *śravaka*, *suśrusa*, *suśrusatu*, *suśrusheyu*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, but becomes *ś* in *śamaṇa* (IX, 19), *niśite*, and *sr* in *[s]reṭha* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭha*).

shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭam̐*, *dukara*.

shkr becomes *kr* in *nikramaṇam̐*, *nik[r]amatu*, *nikrami*, *nikramishu*.

shṭ becomes *th* in *[aṭha]* = Skt. *aṣṭa* (XIII, 1).

shtr becomes *th* in *Rathikanam̐*.

shth becomes *th* in *tiṭhiti*, *[s]reṭham̐*; *th* in *-adhithana*.

shy becomes *ś* (i. e. *śś*) in *manuśa* and in the futures in *-iśati* and *-eśati*.

As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *joti-kam̐dhani*.

st remains in *asti*, *nasti*, *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastina*), *saṃstava*, *saṃstuta*, *vistritena*, *-anustasti*. It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word *nipista*.⁴

¹ At Mānsehrā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling *dhama* beside the usual form *dhrama*.

² This form is a variant of Skt. *pārshada* (for *pārishada*) and the origin of Skt. *pasham̐da*; cf. Johansson, §§ 37, 64.

³ See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli *rassa* = Skt. *hrasva* (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsehrā the reading is *garaha* (= Skt. *garhā*).

⁴ See above, p. xlii.

str remains in *i*[*stri*], *striyaka*.

sth becomes *th* in *grahatha*, *chira-thitika*.

sn becomes *sin* in [*si*][*ne**]*ho* (XIII, 5).¹

sm becomes *sp* or *s* in the locatives singular in *-aspi* and *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *rabhasiye*, *siya*, *siyati*, *siyasu*, but *s* in *asu* and in the genitives singular in *-asa* and *-isa*.

sr remains in *parisrave*, *sahasra*, but becomes *s* in *sahasani* (I, 2).

sv becomes *sp* in *spa[ka]*, *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*), *spamikena*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛiṇām*).

hm becomes *m* in *bramaṇa*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *jano*, &c.; neut. *danam*, &c.

Acc. masc. *dhramam*, &c.; neut. *maṅgalam*, &c.

Instr. *putrena*, *danena*, &c.

Dat. *aṭhaye*, &c.

Abl. *kāraṇa* (= Skt. *kāraṇāt*, III, 6), *pacha*.

Gen. *janasa*, &c.

Loc. (a) *orodhanaspi*, &c.; (b) *dhrame*, &c.

Plural.

Masc. *putra*, &c.; neut. [*o*]*sha[dha]ni*, &c.

Masc. *yutani*, &c.; neut. *divani*, *rupani*.

śatehi.

praṇanam, &c.

vasheshu, &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* is dropped in *jana* (XIV, 13), *ghosha* (IV, 8), *pradeśi[ka]* (III, 6), *vadha* (XIII, 3), *samba[m]dha* (XI, 23), *sayama* (VII, 4), *Maka* (XIII, 9). The Māgadha termination *-e* is frequent; see *jane* (X, 21), *vivade* (VI, 14, 15), *Turamayē* (XIII, 9), *Devanapriye* (X, 21), &c. In *Āntikini* (XIII, 9) we have *-i* instead of *-e*.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *dana*, *a[cha]yika* (VI, 14), *anusochana* (XIII, 2), *[du]kara* (VI, 16), *draśana* and *daśana* (VIII, 17), *puṇa* (XI, 24), *maṅgala* (IX, sections D and F), *maha-phala* (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadha forms in *-e* are frequent; see *dane* (VII, 4), *draśane* (VIII, 17), *likhite* (XIV, 13), *vijite* (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have *-o* instead of *-am* or *-e*: *kaṭavo* (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), *prāṭivedetavo* (VI, 14) and *paṭivedetavo* (VI, 15), *vatavo* (IX, 19; XI, 24; XII, 8), *śako* (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine *bhāga* is used as neuter in *sahasra-bhagaṃ* (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In *aṭh[r]a* (VI, section E), *dosha* and *ba[hu]ka* (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms: *dhramo* (XII, 6) and *sayame* (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *[da]na* (XII, 1), *kāraṇa* (XIV, 14), *vasana* (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group *sp* of the termination *-spi* is assimilated in *[a]pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), *[ga]ṇanasi* (III, 7), *mahana[sas]i* (I, 2), *yu[ta]si* (V, 13). The termination *-e* occurs also in *anutape*, *abadhe*, *avahe*, *Kalige*, *prakara[n]e*, *pravase*, *vijay[e]* (XIII, 11), *vijite*, *vivahe*, *śile*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter *apatya* is used as masculine in *[y]e me apacha vṛakṣamti* (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-a* instead of *-ani* in [*o*]*sha[dha]ni* *harapita cha vuta cha* (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are *-kaṁdhani*, *Kaliga[ni]*, *-prashamḍani*, *pravrajita[ni]*, *grakathani*.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *abhiratana* (XIII, 5), *mahamatrana* (VI, 14), *-bramaṇana* (twice), *-bramaṇana* (IV, 9).

¹ Mānsehrā reads *si[ne]he*.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.
Nom. *ichha*, &c.
Acc. *puja*, &c.
Instr. *pujaye*, *vividhaye*.
Loc. *sa[m]tiraṇaye*.

Plural.
chik[i]sa, [*kr*][*i*][*ta*], *striyaka*.¹

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. *trayo*.
Gen. plur. *ñatina[m]*, *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.
Nom. *dipi*, &c.
Acc. *Sabodhi*, &c.
Instr. -*anusa[sti]ya*, *bhatiya*.
Dat. -*anusastiye*, *vaḍhiya*.
Abl. *nivūṭiya*, *Ta[m]bapam[ni]ya*.
Loc. *ayatiya*.

Plural.
aṭavi.

With the nom. plur. *aṭavi* cf. Pāli *rattī*, nom. plur. of *ratti* (= Skt. *rātrī*).

III. BASES IN -u.

The same forms as at Gīrnār and Kālsī occur, viz. nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sadhu*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*; nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*; instr. plur. *bahuhi*; gen. plur. *guruna*, *garuna*.

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IV. MASCLINES AND FEMININES IN -i.

Nom. plur. *nataro*.
Gen. plur. *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*.²
Loc. plur. *pitushu*.

The instr. sing. follows the *u*-declension: *pituna*, *bhratuna*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

As at Kālsī, we have the two nom. sing. masc. *sa[m]taṁ* (*sataṁ*) and *karamtaṁ* (*karataṁ*).

(2) Masculine in -vat.

Nom. sing. *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.
Nom. masc. *raja*, *raya*.
Acc. neut. *nama*.
Instr. *raña*.
Gen. *raña*.

Plural.
rajano, *rajani*.

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kramam*, dat. *kramimaye*.

¹ The Skt. feminine *stri*, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII, 9 in the form *i[stri]*.
² At Mānsehrā (V, 24) the reading is *spas[u]na*.

(4) Masculines in *-in*.Nom. sing. *Priyadrasi*.Instr. sing. *Priyadrasiṇa*.Gen. sing. *Priyadrasiṇa*.Acc. plur. [*a*]*stina* (*asti*[*ne*] at Mānsehrā).The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.(5) Neuters in *-as*.Acc. Sing. *yaśo*, *bhuy*[*e*].The base *vacha-* (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.(6) Neuter in *-is*.The base *joti-* (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. *jyōtis*.(7) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *parishaye*. The nom. sing. *parisha* is preserved at Mānsehrā (III, 11).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *ahani*.Instr. sing. *maya*.Gen. sing. *maa*, *me*.

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With the gen. *maa* cf. Prākṛit *maha*, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive *mama* under the influence of the dative *mahyam*; see Michelson, JAOS, 30. 85, n. 2.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *so* } neut. *tani*, *so*.
 Acc. masc. *tani* }
 Instr. *tena*.
 Dat. *taye*.
 Gen. *tasa*.
 Loc. *tasi*.

Plural.

Masc. *te*.*tesha*[*ni*], *tesha*.Nom. sing. fem. *sa*.Acc. plur. fem. *ta* (XIII, 7).

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have *sa* for *so* (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base *sha*.

The acc. plur. neut. *sha* (VI, 16) corresponds to *she* (acc. plur. masc.?) at Mānsehrā; cf. Text, p. 59, n. 1.

(4) Base *eta*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *eshe*; neut. *eta*, *etani*, *etake*, *eshe* } Masc. *eta* (I, 3).
 (X, section E).
 Instr. *etakena*.
 Dat. *etaye*, *etakaye*.
 Gen. *etisa* (III, 6; XII, 9).

Plural.

Nom. sing. fem. *esha* (XIII, 4).

The *i* of the gen. sing. *etisa*, which is found also at Mānsehrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative *kissa* (from base *kī*) = *kassa* (from base *ka*).

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *ayaṁ, ayi*; neut. *idaṁ, ida, imaṁ, ima, iyaṁ, iyo*.

Acc. neut. *imaṁ*.

Gen. *imisa* (IV, 10).

Nom. fem. *aya, ayi*.

Dat. fem. *imisa* (III, 6).

With the gen. masc. *imisa* cf. *etisa* (from *ēta*) and the Gīrnār and Pāli instrumental *iminā*.

The dat. fem. *imisa* is an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā*. Cf. the feminine bases *imī, tī, eī, jī, kī* in Prākṛit (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The indefinite *kichi* (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. *kachi* (XII, 5). The compound *kiti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *yo, y[e]*; neut. *yaṁ, ye*.

Acc. neut. *yaṁ, yo* (X, 21), *[e]* (XIII, 5).

Instr. *ye[na]*.

Gen. *yaśa*.

Loc.

Masc. *ye*.

Plural.

yesha (*yesha[ni]* at Mānsehrā).

yesu.

Nom. sing. fem. *ya* (XIII, 12).

Nom. plur. fem. *ya* (XIII, 7).

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *añe, aññi*; neut. *añam*.¹

Acc.

Dat. *añaye*.

Gen. *añamañasa*.

Masc. *aññe*

Plural.

} neut. *añani*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.

Nom. neut. *sav[r]am, savre*.

Acc. masc. and neut. *savram, savam*.

Loc.

Masc. *save*.

Plural.

savreshu, saveshu.

(10) Base *ubhaya*.

Gen. plur. *u[bha]y[e]sa* (*ubhayesaṁ* at Mānsehrā).

(11) Base *ekatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekatare*.

(12) Base **ekatya*.

Nom. sing. masc. *ekatia*.

¹ *añ[e]* at Mānsehrā, IV, 15.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Acc. sing. neut. [e*]kanī.

Two.

Nom. masc. and fem. *duv*[i].

Three.

Nom. masc. *trayo*.

Four.

As in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439), the acc. masc. *chature* (= Skt. *chaturah*) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9).

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchashu*, *shashu*.

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

[aṭha], *daśa*, *badaya*(śa), *todaśa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *śatani*, instr. *śatehi*, loc. *śateshu*.

The ordinal is *śata*; see *śata-bhage*, XIII, 7.

Hundred.

The ordinal is *sahasra* (XIII, 7).

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śa*[ta-saha]sre.Nom. plur. *śata-sahasani*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parakramati*, *nik*[r]amatu.Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *ji*: [vi]jinamano, vijinīti; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.Root *trap*: *avatrapeyu*.Root *dris*: [da]khati.Root *nī*: *anuneti*.Root *bhū*: *bhoti*, *hoti*.

Root *labh*: the absolutive *ara*[bhītu] and the two passive forms [arabhi]yis[u] and *arabhi-śamti* presuppose the present **arabhati*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhatē*).

Root *vas*: *vasati*.Root *vr̥t*: *anuvatatū*, *anuvataṃti*.

Root *vraj*: *vrachamti*. For Prākṛit *vachchāi* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati* see Hēma-chandra, IV, 225; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 202 and n. 3.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *tiṭhiti* (IV, 10) presupposes the present **tiṭṭhati* (= Skt. *tishṭhati*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.

Root *han*: *upahamti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*. The gerundive [*ṣ*]*rayuhotave* is formed from the Skt. present *juhōti*.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyati*.

Root *man*: *mañati* and *meñati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *prapūṇati*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *śruṇeyu*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *karoti*; but the optative *apakareyati* and the two present participles *karamāni* and *ka[ra]min[o]* presuppose the present **karati*, **karate*.

Root *kṣhaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *kṣhaṇati*.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *aś* follows the *a*-conjugation: *aśamana* (part. pres. middle).

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dīpayami*, *draśayitu*, *sukhayami*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *pujēti*, *pujētavīya*, *a[ra]dhēti*, *aradhētu*, *rochētu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, *a-lochēti*, *paṭivedētu*, *paṭivedetavo*, *nivāṭēti*, *vadhēti*.

(b) With *paya*: *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*, *aṇapēsamti*, *aṇapita*, *anunija(jha)peti*, *hapēśadi*.

(c) With *āpaya*: *likha[ṣ]eśami*, *likhapitu(ta)*, *khanapita*, *nīpēsapita*, *harapita*.

(2) Moods.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the present participles [*vi*]*jīnamana*, *ka[ra]mina*, *aśamana*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *parak[r]amami*, *karoni*, *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*.

3. sing. *parakramati*, *garahati*, [*da*]*khati*, *anuneti*, *bhoti* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahamti*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *kṣhaṇati*, *anunija(jha)peti*, *pujēti*, *a[ra]dhēti*, *nivāṭēti*, *vadhēti*.

3. plur. *anuvāṇamti*, *vrachamti*, *ichhamti*. The Anusvāra is missing in *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati*, *prapūṇati*, *karo[ti]* (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *dīpayami* and *sukhayami* (with indicative termination).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *v[r]acheyañ* (from **vrachhati* = Skt. *vrajati*).
 3. sing. *siya* and *siyati* (= Skt. *syāt*), *paṭipajeyati*, *apakareyati* (from Skt. *apakarōti*), *nivaṭe-yati*¹ (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*; cf. above, p. lxxxii). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.
 3. plur. *avatrapeyu*, *vaseyu*, *śruṇeyu*, *asu* (= Pāli *assu*) and *siyasu*. With the last form cf. the optative passive [*ha*]*mñeyasu* (below, V).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *bhotu*, *anuvatatū*.
 3. plur. *parakramamtu*, *yujamtu*. The Anusvāra is missing in *nik[r]amatu*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradhetu*, *rochetu*, *paṭivedetu*.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (= Skt. *abhavat*).

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. *nikrami*.
 3. plur. *nikramishu*. In *abhuvasu* (VIII, 17) the aorist termination *-su* seems to be affixed to *abhūvan*, the Sanskrit aorist of root *bhū*; cf. Johansson, § 30.

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. *mañishu* (from Skt. *manyatē*), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* (*alochayisu* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā).²

III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect *āha*, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84), the termination of the 3. sing. indicative present is affixed: *ahati* and *hahati*.³

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kasham* ([*ka*]*shami* at Mānsehrā), *likha[p]esami* (while Gīrnār has *likhāpayisam*).
 3. sing. *kashati*, *vaḍhiṣati*, *hapeṣadi*.
 3. plur. *kashanti*, *an[u]vaṭiṣanti*, *vraḥshanti* (from root *vraj*), *anusaṣiṣanti* (from *anu-ṣās*), *aṇapeṣanti*, *pra[va]dh[e]ṣanti* (*pavaḍhayiṣanti* at Mānsehrā).

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *prasavati* (= *prasāvvyatē*).
 3. plur. indicative [*a*]*nuvidhiyamti* (= *anuvidhiyanti*), *hamñamti* [*i*] (= *hanyanti*).
 3. plur. optative [*ha*]*mñeyasu* (XIII, 8) with aorist termination; cf. *siyasu* (= Skt. *syuh*, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.
 3. sing. imperative *anuv[*dh*]yatu*.
 3. plur. aorist [*arabhi*]*yis[u]* (from Skt. *ālabhyatē*).
 3. plur. future *anuvidhiyisam* [*ti*] (from Skt. *anuvidhiyatē*), *arabhiṣanti* (for **ālabhyishyanti* from Skt. *ālabhyatē*).⁴

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. plur. optative *suśrusheyu*.
 3. sing. imperative *suśrushatu*.

¹ Mānsehrā reads *nivaṭeya*.

² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

³ Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11.

⁴ Cf. *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, and *ārabhisare* at Gīrnār, where *bh* is also a defective spelling for *bh*

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *sa[n]tam* (*satan*).

Root *kṛi*: *karamtam* (*karatan*).

Middle.

Root *ji*: *[vi]jinamana*; see above, p. lxxxix and n. 1.

Root *kṛi*: *ka[ra]mina*.

Root *as*: *asamana*.

Other participles in *-mina* or *-mīna* are found in the Māgadha edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8), *muṭa* (= *mṛita*), *kiṭa*, *[kr]i[ta]*, and *kiṭra* (= *kṛita*), *vapaṭa*, *viyapaṭa*, and *viyapaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*, V, 13), *vistrīṭa* (= *vistrīṭa*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *niṣita* (= **niṣṛita*), *nipista* (= Ancient Persian *nipishta*; see above, p. xlii), *nipesita*, *nipesapita*, *likhita*, *likhapitu(ta)*, *khanapita*, *harapita*, *aropita*, *anapita*, *bhuta* (i. e. *bhūta*), *atikerata* (= *atikerānta*), *[la]pita*, *nivuta* (= *nirvṛita*), *vuta* (= *upta*), *samata* (= *samāpta*), *saṁkshita* (= *saṁkshipta*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavūḍha* (= *apōḍha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *prasana* (i. e. *prasanna*), *viprahina* (i. e. *°hina*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tarya*: *kshamitaviya*, *pujetaviya*, *viyetav[i]a*, *kaṭava*, *vatava*, *[p]rayuhotava*, *paṭive-detava*.

(b) In *-anīya*: *v[e]danī[ya]*.

(c) In *-ya*: *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*)

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VIII. ABSOLUTE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ara[bhita]*, *paritijitu* (from root *tyaj* with *Samprasāraṇa* of *ya*), *śrutu*, *draśayitu*.

(b) In *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvī*): ¹ *tiṭhiti* (from the Skt. present *tishṭhāti*), *viṇiti* (from the present *vi-jinati*; see above, p. lxxxix and n. 1), *a-locheti*.

(c) In *-ya*: *saṁkhy[a]* (from *saṁ-khyā*).

The dialect of the *Mānsehrā* text is nearly identical with the *Shāhbāzgarhī* one, but contains some more Māgadhisms.² It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at *Mānsehrā* which differ from the corresponding ones at *Shāhbāzgarhī*.

The vowel *e* for *a* in the second syllable of *sayeme* (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal *y*, unless it is a clerical error. For the form *m[um]sa* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel *ri* the *Mānsehrā* version has (1) *a* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, *[ma]ṭe*; (2) *u* in *[pa]r[i]puchha*, *vapaṭa* (= Skt. *vyāpṛita*); (3) *e* in *gehatha* (= *grihastha*);³ (4) *ra* in *viyapraṭa* (V, 24);⁴ (5) *ar* in *kaṭra* (i. e. *kaṭa* = Skt. *kṛita*), *vadhri* (i. e. *varddhi* = Skt. *vṛiddhi*); (6) *ri* in *mrig[e]*, *mrigaviya* (= *mṛigavyā*); (7) *ru* in *vruḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*);⁵ (8) *ur* in *vudhra* (i. e. *vurddha* = Skt. *vṛiddha*). For *ruchha* = Skt. *vṛiksha* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural *k* becomes *y* in *[di]ya[dha]* (XIII, 1). Greek *χ* is represented by *g* in *[A]tiyoge*

¹ Cf. Delbrück's *Altind. Verbum*, § 221; Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 412.

² Cf. Michelson, *AJP*, 30. 285 f.

³ The Prākṛit form *gēha* is used for *griha* also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change is the root *ēdh* = *ridh*; see Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I. 39.

⁴ The spelling (5) *kaṭra* (for *kaṭa*) suggests that (4) *viyapraṭa* is meant for *viyaparta*.

⁵ The spellings (5) *vadhri* and (8) *vudhra* suggest that (7) *vruḍhi* is meant for *vurddhi*.

(II, 6). As at Kālsī, the palatal *ch* has been aspirated in *kechhi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*) and *kichhi* (= **kid* + *chid*). Dentals are lingualized in *duva*[*ḍa*]*śa* (III, 9) = *duva*[*da*]*śa* (IV, 18), *treḍaśa* (V, 21), and after *ṛi* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, [*mā*]*te*, *vapūṭa*, *viyapraṭa*, *vrudhi*. Sanskrit *ṇ* is preserved in *paṇatika* (= *praṇaptika*), but is represented by dental *n* in *ti*[*nī*] (= *trīṇī*). In *aṇaṇiyam* (VI, 31) the first *ṇ* is due to assimilation. The *t* for *dh* in *śuti* (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The *bh* of the root *bhū* has become *h* in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, [*hu*]*veyu*, *husu*, *kuta-pruve* (twice), but not in *bhuta-pruva* (V, 21) and in the substantive *bhuta* (i. e. *bhūta*). The semivowel *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, while initial *y* is lost in *e*, *aṁ* (= *yat*), [*a*]*diśe* (twice), *atra* (twice = *yatra*), *atha* (thrice = *yathā*). In *supadarave* (V, 21) we seem to have *r* for *l* and *v* for *y*; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvii, n. 2. The first *ś* of *śa*[*śa*]*yike* (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists *husu*, [*arab*]*isu*, and [*alo*]*chay*[*i*]*su*, dental *s* has taken the place of *sh*. In *aa* (VI, 26) = *aha* (i. e. *āha*) and *aam* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28), *h* is elided between vowels.

Final *as* becomes *o* only in *tato*, *mukhato* (VI, 28), *yaśo*, *Devanapriyo* (VII, 32), *niśito* (V, 25), but generally *e*; see *he*[*tute*], *vi*[*yaṁja*]*nate*, *natare* (= Skt. *naptārah*), *rajine* (= *rājñah*), *ra*[*jane*] (= *rājānah*), *Priyadraśine* (gen. sing.), *Devanapriye*, &c. In *vini*[*k*]*ramaṇi* (XIII, 5) the *-e* is replaced by *-i*.

The hiatus remains in *dhramayuta-apalibodhaye* (V, 23). *a + o* becomes *e* in *usaṭen-eva* (X, 11), and *ā + u* becomes *o* in *praj-opadaye* (IX, 2).

As at Shāhbāzgarhi, the letter *r* is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus *nirathriya* (IX, 3) is meant for *nirarthiya*, *vadhrite* and *vadhrayisati* (IV, 15) for *vardhite* and *vardhayisati*. Similarly *kaṭra* (= Skt. *kṛita*, V, 24) stands for *karṭa*,¹ *vadhri* (= *vṛiddhi*) for *varddhi*, *vudhra* (= *vṛiddha*) for *vurddha*. Anusvāra is omitted before consonants in *ata* (II, 5), *aparata* (V, 22), *samata* (II, 6), [*A*]*tiyoge*, *Adha*, *a*[*na*]*talienya*, *anarabhe*, *anubadha*, *apa-bha*[*ḍata*], [*aba*]*ka*, *asapa*[*f*]*ipati*, *Gadharana*, *-chhade*, *para*[*kra*]*mate* (3. plur.), *satirana* (VI, 30), *hache* (for *haṁche*).

ksh becomes *chh* in *chhanati* and *ruchhani*.

jñ becomes *n* in *kiṭanata* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), but *jin* in *rajina* (= *rājñā*) and *rajine* (= *rājñah*).

ny becomes *ṇ* in *puna*, *punaṁ*, *apu*[*ne*].

tm becomes *tv* in *atva* (= Skt. *ātman*) Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts

ty becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, [*eka*]*tiya*.

tr remains in *treḍaśa*, but becomes *t* in *ti*[*nī*] (= Skt. *trīṇī*), and *d* in *tenada* and *yada*.²

ḍr becomes *d* in *khuda* and *khudakena*.

ḍv becomes *duv* in *duva*[*ḍa*]*śa* and *duva*[*ḍa*]*śa*.

ḍhy becomes *jh* in *istrija*(*jha*)*ksha*.

ny becomes *n*, as at Kālsī, in *ana*[*tra*] (X, 11); *ṇ* in *ane*, *aṇatra* (X, 9), *aṇamanasa*, *maṇati*, *maṇ*[*ishu*].

pr remains in *prap*[*o*]*tra*, but becomes *p* in *paṇatika*, *pavaḍhayisanti*, *avipahin*[*e*], *paṭibhogaye*, *paṭiveśiyena*.

br becomes *b* in *bamaṇa* (IV, 15) = *bramaṇa* (passim).

bhy remains in *-ibhyeshu*, but becomes *bhiy* in [*ara*]*bh*[*iyanti*], and *bh* in [*arab*]*isu* (aorist passive).

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhata*(*tu*)*na* (V, 24) = *bhratuna* (twice).

my remains in *samya*.

rg becomes *g* in *ma*[*geshu*].

rt becomes *t* in *anuvāṭatu* and *kiṭi* (= Skt. *kīrti*).

rth remains in *nirathriya* (i. e. *nirarthiya*).

rdh remains in *vadhrite* (i. e. *vardhite*, IV, 15) and *vadhrayisati* (i. e. *vardha*°), but becomes *dh* in *vadhite* (IV, 12).

ly becomes *y* in *kayana* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

vy becomes *v* in *vapūṭa*; *viiy* in *viyapraṭa*, *vi*[*yaṁja*]*nate*, *mrigaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *pra*[*johi*]*taviye*, *vataviye*, *paṭivedetaviye*.

vr becomes *v* in [*p*]*rava*[*ji*]*tani*.

st becomes *th* in *saṁtha*[*v*]*e*.

¹ In *viyapraṭa* (i. e. *viyaparṭa* = Skt. *vyāpṛita*) the *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxv, n. 4.

sth becomes *th* in *chira-ṭhitika*.

sr becomes *s* in *pa[r]isave*.

Masculines in *-a*: abl. sing. *anubadha*; dat. plur. *mahamatrehi*.

Feminines in *-ā*: acc. sing. *puja[m]*; loc. sing. *prajopadaye*; nom. plur. *janika*.¹

Masculines in *-i*: loc. plur. *[Na]bhapa[m]tishu*.

Masculines in *-ri*: nom. plur. *natare*.

Present participle in *-at*.—The gen. sing. *aśatasa* follows the *a*-declension.

Masculines and neuters in *-an*: instr. sing. *rajina*; dat. sing. *krama[n]e* (i. e. *karmaṇe*); gen. sing. *rajine*; nom. plur. *ra[jane]*.

Masculines in *-in*: gen. sing. *Priyadraśine*.

Pronoun of the first person: nom. sing. *aam* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28); instr. sing. *me* (III, 9).

Base *ta*.—The nom. sing. masc. *se* is used also as nom. and acc. sing. neut.; dat. plur. *tehi* (XII, 7); gen. plur. *ta[nam]* (XIII, 5).

Base *ṛta*: nom. sing. masc. *[eṣa]* (XIII, 6); gen. sing. *e[tā]sa*; nom. plur. neut. *[e]tani*.

Demonstrative *idam*: nom. sing. neut. *iya* (VIII, 35); gen. sing. *imasa*; nom. plur. masc. *ime*; nom. sing. fem. *iyam*; dat. sing. fem. *imaye*.

Indefinite pronoun: nom. sing. masc. *kechhi*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*.

Base *itara*: nom. sing. neut. *[i]tare*.

Numerals: *[e]k[e]* (nom. sing. masc.), *du[v]e*, *tī[ni]*, *duva[da]śa* and *duva[dā]śa*, *treḍaśa*.

Present indicative: 3. plur. *yaṃti* (from root *i* or *yā*).—Subjunctive: 1. plur. *dipayama*; 3. plur. middle: *para[kra]mate*.—Optative: 1. sing. *ye[ham]* and 3. plur. *[hu]veyu*, as in the Kālsī version, which cf. also for the aorist *husu* (VIII, 34) and the perfect *aha* (i. e. *āha*).

Passive: 3. plur. indicative *[ara]bh[iyaṃti]* (*alabhi[yaṃ]ti* at Kālsī); 3. plur. aorist *[arabh]isu* (*ārabhisu* at Gīrnār).

Present participle: *aśatasa* (gen. sing.) from root *aś*.

Past passive participle: *[anapayit]e* (III, 9),² *ropapita* (*ropāpita* at Gīrnār).

Future passive participle: *pra[johi]taviye*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Absolutive in *-ti*: *draśeti*.

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CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is converted to *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= Skt. *madhyama*) and *likhiyis[āmi*]*. It becomes *u* after a labial in *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchāvucha*, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in *udupāna* (= *udapāna*).

The *a* in the second syllable of *puṭhavi*, which corresponds to Skt. *i*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 115. In *su* = Skt. *svid*, *i* has become *u* through the influence of the preceding *v*. For *e* = *i* and *i* in *heta* (= **itra*) and *edisa*, *hedisa* (= Skt. *idṛiśa*), see above, p. lxx.

Skt. *u* is represented by *ā* in *pana* (= *panah*). In *pulisa* (= *purusha*) the *i* of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. *u*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 124. For the *i* in the second syllable of *munisa* (= Skt. *manushya*), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*), Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

¹ This is a diminutive of *jani*, 'a wife', which occurs at Kālsī.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

Skt. *ri* becomes (1) *a* in *ana[n]a* (= *anṛiṇa*), *ānaṁna*, *ānaniya*, and *ānaneya*, *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]tū and *kaṭu* (= *kṛitvā*), *dakhatha*, *dakhāmi*, [*bha*]ṭaka, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in *edisā* and *hedisā*, *tādisā*, *ādisā* (= *yādrisā*), *dhiti*, *p[i]t[i]su*, *bhāt[i]nam*, *m[ā]t[i]*- (= *mātri*-, Dhau. IV, 4), *mige*, [*miga*]viy[ā]; (3) *u* in *pitu*- (= *pitri*-, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [*a*]nā[v]uti [= *anāvṛitti*], *p[al]i*[*puchh*]ā, *puṭhavi* (= *prithivī*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *e* in *dekhata*; (5) *ra* in *drakhati* (Jau. I, 2). The syllable *vri* is represented by *lu* in *lukha* (= *vṛiksha*).

The diphthong *ai* becomes *e* in *nīche* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchāiḥ*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opaga* and *-[o]paya*, *osadhāni*, *mokhya* and *mokhiya*, *papotā*, *pālalokika*.

Short *a*, *i*, *u* are lengthened in *atiyāyike* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *abhikā[la]*, *chi[la]-ṭhitikā*, [*v*]i[vāha], *anāvūtiya* (Dhau. Sep.) = [*a*]nā[v]uti[*ya*] (Jau. Sep.), *tūlanā[ya]* and *at[ū][a]nā* (for which Jau. Sep. reads *t[ul]āya* and *[atulanā]*), *niṭhūliyena*, *y[ū]jeyū* and *yūjevū* (also *yujeyū* and *yujevū*), *bahūhi*, *bahūsu*. Final *a*, *i*, *u* may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *ālā[dha]yisā[th]ā*, *ākā* (passim) = *ā[ha]* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *chā*, *kechā*, *paṭipādayemā ti*, *ma[m]ā ti*, *vā* (twice = Skt. *ēva*), *savenā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3), *hosāmī*, *aphesū ti*, *ālādhayamti ti*, [*ka*]tū (Jau. Sep.) = *kaṭu* (Dhau. Sep.), *palakama[n]i[ū]*, *yujamti*, *s[ā]dh[ū] ti*. Final *a*, *i*, *u*, which stand for original *am*, *is*, *ur*, are treated in the same way; see *[aph]ākā ti*, *anusathī ti*, *āl[adh]i*, [*n*]ijhatī, *līpī*, *v[a]dhī*, *sudhī*, *alochayisū*, *ālādhayey[ū]* and *ālādhayevū*, *chaley[ū]* *ti* and *chalevū*, *nikhamāvū*, *pāpunevū iti*, *yujeyū ti* and *yujevū ti*, *y[ū]jeyū ti* and *yūjevū ti*, *lahey[ū]*, [*va*]sevū *ti*, *huvevū ti* and *hveyū ti*.

The three derivatives *gamu[k]a*, *nagalaka*, and *vachanik[a]* correspond to Skt. *gāmuka*, *nāgaraka*, and *vāchanika*. The *ā* of *mahā*- is shortened in *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *atha* and *athā* (= Skt. *yathā*), *ada* and *adā* (= *yadā*), *tatha* and *tathā*, *pita* and *pitā*, *lāja* and *lājā*, *va* and *vā*, *kam[mana]* and *kamana* (= *karmaṇā*), [*a*]nā[v]uti[*ya*] and *anāvūtiya*, and the nominatives singular feminine *achala*, *ichha*, *likhit[a]*, *sotaviya*. Long *i* is shortened in *nitiyam* (thrice) = *nī[ti]yam* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. *nati* (Dhau. IV, 5) = *nat[i]* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (passim) = *iti* (thrice) and *kiṁti*, *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*). In *hveyū* (Jau. Sep.) = *huveyu* (Kālsī and Mānsehrā), the vowel *u* seems to be elided.

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II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

In the separate edicts at Jaugaḍa the guttural *k* is softened in *palalogam*, *hidalog[am]*, *hidalogika*, while Dhau. reads *palaloka[m]*, *hidaloika*, *hidalogika*.¹ *k* is represented by *y* in [*ni*]laṭhi[*ya*mi] (Dhau. IX, 2) and *supadālaye* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 3); *g* by *y* in *-[o]paya* (Dhau. VIII, 3) = *-opaga* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 3). In *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkaśa*, Dhau. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first *kh* is perhaps due to the influence of the second *kh*, which is a defective spelling of *kkh*, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group *rk*.² Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Am̐tiyoka*.

The palatal *ch* is aspirated in [*k*]e[*chha*] (Dhau. Sep. I, 7) = *kechā* (Jau. Sep. I, 4), *kiṁchhi* and *kichhi*. It is softened in [*a*]jalā (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) = *achala* (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while *j* is hardened in *Kambocha* and *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajē*). The palatal nasal *ñ* occurs only in *paṭimñā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6), instead of which the Jaugaḍa text reads *paṭimnā*. It is replaced by dental *n* also in *āna-payāmi*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[ā]ti*, *nātisū*.

As at Kālsī, lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n*. But *ṇ* is used in four stray instances: [*kha*]nas[*i*] (Dhau. Sep. II, 10), *ñijhap[e]ta[vi]ye* (Jau. Sep. I, 1), *pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]* (Jau. Sep. II, 4), and *savenā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are lingualized after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (also *praṭi* in *praṭivedayamti*, Jau. VI, 2), and after *ri* in *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]tū and *kaṭu*, *puṭhaviyam*, [*bha*]ṭaka, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vuḍha*. *t* becomes *ch* in [*ch*]i[*th*]itū. In the Jaugaḍa separate edicts, *d* is hardened in the following forms of the root *pad*: *paṭipātayeham*, [*pa*]ṭipātayem[*a*], *vipaṭipātayamtaṁ*, [*sam*]paṭipā[*ta*]yam[*taṁ*], *samṭipā[*ta*]yam[*av*]e*, while Dhau. reads [*pa*]ṭi[*pāday*]eham, &c. For [*idha*] (Dhau. IV, 8) and *hida* (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle *nam* (in *huvaṁti nam*, Dhau. and Jau. VIII, 1)

¹ Both Dhau. and Jau. have *sava-loka-hita* and *pālalokika*.

² For other instances of the aspiration of initial *k* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 206.

is derived by native grammarians from Skt. *nanu*; but in Pischel's opinion (*Grammatik*, § 150) it goes back to Skt. *nūnam*, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial *p* is aspirated in *aphal[usa]m* (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prākṛit *pharusa* (= Skt. *parusha*); see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 208. *bh* becomes *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *lahey[ū]* and *lahevu*, *hoti*, *hotp*, *a[h]o*, *huvaṃti*, *[h]uveyā*, *huvevu*, and in the participle *hūta*, while *bhūta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* becomes *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*), and *h* in the optatives *ālabheham*, *yeham*, *[pa]ti[pāday]eham* and *paṭipātayeḥam*. It is replaced by *v* before *u* and *ū* at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugaḍa; see *-āvutike*, *asvasevu*, *ālādhayevū*, *chalevū*, *[p]ā[p]unevu* and *pāpunevū*, *yujevū* and *yūjevū*, *lahevu*, *[va]sevū*, *huvevu* and *huvevū*, instead of which Jaugaḍa reads *-āy[ut]ike*, &c. But both Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *nikhamāvū* (III, 2). *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, but is dropped at the beginning of *e*, *ena*, *aṃ* (= Skt. *yat*), *ata* (= *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= *yathā*), *adā* and *ada* (= *yadā*), *asa* (= *yasya*), *ā* (= *yā*), *āni*, *ādise*, *āva* (= *yāvat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *apa-viy[a]t[ā]*, *palitijit[u]*, *bhaṭi* (= *bhṛitya*). The syllables *aya* and *ayi* are contracted to *e* in *tedasa* (= **trayadaśa*), *Ujeni* (= *Ujjayinī*), *nijhap[e]ta[vi]je*, *paṭivedetaviye*.

As at Kālsī, *r* becomes *l* throughout.

v is prefixed to *u* in *v[u]te* (= *uktam*). The syllable *va* becomes *u* in *t[ul]āya* and *[atulanā]*; *vā* becomes *ū* in *[ka]tū* (= *kṛitvā*), and *u* in *kaṭu*, *anusāsitu*, and other absolutes. The syllables *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *olodhana*, *viyovadita[viye]**, *-viiyohālaka*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *a[h]o*, and *hosati* (= *bhavishyati*).

The two sibilants *ś* and *sh* are replaced by *s* throughout. Skt. *ś* is represented by *ch* in *chakiye* and *chaghatha*, from root *chak* (= *śak*).

h is prefixed in *hida*, *heta*, *hedisa*, *hevam*.

As in other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in *samiyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*), *p[a]lisā* (= *parishat*), *anusathī*, *ālādhayevū*, &c. (see above, p. c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened; see *[siya]* and *siyā* (= *syāt*), *da[khrya]* and *ḍakh[e]yā*, *anubandh[a]* (= *anubandhāt*, Dhau. V, 6), and the nom. plur. masc. *anuvigina*, &c. (below, p. civ). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *Ujenite*, *kute*, *T[a]kha[s]ilāte*, *duvālate*, *mukhate*, *viyaṃjanate*, *hetute*, the genitives singular *atāne*, *lājine*, *Piyadasine*, the nom. plur. *lājāne*, *da[v]iye*, *[bhuy]e*, *ne*, *jane*, &c. It becomes *o* only in *seto*, *[ya]so*, and *man[o]-*; *a* in *[saṃpa]ṭipāda* (?), *sa*, *esa*; ¹ *ā* in *e[sā]*. Final *ar* becomes *e* in *anite* = Prākṛit and Pāli *anto* (Skt. *antar*), and *a* in *pana* (= *punar*).

Final *a* and *u* are nasalized in *mamaṃ* (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = *mama* (passim) and *sahasesevū* (Dhau.) = *sahasesu* (Jau.), while the Anusvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in *hidaloḥa*, *bahuka*, *-vachanik[a]*, *-a[n]tik[a]*, &c. (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. *Samibodh[i]* and *hīni*, *aphāka* (= Skt. *asmākaṃ*) and *t[u]phāk[a]*. The Anusvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in *kiṭi*, *vadhī*, *sudhī*, *kaṭaviyatalā*, *k[an]matalā*, *duvālā*, *[aph]ākā ti*; cf. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in *-e*; see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened; see the genitives plural *bhaginīnaṃ*, *gulīnaṃ*, *bhāt[i]naṃ*, *[te]sa[n]*, *pānānaṃ*, &c., the acc. sing. fem. *yātāṃ*, *susūsāṃ*, and the loc. sing. fem. *[pa]lisāy[an]* (Jau. VI, 4), *Samāpāyaṃ*, *Tosalīyaṃ*, *nītiyaṃ*, *puṭhaviyaṃ*. The Anusvāra is omitted in *palisāyā* (Dhau. VI, 3); in *tes[a]* and *saṃtilanāya* the long *ā* is shortened at the same time.²

III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *[ta]d[o]payā*, and final *m* in *hedisam-eva*. In *hemeva* (= Skt. *ēvam-eva*) the syllable *va* of *ēvam* is dropped.³ The final *m* is doubled in *hevaṃmeva* and *sukhaṃmeva*. Hiatus is prevented by *m* in *bhaṭi[m-ayesu]*.

Hiatus remains in *svag[a]-ālādhi* (Jau. Sep.), *mahā-apāye* (Dhau. Sep.) = *mahāpāy[e]* (Jau.

¹ The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuters.

² But *palisāyā* and *saṃtilanāya* may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.

³ Cf. *emeva* = Skt. *ēvam-eva*, Hēmachandra, I, 271, and Jacobi, ZDMG, 47. 579.

Sep.), *duāhale* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), *pasu-opagāni* (Dhau. and Jau.), *man[o]-atileke* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.). As a rule, *a* + *ā* are contracted into *ā*; see *-vasābhisita*, *pānālabhe*, &c. But the *ā* is shortened before a group of consonants; see *atata* (= Skt. *yatra yatra*), *āpalamtā* (= **āpa-rāntāk*), [*e*][*na*]*tā* (= *tēnātra*), *nathi* (= *nāsti*), *badhana*[*n*]*tik*[*a*] (= *bandhanāntikam*), *sūpaṭhāye*. Final *a* preceding *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is dropped in *bābha*[*n*]-*ibhi*[*yes*]*u*, *chu* (= *cha* + *u*), [*pa*]*j-upadāye*, *ch-eva*, [*ta*]*t-esa*, *munis-opagāni*. In *eve* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel *am* of *evam* is treated in the same manner before *e* (= *yah*). *a* is elided after *e* in [*e*]*y*[*am*] for *e* + *ayam* (= Skt. *yō-yam*).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *khy*, *tr*, *tv*, *ny*, *pr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv* (which becomes *sv*), *sm*, *sy*, *sv*. Moreover the group *rs* is preserved at Jaugaḍa in *drasayitu* (IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (I, 3), which are meant for *darsayitu* and *Piyadarsine*; cf. above, p. lxxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *atane* (= *ātmanah*), *atānam*, *atiyāyike* (= *ātyayikam*), *anusathi* (= *anustāsti*), *anusathe*, [*ayesu*] (= *āryēshu*), *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa*[*n*]*yā*, [*a*]*svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *āladhi* (= **ārāddhi*), *tadatvāye*, *p*[*a*]*lakamāmi*, *palakamena*, *maga* (= *mārga*), *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *Lathika*, *sasvatam*, *isāya* (= *īrshyāyā*), *kifi* (= *kīrtim*), *puluva* (= *pūrva*).¹ But *ā* remains in *ānapayāmi*, *ā*[*na*]*p*[*ay*]*is*[*a*]*ti*, *mahāmāta* (passim), *sāsvatam* (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In *timni* (= *trīṇi*) the *i* is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels *i* and *u* in *asvāsa*[*n*]*yā*, *da*[*v*]*īye*, and [*bhu*]*y**e* suggest that these three words are meant for *asvāsanīyā*, *davīyye*, and *bhuyye*; cf. above, p. lxxix.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in *atikanam*, *apa-bh*[*am*]*ḍatā*, *kilamte*, *Devānampiya*, *Paṇḍiyā*, *bambhana*, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in *bābhana*. In *chhāmāda* (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 11) = *chhāmāda* (passim), the *am* is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anusvāra is omitted after short vowels in *kichhi* (cf. above, p. lx), *badhana* (= Skt. *bandhana*), *vihisā*; after *e* in *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2); and before *y* in *anusayānam*, *sayama*, *sayuta* (= *saṃyukta*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before or after labials in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *duvāla*, *puluva*, *suṇāmika*, *pāpunāti*; *e* in *ānaneyam* (Jau. Sep.) = *ānanīyam* (Dhau.); and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhau and Jaugaḍa will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *dr*, *dhr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

k becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukha*[*m*] and *dukhīyati*.

kt becomes *t* in *-āy*[*ut*]*ike*, *-āvutike*, &c.

ky becomes *kiy* in *sakiye* and *chakiye*.

kl becomes *kil* in *kilamte*, *k*[*i*]*lamathena*, *palikilesa*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khana*, *khamitave*, *khamisati*, [*kh*]*ud*[*am*], *khudakena*, *T*[*a*]*kha*[*s*]*ilāte*, *dakhāmi*, &c.,² *nakhatena*, *mokhāye*, *lukhāni*.

ksh becomes *khin* in *s*[*a*]*khina* (= Skt. *ślakshṇa*).

kshy becomes *gh* in *chaghatha*.

khy remains in *mokhya* (Dhau. Sep.), but becomes *khiy* in *mokhiya* (Jau. Sep.).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in [*a*]*gi*, but *gin* in *anuvigina*.

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājina*, *lājine*; *nñ* in *paṭimñā* (Dhau. Sep.); *nin* or *n* in *paṭininā* (Jau. Sep.), *ānapayāmi*, *ā*[*na*]*p*[*ay*]*is*[*a*]*ti*, *ānāp*[*ay*]*i*[*ta*], *nātisu*.

jj becomes *j* in the passive forms *yujeyū* and *y*[*ū*]*jeyū*.

ḍy becomes *ḍiy* in *Paṇḍiyā*.

ny becomes *nin* in *hilamna* and *ānamne*, but *niy* in *ānanīyam*, and *ney* in *ānaneyam*.

tp becomes *p* in [*pa*]*jupadāye*.

¹ *puluva* presupposes an intermediate form **pūrva*, in which the *ū* of *pūrva* was shortened before the group *rv*. The same applies to *atiyāyike*. Cf. above, p. lxxiv, n. 1.

² See above, p. lxxiv and n. 5.

- tm* becomes *t* in *atane* and *atānam*.
ty becomes *tiy* in *atiyāyike*, *apatiye*, *ekatiyā*.
tr remains in *s[a]vatra* (Jau. II, 4), but becomes *t* in *s[a]vata* (passim), *tiṇni*, &c.
tv remains in *tadatvāye*.
ts becomes *s* in *usaṭena* and *chikisā*.
tsth becomes *th* in *uṭhāna*, but *th* in *uthāy[ā]*; cf. above, p. lxxxviii.
dg becomes *g* in *uga[chha](chhe)*.
dy becomes *y* in *uyānasi*; *j* in *aja*, *[pa]ṭipa[ja]ti*, *paṭipajeyā*, *saṃpaṭipajati*, *sa[ni]paṭi-pajam[ā]n[e]*.
dv becomes *v* in *anuvigina*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *duvāla*.
dhy becomes *jh* in *[n]ijhati*, *nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*, *majham*, *majhime[na]*.
ny remains in *[anye]* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), but becomes *nn* in *aṃna* (passim) and *mainn[ate]*.
pt becomes *t* in *asamati*, *nat[ā]* and *nati* (= Skt. *naptārah*), *[n]ijhati*.
pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāti*, &c.
pr remains in *praṭivedayaṃtu* (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes *p* everywhere else.
bhy becomes *bhiy* in *āla[m]bhiyaṃti*, *ālabhiyisu*, *āla[bh]ijisaṃti*, *-ibhi[yes]u*.
my remains (with the nasal doubled) in *saṃmyā*.
rk becomes *kh* in *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkāṣa*).
rg becomes *g* in *agesu*, *vaga*, *svaga*.
rt becomes *t* in *[anu]vatatu* and *anuvatisaṃti*; *ṭ* in *vaṭitaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *kiṭi*.
rth becomes *th* in *atha* (Jau. Sep. II, 2, 12, 14); *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim) and *[nilaṭhi]yam*.
rdh becomes *dh* in *vaḍhite*, *vaḍhayis[a]ti*, *pavaḍhayisaṃti*.
rbh becomes *bh* in *gabdhāgālaṣi*.
rm becomes *mm* or *m* in *a[nu]chātummāsaṃ*, *kaṃma-* (= Skt. *karman*) and *kaṃana* (= *kar-maṇā*), *dhaṃma*.
ry becomes *y* in *[ayesu]*, but *liy* in *ānaṃtaliyam*, *niṭhūliyena*, *mādhuliyāye*.
rv becomes *v* in *pavatasī* and *sava*, but *luv* in *puluva*.
rs becomes *s* in *dasana* and *Piyadasī*, but *rs* in *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*, Jau. IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (i. e. *°darsine*, Jau. I, 3).
rsh becomes *s* in *vasa*.
rshy becomes *s* in *iśāya*.
lp becomes *p* in *apa* and *-kaṃam*.
ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.
vy remains in *saṃchalitaviye* (Jau. Sep. I, 7), but becomes *y* in *[ichhi]taye* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), and *vīy* in *saṃchalitaviy[e]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 13), *ichhitaviye*, and other gerundives, *divi[y]āni*, *[miga]vīy[ā]*, *vīyamjanate*, *vīyāpaṭā*, *-vīyohālaka*.
vr becomes *v* in *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajē*).
sch becomes *chh* in *pachhā*.
sl becomes *s* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślakṣhṇa*).
śv becomes *sv* in *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa[n]iṣyā*, *[a]svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *sāsvataṃ* and *sasvataṃ*, but *s* in *seto*.
shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭam* and *dukala*.
shkr becomes *kh* in *nikhamāvū*, *[n]ikhami*, *[n]i[kha]m[i]s[u]*, *nikhamisaṃti*, *nikhāmayisāmi*.
shtr becomes *th* in *Laṭhika*.
shth becomes *th* in *[ch]i[th]itu*, *niṭhūliyena*, *se[the]*; *th* in *adhithāna*.
shp becomes *ph* in *niphati*.
shm becomes *ph* in *tuphe*, &c.
sky becomes *s* in *tisa*, *munisa*, *hosati*, *esatha* (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but *k* in *ehatha* (Dhau. Sep.); cf. *Māhārāṣṭrī ehi* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 529, and *ehiti* in Pāli.
As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *[a]gi-kāmdhāni*.
st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *anusathi*, *anusathe*, *vithaṭena*, *saṃthuta*, *hathini*; *th* in *aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).
str becomes *th* in *ithi*.
sth becomes *th* in *chila-ṭhitikā*.
sm remains in *akasmā*, but becomes *ph* in *aphe*, &c., and *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

sy remains in [āla]s[y]e[na] (Jau. Sep. I, 6), but becomes *siy* in *ālasiyena* (Dhau. Sep. I, 11), *siyā* and [siya] (= Skt. *syāt*), and *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svaga*, but becomes *suv* in *svāmike[na]*.

hm becomes *m̐bh* in *bāmbhana*. In *bābhana* the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long *ā* of Skt. *brāhmaṇa* is preserved.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES in *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>osadhāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhaṁmaṁ</i> , &c.; neut. <i>maṁgalaṁ</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>kaṁdhāni</i> , y[u]t[ān]i; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c.
Instr. <i>putena</i> , &c.	<i>jāte[h]i</i> .
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmātehi</i> , <i>samanehi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubamdh[a]</i> , <i>pachhā</i> .	
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.	<i>pānānaṁ</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>aṭhasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* seems to be dropped in [saṁpa]tīpāda (Dhau. Sep. I, 14). The termination is *-o* instead of *-e* in the colophon of Dhau: *seto* (Text, p. 91).

Nom. sing. neut.—The termination is *-am* in *jīvaṁ* (Dhau. and Jau. I, 1) and *duvālaṁ* (Jau. Sep. I, 2); *-a* in *-a[m]tik[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 5), *duvāl[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 3; Jau. Sep. II, 2), *mata* (four times), *v[a]ṭṭaviya* (Jau. Sep. I, 7); *-ā* in *kaṭaviyatalā* (Jau. IX, 6), *k[am]matalā* (Jau. VI, 5), *duvālā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *hidāloka* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *bahuka* (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and *-vachanik[a]* (Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in *ānaṁne* (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anuvigina* (Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5), *āya[ta]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2), *nagalaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 10), *ma[hā]māta* (Dhau. Sep. I, 1), *vataviya* (Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1), *-viyohālaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 1).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *lopāpitā* and *hālāpitā* (Dhau. II, sections B and C; Jau. II, 4). As at Kālsi and Mānsehrā, the two Sanskrit masculines *vriksha* and *prāṇa* are used as neuters: *lukhāni* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 4) and *pānāni* (I, 4).

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. <i>pajā</i> , &c.
Acc. sing. <i>yātāṁ</i> , <i>susūsāṁ</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>iśāya</i> , t[ul]āya, tūlanā[ya].
Loc. sing. <i>Samāpāyaṁ</i> , <i>saṁtīlanāya</i> , <i>pajāye</i> , [pa]jupādāye.

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *achala*, *ichha*, *likhi[a]*, *sotaviya*.

II. BASES IN *-i*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*.

Nom. and. acc. plur. neut. <i>timni</i> .
Loc. plur. <i>nātisu</i> .

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Nom. sing. <i>anusathi</i> , <i>āladhi</i> , <i>lipi</i> , &c.
Acc. sing. <i>Sambodh[i]</i> , <i>hīni</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>anusathiyā</i> , <i>anāvūtiya</i> .

Dat. sing. *anus[ath]iy[e]*, [*va*]dhiye.

Abl. sing. *niphatiy[ā]*.

Loc. sing. *Tosaliyam, nitiyam, puṭhaviyam, ā[ya]tiye*.

Nom. plur. *ihī*.¹

Gen. plur. *bhaginānam*.

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *anusathī*, *āl[adh]ī*, [*n*]ijhatī, *lipī*, *v[a]dhi* (Dhau. IV, section I), *sudhī* (Dhau. VII, section E).

Acc. sing.—The termination is *-ī* in *kiṭī*, *vadhī* (Dhau. IV, J), *sudhī* (Dhau. and Jau. VII, B).

III. BASES IN -u.

Nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sādhu*, *sādh[ū]*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahūni*.

Instr. plur. *bahūhi*.

Gen. plur. *gulūnam*.

Loc. plur. *bahūsu*.

IV. MASCULINES IN -ri.

Nom. Sing. *pitā*, *pita* (Jau. Sep. II, 10).

Gen. plur. *bhāt[ī]nam*.

Loc. plur. *p[ī]ṭ[ī]su*.

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension: [*p*]itina. *bhātina*, likewise the nom. plur. *nat[ī]*, *nati*; cf. Prakṛit and Pāli *aggī* (nom. plur. masc.).

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. *saṁtam*, *kalaṁtam*,² *vipaṭipātayaṁtam*, [*saṁpaṭipā*]ta[*yaṁ*]tam.

The base *mahat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *mahanīte*.

(2) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *lājā*, *lāja* (Dhau. Sep. II, 4).

Acc. masc. *atānam*; neut. *nāma*.

Instr. *lājinā*, *kaṁ[mana]*, *kamana*.

Dat. *kaṁmane*.

Gen. *atane*, *lājine*.

Plural.

lājāne.

The neuter base *karman* may also follow the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kaṁme*, acc. *kaṁmani*, gen. *kaṁmasa*.

(3) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī*.

Instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

Gen. sing. *Piyadasine*.

Acc. plur. *hathīni* (= [*ha*]thini at Kālsī).

(4) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. [*ya*]so, *da[v]iye*, [*bhu*]ye.

(5) Feminine in -ā.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *p[a]lisā*, loc. [*pa*]lisāy[āṁ] and *palisāyā*.

¹ Cf. *aṭavi*, above, p. xci.

² For these two forms see above, p. lxxvii.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>hakam̐</i> .	<i>maye</i> .
Acc.	<i>aphe</i> , <i>a[ph]eni</i> .
Instr. <i>mamayā</i> , <i>mamāye</i> , <i>mamiyāye</i> , <i>me</i> .	
Abl. <i>mamate</i> .	
Gen. <i>mama</i> , <i>mamā</i> , <i>mamam̐</i> , <i>me</i> .	<i>aphāka</i> , <i>[aph]ākā</i> , <i>ne</i> .
Loc.	<i>[aphesu]</i> , <i>aphesu</i> .

For the forms *hakam̐* and *mamayā* see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. *mamāye* (Dhau. Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads *mamiyāye*, cf. *mamāi*, Hēmachandra, III, 109. The ablative *mamate* for Skt. *mattah* is, like the instrumental *mamayā*, due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. The nom. plur. *maye* is derived from Skt. *vayam*, but influenced by the instr. sing. *mayā*, and the acc. *aphe* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. *asmān*. The acc. *a[ph]eni* (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. *aphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>phe</i> .
Acc. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>tupheni</i> .
Instr. plur. <i>tuphehi</i> .
Gen. plur. <i>t[ɹ]phāk[a]</i> .
Loc. plur. <i>tuphesu</i> .

The base **tushma*, from which the nom. and acc. plur. *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *tumhe*) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base *yushma* and the singular *tvam* (Prākṛit *tumam̐*).¹ With the form *phe* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. *bhe*, Hēmachandra, III, 91. The three forms *tupheni* (Jau. Sep.), *tuphehi*, and *tuphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(3) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>se</i> , <i>te</i> (Dhau. Sep. I, 13).	<i>te</i> , <i>se</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>tam̐</i> , <i>se</i> , <i>sa</i> .	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	<i>[te]sa[n̐]</i> , <i>tes[a]</i> .
Loc. <i>tasi</i> .	

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. *tāni* takes the place of the masc. *te* (Jau. Sep. II, 9).

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>e[sā]</i> (Dhau. VIII, 3); neut. <i>esa</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> ; neut. <i>etāni</i> .
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>etam̐</i> .	
Instr. <i>[e]takena</i> .	
Dat. <i>etāye</i> , <i>etākāye</i> .	
Gen. <i>etasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>etasi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *etā(ta)kā*.

In Dhau. Sep. I, 11 f., the nom. plur. masc. *ete* [*jātā*] corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. *et[sā]ni* [*jātā[n̐]*] in Jau. Sep. I, 6.

¹ With *aphe* and *tuphe* cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. *api* and *topi*.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ay[am]</i> , <i>iyam</i> ; neut. <i>iyam</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>iman</i> .	
Instr. <i>imena</i> .	<i>imehi</i> .
Dat. [<i>i</i>]m[<i>ā</i>]ye.	
Gen. <i>imasa</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyam*.
Dat. sing. fem. *imā[y]e*.

As at Kālsī, the nom. sing. masc. *ayam* occurs only in [*e*]y[*am*] (= Skt. *yo-yam*, Jau. Sep. I, 6).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. *kim*. The acc. sing. neut. *kam* and the acc. plur. neut. *kāni* are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in *akasmā*. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *cha* or *chha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechā*, [*k*][*e*][*chha*]), and with *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (neut. sing. *kinchhi*, *kichhi*); and *kinti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ye, e</i> ; neut. <i>e</i> .	Masc. <i>ye, e</i> ; neut. <i>āni</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>am</i> .	
Instr. <i>ena</i> .	
Gen. <i>asa</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *yā, ā*.

(8) Base *anya*.

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Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. [<i>anye</i>], <i>amne</i> ; neut. <i>amne</i> .	Masc. <i>amne</i> } neut. <i>amnāni</i> .
Acc.	
Dat. <i>amnāye</i> .	
Loc.	<i>amnesu</i> .

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. <i>save</i> .	Masc. <i>save</i> .
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>savam</i> .	
Instr. <i>savena</i> , <i>savenā</i> .	
Gen. <i>savasa</i> .	
Loc.	<i>savesu</i> .

(10) Base **ēkatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekatiyā*.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*; instr. sing. *ekena*, *ek[a]k[e]na*.

Two, three, five.

Nom. masc. *duve* (cf. above, p. lxxx); nom. and acc. neut. *tiñni*; loc. *pañchasu*.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

d[a]sa, duvādasa, tedasa.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satani*; instr. *satehi*.

Thousand.

Loc. plur. *sahasesu, sahasesuṁ* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4).

Literary Prākṛit also uses the termination *-esuṁ* besides *-esu*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 371. *

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sah[a]sāni*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kamp*: *anukāṁpati*.

Root *kram*: *ṣ[a]lakamāmi, nikhamāvū*.

Root *gam*: *gachhema*.

Root *chal*: *chaley[ū]*.

Root *dṛś*: *dakhāmi, drakhati, dekhata*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti, huvaṁti* (sixth class).

Roots *rabh* and *labh*: *ālabheham, lahey[ū]*.

Root *vas*: *[va]sevū*.

Root *vṛt*: *[anu]vatatu*.

Root *śvas*: *[a]svaseyu*.

Root *sthā*: *[ch]ṛ[th]itu* (from **chitṭhati*), *uthāy[ā]* (from **utthāti*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi, aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

Root *i*: *eti*.

The two roots *yā* and *śās* follow the *a*-conjugation: *yeham, anusāsāmi*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*: *pajohitaviye*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *[pa]ṭipa[ja]ti*.

Root *man*: *manṁ[ate]*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class (*pāpunāti, pāpunātha*) and the *a*-conjugation (*pāpuneyu*).

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujeyū* and *yūjevū, yujamti, yujisanti*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi* : *kaleti*, *kalāmi*, *kalamti*, *kalamtām* ; see above, p. lxxxii.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *jñā* : *jānitu* and *jānisamti* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya* : *atikāmayisati*, *nikhāmayisāmi*, *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*), *paṭipādayemā*, *ālādhayaṃtū*, *likhiyis[āmi]**, *alochayisū*, *vaḍhayis[a]ti*, *vedayati*, *sukhayāmi*. The character *ayi* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetaviye*.

(b) With *paya* : *hāpayisat[i]*. In *ānapayāmi* and *nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*¹ the long vowel of the two roots *jñā* and *dhyā* is shortened.²

(c) With *āpaya* : *khānāpitāni*, *likhāpitā*, *hālāpita*.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *lopāpita*.

(e) With *īya* : *dukkhīyati* (denominative of Skt. *duḥkha*).

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *p[a]lakamāmi*, *dakhāmi*, *anusāsāmi*, *ichhāmi*, *kalāmi*, *ānapayāmi*.

3. sing. *anukampati*, *[pa]lakama[t]i*, *drakhati*, *hoti*, *athi* and *aṭhi*, *eti*, *[pa]ṭipā[ja]ti*, *samṭipajati*, *pāpunāti*, *ichhati*, *kal[e]ti*, *vedayati*, *dukkhīyati*. The only middle form is *man[ate]* (Dhau. X, 1).

2. plur. *pāpunātha* (from the strong base of the ninth class).

3. plur. *huvamti*, *ichhamti*, *kalamti* and *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2).

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(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhayāmi* with indicative termination ; cf. above, p. xcv.

3. plur. *nikhamāvū* with optative termination ; cf. Johansson, *Shāhb.*, part 2, p. 89, n. 2.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ālabbheham*, *yeham*, *[pa]ṭi[pāday]eham* and *paṭipātayeham* ; see above, p. lxxxii.

3. sing. *uga[chha](chhe)*, *dakh[e]yā* and *da[kheya]*, *uthāy[ā]* (from the indicative **utthāti* = Pāli *utthāti* ; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 483), *[h]uveyā*, *siyā* and *[siya]* (= Skt. *syāt*). *paṭipajeyā*.

1. plur. *gachhema*, *paṭipādayemā* and *[pa]ṭipātayem[a]*.

3. plur. *chaley[ū]* and *chalevū*, *hveyū*, *hurvevū* and *hurvevū*, *lahey[ū]* and *lahevu*, *[va]sevu*, *[a]svasevu* and *asvasevu*, *pāpunevu*, *[p]ā[p]unevu* and *pāpunevū*, *yu[j]eyu*, *yujeyū*, and *yūjevū*, *ālādhayey[ū]* and *ālādhayevū*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, *[anu]vatatu*.

2. plur. *dakhatha* (with indicative termination), *dekhata*.

3. plur. *[pa]lakamamtu* and *palakama[m]i[ū]*, *yujamtu*, *ālādhayaṃtū*, *paṭivedayamtu*.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *a[h]o*.

¹ Cf. the substantive *nijhati* (= **nidhyapti*) in the rock-edict VI, which is formed from **nidhyapayati*, as Skt. *ājñāpti* and *vijñāpti* from *jñāpayati* = *jñāpayati*.

² But in *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* (Dhau. III, 1), the long vowel of the root *jñā* is preserved.

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. [n]ikhami ; 3. plur. [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u].

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. alochayisū ; see Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. ā[ha] (only Jau. Sep. II, 1) and āhā.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. hosami and hosāmī (= Prākṛit hōssāmī), nikhāmayisāmī, likhiyis[āmi*].

3. sing. khamisati, hosati, kachhati,¹ atikāmayisati, ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti, vadhayis[a]ti.

2. plur. esatha and ehatha, chaghatha (from root chak = Skt. śak),² ālādhayisathā and ālā[dha]-yisa[th]ā.

3. plur. nikhamisanti, anuvatisanti, [a]nus[ā]sisam[i]i, yujisanti, kachhaniti, jānisanti, pravaḍhayisanti.

V. PASSIVE.

3. plur. indicative āla[m]bhiyanti.³

3. plur. optative yujeyū, y[ū]jeyū, yujevū, y[ū]jevū.

3. plur. aorist ālabhiyisu.

3. plur. future āla[bh]iyisanti and āl[am]bhiyisa[m]t[i].

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. imperative susūsatu.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root as : samtani.

Root kri : kalamtani.

Causative of pad : vipaṭipātayamtani and [sam]paṭipā[ta]yam[ta]ni (Jau. Sep.).

Middle.

Root pad : sa[m]paṭipajam[i]n[e], and causative : [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne (Dhau. Sep.).

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta : mata, kaṭa (= Skt. kṛita), viyāpaṭa (= vyāpṛita), vithaṭa (= viṣṭṛita), usaṭa (= utsṛita), [n]isita (= *nisṛita), likhūa, likhāpita, khānāpita, hālāpita, ālopita, lopāpita, ānā-

¹ For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1.

² Cf. sagghasi in the Suttanipāta, verse 834.

³ For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 2.

p[ay]i[ta],¹ *hūta*, *atikanīta*, *kilaṇṭa*, *āya[ta]* (i. e. *āyatta*), *sayuta* (= *saṇṇiyukta*), *v[u]ta* (= *ukta*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*), *anusatha* (from *anu-śās*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *uvigina* (= *udvigina*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-taviya*: *etaviya*, *sotaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya*, *ichhitaviya* and *[ichhi]taya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *chalitaviya*, *saṁchalitaviya* and *°taviya*, *vaṭitaviya*, *viyovadita[viya*]* *paṭivedetaviya*, *ñijhap[e]t a[vi]ya*.

(b) In *-aniya*: *asvāsa[n]iya*.

(c) In *-ya*: *sakiya* and *chakiya*.

VIII. INFINITIVE.

khamitave, *ālādhayitave*, *saṁpaṭipādayitave* and *saṁpaṭipādayit[av]e*.

IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

kaṭu and *[ka]tū* (= Skt. *kṛtvā*), *anusāsitu*, *ālabhitu*, *saṁchalitu*, *jānitu* (from *jānāti*), *palitijit[u]* (from root *tyaj*), *[ch]i[th]itu* (from **chittḥati*), *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*), *hāpayitu*. In *veditu*, which corresponds to Skt. *vēdayitvā*, the causative character *ay* is neglected.

A few words may be inserted here on the small **Bombay-Sōpārā** fragment of the eighth rock-edict (Text, p. 118). The preserved forms agree with the Māgadha dialect of Dhauli and Jaugada. But, as at Gīrnār, the semivowel *r* is not changed to *l*; see *hiranina* (= Skt. *hiraṇya*, l. 7) and *[ra]tī* (l. 9). In the aorist *nikhamiṭha* (l. 5) the lingual is retained, while Kālsī has *nikhamiṭhā* and the pillar-edicts have *huthā* and *vadhithā*, with dental *th*.

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CHAPTER X

GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* is replaced by *i* in the second syllable of *gikitha* (see above, p. lxx), in *majhima* (see above, p. xcix), and perhaps in *min[ā]* (Delhi-Mīraṭh) and *mina* (= Skt. *manāk*?). It becomes *u* in the second syllable of *udupāna* (see above, p. xcix), and after *m* in *muta* (= *mata*), *munisa* (= *manushya*). The change of *a* into *e* in *seyaka* (i. e. *sēyyaka*), which is the reading of three versions instead of *sayaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*) at Delhi-Tōprā, is due to the following palatal *y*.

Skt. *i* is represented by *a* in the first syllable of *kapilikā* (Delhi-Tōprā) = *kipilikā* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and = Skt. *pīpīlikā*, and by *u* after original *v* in *duṭiya* and *dutiya*, *dupada*, *kinasu* (i. e. *kinassu*) = Skt. *kēnasvit*; see Text, p. 134, n. 1. *e* corresponds to Skt. *ī* in *hedisa* (Sārnāth, ll. 6, 7).

i corresponds to Skt. *u* in the second syllable of *pulisa* (see above, p. xcix) and of *munisa* (see above, p. lxx). In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

ṛi becomes (1) *a* in *anugahinevu*, *apakatha* (= Skt. *apakṛishṭa*), *kaṭa*, *kapana* (= *kṛipāṇa*), *dāna* [*gaṇ*]² (Queen's edict, l. 3), *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (= **vṛitikā*), *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in

¹ Cf. p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

² Cf. *gahatha* (= Skt. *gṛihastha*) at Kālsī.

gihitha (= *grihastha*), *nisijitu* (from *nisrijati*), *pi[i]su* (= *pitriśhu*), *simala* (= *sṛimara*), *hedisa* (= *īdṛīśa*); (3) *e* in *dekhati*, &c.

i corresponds to Skt. *e* in *ika* (Sārnāth, ll. 6, 7, 8), i. e. **ikka* = Prakṛit *ekka* and Skt. *ēka*. Cf. *Ardhamāgadhī ikkārasa* = Skt. *ekādaśa*; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 443.

ai becomes *e* in *kevaṭa* (= Skt. *kaivarta*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opagāni*, *Kosaṃbiyaṃ*, *putā-papotike*, *mokhya*.

Initial *a* is lengthened in *ānāvāsasi* (Sārnāth) = *anā[vā]sasi* (Kauśāmbī and Sārnāth). Final *a* is lengthened frequently; see *eva*, *yeva*, *va* and *evā*, *yevā*, *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *cha* and *chā*, *na* and *nā* (in *nāsaṃtām*), *hetā*, *āha* and *āhā* or *ahā*, *vaḍhithā*, *huthā*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, [*sa*] *mnamdhāpayiyā*, *nāma* and *nāmā* (in *nāmā ti*), *mama* and *mamā*, *asvasa* and *asvasā*, *gonasa* and *gonasā*, *jānapadasa* and *jānapadasā*, *Devānaṃpiyashā*, *lokasa* and *lokasā*, *usāhena* and *usāhenā*, *bhayena* and *bhayenā*, *v[a]chanenā*. Interconsonantal *i* and *u* are sometimes lengthened; see *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4), *-thitika* and *-thitika* (also *-thitika* and *-thitika*), *tilita* (thus Allahabad-Kōsam; *tilita* in the other versions), *devīye* (Queen's edict, l. 2; *devīye*, id., ll. 4, 5), *pavajitānaṃ*, *lājihi* (instr. plur. of Skt. *rājan*), *anupaṭipajamtaṃ*, *anupaṭipajamtu* (also *anupaṭi°*), *anupaṭipajisati*, *anupaṭipati* (also *anupaṭi°*), *saṃpaṭipati*, *paṭipati*, *paṭibhoga* (also *paṭi°*), *paṭiṃsiṭhaṃ* (also *paṭi°*), *paṭi[vedayaṃti*]*, *niṭhūliye*, *pachūpagamane* (*pachupa°* Allahabad-Kōsam), *bahūsu* (but *gulusu*). Final *i* and *u* may be lengthened before *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *anuvīdhīyaṃti*, *āvahāmi ti*, *kachhati ti*, *khādiyati ti*, *tī ti* (Delhi-Tōprā, II, l. 16), [*ha*] *ntaviyānī*, *anupaṭipajamtu*, *hotu ti*. Final *i* and *u*, which stand for original *is* and *us* or *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*gur*] *i* and *goti ti*, *lipi* and *lipī*, *bhikhu* and [*bhikh*] *ū*, *Sakyamunī ti*, *sādhu* and *sādhū*, *ālādhayevu* and *ālādhayevū ti*, *upadahevu* and *upadahevū*, *pavatayevū ti*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *āvahāmi* and *ava*¹ (Delhi-Tōprā) = *āvahāmi* and *āva* or *āvā* (in the other versions). Interconsonantal *ā* is shortened in the Queen's edict in *ālama* (= Skt. *ārāma*) and *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *tathā* and *tatha*, *vā* and *va* (= Skt. *vā*), *apahaṭā* and *apahaṭa*, *lājā* and *lāja*, *atanā* and *atana*, *lājina*, *Piyadasina*, *anusathiyā* and *anusathiya*, and the nom. sing. fem. *esa* (pillar edict I, section D); *apekhā* and *apekha*, &c. Also final *ī* is sometimes shortened; see *Piyadasī* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and *Piyadasi*, *duḍi* and *duḷi*, *dhāti* (= Skt. *dhātrī*), *āthāmī-pakha* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *aṭhamī-pakha*, *chātumṃsī-pakha*, *devi-kumālānaṃ*, *bhikhuni*, *Lumminī-gāme*. Interconsonantal *ī* is shortened in *dutiya* = *duṭiyya*² (Queen's edict, l. 5), and *ū* in *anulupāyā*, *thube*, *bhūtānaṃ*, *susūsā* (also *susūsā*).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *apī*), *laghamti* (for **alaghamti* = Skt. *arhanti*), *hakaṃ* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (for *itī*) and *kinti*, *posatha* (for *upavasatha*), *va* and *vā* (for *ēva*).

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

As at Kālsī, palatal *ñ* and lingual *n* are replaced by dental *n* throughout.

The guttural *k* is palatalized in *aḍha*-[*kos*] *ikyāni* and *vaḍikyā*³; cf. above, p. lxxi. It is represented by *y* in *aṭha-bhāgiye* (Rummindei, l. 5), *ata-patiye* (Delhi-Tōprā, IV, ll. 4, 14), *nimsi*-[*dha*] *yā* (= Skt. **niślishṭakā*), and perhaps in *gevayā*; see Text, p. 120, n. 4. *gh* is preserved in *laghamti* (for **alaghamti* = Skt. *arhanti*), but has become *h* in *lahu*.

The palatal *ch* is softened in *saṃkuja*, which is probably connected with Skt. *sāṃkuchi*, 'a skate-fish.' It is aspirated in *kichhi* (Queen's edict, l. 4) = *kichhi* at Kālsī, &c.

Lingual *ḍ* may become *ḷ*; see *eḍake* and *eḷake*, *eḍakā* and *eḷakā*, *duḍi* and *duḷi*.

Dentals are lingualized after *ri* in *kaṭa*, *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (= **vṛitikā*), in which the *t* (for *t*) is softened, and after *ra* in *nigamṭha* (= Skt. *nirgrantha*) and in the preposition *paṭi*, but not in *pachūpagamana* (= *pratyupagamana*), *patyāsanna* and *patiyāsanna* (= *pratyāsanna*). *t* is elided, *a* lengthened,⁴ and *v* developed from *u* in *chāvudasa* (= Skt. *chaturdaśī*), while *aū* is contracted to *o* in *chodasa* (= *chaturdaśa*). *d* becomes *ḍ* or *ḷ* in *duvāḍasa* and *duvā[la]-s[a]*, *paṃnaḍasa* and *paṃnaḷasa* (= Skt. *pañchadaśī*). The original *dh* of the root **nadh* (= Skt. *nah*)

¹ Cf. *ava*, *avā*, *avam* at Kālsī. Michelson (IF, 23, 236) compares Avestan *yavat* (= Skt. *yāvat*).

² Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 82) derived Prakṛit *duḍia*, &c., from a supposed Skt. form **dvitya*.

³ In *ambā-vaḍikyā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 23) = *ambā-vaḍikā* (Queen's edict, l. 3).

⁴ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 78 and 443.

is preserved in [sa]ṁnamdhāpayiyā and sanamdhāpayitu.¹ *dh* becomes *h* in *nigoha* (= *nyagrōdha*), *vidahāmi* and *upadahevu* (from *dadhāti*). For *hida* (= *idha* at Girnār) see above, p. lxxii.

p is softened in *thuba* (= *stūpa*, Nigālī Sāgar, I. 2) and *libi*² (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 31, 32) = *lipi* (passim). It becomes *k* through dissimilation in *kipilikā* and *kapilikā* = Skt. *pīpīlikā*.³ *bh* becomes *h* in [a]ḥiye, *hoti*, *hotu*, *huvāti*, *hosamti*, *hohamti*, *huthā*, *husu*, and in the instr. plur. in *-hi* (for *-bhih*). *m* becomes *p*, and the aspiration changes place, in *kaphaṭa* = Skt. *kamaṭha*; cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, and [ta]phā (= Skt. *tasmāt*) at Kālsī.

y is represented by *h* in *abhyuṁnāmayeham*, and by *v* in *āvuti* (= **āyukti*), *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*), *sochava* for *sochaya* (= **śauchya*), *pāpovā* (= **prāpnō* + *yāt*), *yāvu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayevu*, *upadahevu*, *pavatayevū*. It is prefixed to *e* in *yeva* and *yevā* (also *eva* and *evā*), but is dropped at the beginning of *ata* (= Skt. *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *āva* (also *yāva*, = Skt. *yāvat*), *āvate*, *e* (also *ye*), *ena* (also *yena*). At the end of *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) the syllable *ya* seems to be dropped; cf. above, p. lvii. It becomes *i* in *nigoha* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*), *paṭivekhāmi*, *dupaṭivekhe*, and *ayi* becomes *e* in *jhāpetaviye* (also *jhāpayitaviye*).

r has become *l* throughout, except in *cham[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke* (Sāmchī, I. 4).

va becomes *u* in *anuvekhamāne*; *vā* becomes the same in the absolutives in *-tu* (= Skt. *tvā*); *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *odāta*, *olodhana*, *posatha*, *paliyovadātha*, *paliyovadisamti*, *viyovadisamti*, *viyohāla*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *hosamti*, *hohamti*.

The two sibilants *ś* and *sh* have become *s* throughout. But *sh* is used in *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*, Sārṇāth, I. 10), *Devānampiyashā* and *she* (Queen's edict, ll. 1 and 4). In *chaghati*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, p. ci.

h is prefixed in *hida*, *hidata*, *hedisa*, *hevam*. For *hetā* (Queen's edict, I. 2) see above, p. lxx.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened; see *min[ā]* and *mina* (= Skt. *manāk*?), *pāpovā* and *pāpova*, *siyā* and *siya*, *avimanā* and *avimana*, *abhītā* and *abhīta*, &c. (below, p. cxvi). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened; see *āva* and *āvā* (= *yāvat*), *lipi* and *lipī*, *sādhu* and *sādhū*, &c. (above, p. cxii). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *ite*, *suve* (= *śvas*), *bhuye*, *lājāne*, *viyāpaṭāse*, *jāne*, &c. But it becomes *o* in *vayo-*; *a* in *chamdama-* and *esa* (nom. sing. masc. and neut.); and *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.).

The vowel *u* is nasalized in *chuṁ* (Sārṇāth, I. 3) for *chu* (passim). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *bādha* (Delhi-Tōprā, III, l. 21), *heva* (= Skt. *ēvam*,⁴ Rāmpurvā, I, l. 1), and in the acc. sing. *vaḍhi* (pillar-edict VI, B). The Anusvāra is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in the acc. sing. *anupaṭipatī* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) and in the nom. sing. [dā]nā (Delhi-Mīraṭh, II, l. 2). But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*; see below, p. cxvi.

Long nasal vowels are generally shortened; see *kiyam* (= Skt. *kiyān*), *Bhagavam* (= *Bhagavān*), the gen. plur. in *-am*, the loc. sing. fem. *tisāyam*, *tisyam*, *Kosambiyam*, *puṁnamāsiyam*, and the acc. sing. *maṁ* (= *mām*), *imaṁ* (= *imām*), *taṁ* (= *tām*, pillar-edict VI, B), *ikaṁ* (= *ēkām*), *pajam* (= *prajām*), *dukhīyanam*, *chāvudasaṁ*, *paṁnaḍasaṁ*, *paṭipadaṁ*, *hedisaṁ* (acc. sing. fem., Sārṇāth, I. 7). But the Anusvāra is omitted in the acc. sing. *p[a]ṭipadā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6), and the long *ā* is shortened at the same time in *kiya* (Lauriyā-Nandangaṭh, II, l. 1).

III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24), and final *m* in *etam-eva* (id., l. 23; Sārṇāth, ll. 8, 9), *kayānam-eva* (Allahabad-Kōsam, III, l. 1), *hedisaṁ-eva* (Sārṇāth, l. 7). The final *m* is doubled in *iyaṁmana* (= Skt. *idam anyat*), *kayānammeva*, *hevaṁmeva*. In *hemeva*, *hemevā*, *heṁmeva*, the syllable *va* of Skt. *ēvam* is dropped.

Hiatus remains in *-vasa-abhisita* at Delhi-Tōprā (six times),⁵ while the remaining versions (and Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31) read *-vasābhisita*. Other instances of *a + ā = ā* are *dhammānupaṭipatī*,

¹ Cf. *pilandhati* &c. in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 34.

² This Prākṛit form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 2, 21.

³ Cf. Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 29, section 1.

⁴ Cf. above, p. lviii, n. 2, and p. lxxxvi, l. 6 from bottom. ⁵ Also at Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 14.

dhanimānusathi, *dhanimāpadāna*, *dhanimāpekhā*, *apāsinave*. The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *saṅghaṭhasi* and *-apadānaṭhāye* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25 and 28). The nasal vowel *am* of *tuphākam* and *upāsakānam* is treated in the same manner before *antikam* in *tuphāk-antikam* and *upāsakān-antikam* (Sārṇāth, ll. 6 and 7). In *ikike* (= Skt. *īkaikaḥ*), *chu* (= *cha + u*), *cheva*, and *chhāy-opagāni*, final *a* and *ā* are elided before the initial *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o* of the next following word.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *khy*, *ty*, *dhy*, *dhr*, *bhy*, *rshy* (which becomes *sy*), *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *shy* (which becomes *sy*). For the group *ky* see also above, p. cxii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *asvatha* (= *āsvasta*), *anusathi* (= *anusāsti*), *ālādha* (= **ārāddha*), *kinasu* (for **kinā + ssu* = Skt. *svīd*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *maga* (= *mārga*), *madava* (= *mārdava*), *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*, Queen's edict, l. 1), *Sakyamunī*, *isyā* (= *īrshyā*), *-sulyika*¹ (for **sūryika*), *dusa* (= *dūshya*), *puṇnamāsiyam*. But the length remains in *ānapayati*, *pāpovā* (from *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta* (for *°mātra*), *palikkhā* (for *parikkshā*). While long *ī* is preserved before *n* in *-gāmīni* and *bhī[khun]īnam*, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in *tiṇni* (= *trīṇi*). Similarly, *anusathini* and *devinam* are perhaps defective spellings for *anusathinini* and *devinnam*. Before *y* and *l* the length is preserved in *anuvīdhīyamti*, *sukhīyanā*, *kapilikā*, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in *anuvīdhīyamti*, *sukhīyanā*, *bhūye*, *kīpilikā*; cf. above, p. cii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *āgācha* (= *āgatya*), *dākhinā* (also *dakhinā*, i. e. *dakkhinā*), *putāpapotike*² (for *putrapra°*), *puṇāvasune* (for *punarva°*), *kīchhi* (for **kid + chid*, Queen's edict, l. 4), *nīlakhiyati* (for *nirla°*), *nīlakhitaviye* (also *nīla°* at Rāmpurvā, V, l. 9), *vaḍhīsati* (also *vaḍhisati*, i. e. *vaḍdhissati*), *saṃpātīpajisati* (also *°jisati*), *anupātīpajisati*, *anūp[a]tīpamne* (for *anuprati°*).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in *ambā-* (= Skt. *āmra*), *atikanam*, *Kosambīyam* (= *Kausāmbīyam*), *Devānampiya*,³ while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in *bābhana* (= *bāmhaṇa* at Gīrṇār). Anusvāra is lost after a short vowel in *thabha* (Rummindēi, l. 3) = *thāmbha* (Delhi-Tōprā), in *sayame* and *savibhāge* (also *saṃyame* and *saṃvibhāge*), in *vihīsāye* (but not in *avihīnsāye*), and in *satavisati*. The nasal vowel *im* is replaced by a length in *vīsati*, *paṃna-vīsati*, and *saḍvīsati*. Similarly, *am* seems to be replaced by *ā* in *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhāṅkshyati*). In *visvaṃsayitave* (Sārṇāth, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel *am* corresponds to Skt. *ā*.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before *v* in *duvehi*, *duvāḍasa*, *saḍvīsati*, *suve*; *a* in *duṣaṃpātīpādaye*, *laghamti* (for **alaghamti*), *sochaye* and *sochave*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *p*, *b*, *ś*, *s*, respectively.

khh becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukhīyanam*.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, *yuta*, *vataviya*, *viyata*.

ky remains in *Sakyamunī* (Rummindēi, l. 2).

ksh becomes *jh* in *jhāpayitaviye*,⁴ but *kh* everywhere else.

kshy becomes *khiy* in *nīlakhiyati*; *kh* in *dupātīvekhe* and *bh[ā]khati*; *gh* in *chaghati*.

khy is preserved in *mukhya* and *mokhya*, but is assimilated in *mukhā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 27).

¹ This word presupposes an intermediate form with short *u*: **suryika*; cf. above, p. cii, n. 1. In the Māgadhā dialect the affix *-ika* does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Vṛiddhi of the first syllable; see *putāpapotika* and *hidatika*, but *ānugahika*. In *āntalika*, *aḍha[kos]ika*, *chāṃdamasulyika* we cannot say whether the *a* preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first *a* of *chāṃḍiya*, which was formed from Skt. *chāṇḍa* with the affix *-ya*. In *nīthūliya* and *puṇnamāsiyam* the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are *naishṭhurya* and *paurṇamāsiyam*, with Vṛiddhi of the first vowel.

² The Sārṇchī pillar (section C) has *putāpapotike*.

³ The Anusvāra is omitted in *Devāna[pi]yena* (Rummindēi, l. 1).

⁴ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 326.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

chy becomes *chay* or *chav* in *sochaye* and *sochave*.¹

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājina*; *ñn* in *chhamindamñāni* and *vinñapayitaviye*; *n* in *ānapayati*, *ānapita*, *nātikā*, *hātisu*.

ñch becomes *ñn* in *pañnavīsati*, *pañnaḍasā* and *pañnaḷasā*, but remains in *[pa]ñcha[dasā]* (Allahabad-Kōsam).

ḍy becomes *ḍiy* in *chamḍiye*.

ḍv becomes *ḍuv* in *saḍuvīsati*.

ṇm becomes *ñm* in *āsamñāsike*.

tk becomes *k* in *ukasā*.

tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty remains in *patiyāsamīna*, but becomes *tiy* in *patiyāsamīna* (Delhi-Tōprā), and *ch* in *āgācha*, *pachupagamane*, *sache*.

tsr becomes *s* in *usapāpile*.

ts becomes *s* in *usāha*.

tsy becomes *chh* in *machhe*.

db becomes *b* in *ubalike*.

dy becomes *j* in *anupaṭipajamtu*, &c.; *ḍiy* in *khāḍiyati*; *day* in *dusamṭipāḍaye*.

dr becomes *d* in *chamḍama*.

dv becomes *d* in *dupada*, *duṭṭiya* and *dutiya*, but *duv* in *duvehi*, *duvāḍasa*.

dhy remains in *avadhya*, but becomes *dhiy* in *avadhiya*, and *jh* in *majhimā*, *nijhatiyā*, *nijhapayitave*, *nijhapayitā*, *nijhapayisamti*.

dhr remains in *dh[r]uvāye* (Delhi-Mīraṭh), but becomes *dh* in *dhuvāye* and *vadhi* (pillar-edict V, D).

ny becomes *ñn* or *n* in *añna* (passim) and *ana* (pillar-edict III, H).

pt becomes *t* in *[gut]i*, *goti* (= Skt. **gōpti*), *nikhitā*, *nijhatiyā*, *pata* (= *prāpta*), *sata* (= *sapta*, Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31).

pn becomes *p* in *pāpovā*.

bhy remains in *abhyuññāmayeham* and *abhyuññamisati*, but becomes *hiy* in *l[a]hiye*.

bhr becomes *bh* in *palibhasayisam*.

mb becomes *mm* in *Lummini-* (Rummindē, l. 4).

mr becomes *mb* (for *mbr*) in *ambā-* (= Skt. *āmra*).

yy becomes *yyi* in *āvāsaiye* and *[sa]ñnamindhāpayiyā*.

rg becomes *g* in *maḡesu* and *visaga*.

rgr becomes *g* in *nigamñthesu*.

rgh becomes *lagh* in *laghamti* (for **alaghamti*).

rn becomes *nn* in *pañna* (pillar-edict V, B) and *puñnamāsiyam*.

rt becomes *t* in *pavatayevū*, but *ṭ* in *kaṭaviya*, *kevaṭa*, *palihāṭave*, *apahaṭā*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, W and OO), but *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim).

rd becomes *d* in *chakhudāne*, *chodasa*, *chāvudasā*, *madave*.

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *vaḍhati*, *vaḍheyā*, *vaḍhithā*, *vaḍhisati*, *vaḍhita*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhinī*.

rm becomes *mm* in *kañmāni*, *chātumñāsī*, *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Lauriyā-Ararāj, II, l. 3).

ry becomes *liy* in *niṭhūliye*, *paliovadātha* and *paliovadisamti*, *-suliye* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31), but *riy* in *-[sū]ri[yi]ke* (Sārnchī, l. 4).

rl becomes *l* in *nīlakhiyati* and *nīlakhitaviye*.

rv becomes *v* in *punāvāsune* and *sava*.

rs becomes *s* in *Piyadasi*.

rsh becomes *s* in *ukasā* and *vasa*.

rshy becomes *sy* in *isyā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa* (pillar-edict II, C).

ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*, *sayaka* and *seyaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*).

¹ Three versions of the pillar-edict II, C, read *socheye*, which Michelson (IF, 23.241) identifies with Pāli *socheyya* (= Skt. **sauchēya*).

vy becomes *viy* in *viyaṃjanena*, *viyata*, *viyāpaṭa*, *viyovadisamti*, *viyohāla*, and in the gerundives in *-taviya*.

vr becomes *v* in *pavaṃjānam*.

śy becomes *s* in *palibhasayisam* (future of the causative of Skt. *bhraśyati*).

sl becomes *ms* in *nimsi[dha]yā* (= Skt. **niśliṣṭakā*) ; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

sv becomes *su* in *asva*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *visvaṃsayitave* (infinitive of *viśvāsayaṭi*) ; *suv* in *suve* (= *śvak*) ; *s* in *seta*.

sth becomes *th* in *vaḍhithā* and *huthā* ; *ṭh* in *aṭha-bhāgiye*, *aṭhami*, *apakathesu*, *tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni*, *paṭivisiṭham* ; *ḍh* in *adhṛ[kos]ikyāni* and *nimsi[dha]yā*.

sth becomes *ṭh* in *nīṭhūliye*.

shp becomes *p* in *chatupada*.

shpr becomes *p* in *dupaṭivekke*.

shy becomes *sy* in *tisiyaṃ* ; *siy* in *tisiyaṃ* ; *s* in *tisāyaṃ* and *tisāye*, *duṣāni*, *pusitaviya* (from Skt. *pushyati*), *munisa* (= *manushya*), *hosamti* and other futures ; *h* in *hohamti*.

st becomes *th* in *athi*, *anusathi*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *thambhāni*, *thuba* (= *stūpa*), *pavitha-lisamti*.

sth becomes *th* in *gihitha* (= Skt. *grihastha*) and *-thitika* or *-thitika* ;¹ *ṭh* in *anaṭhika* and *-ṭhitika* or *-ṭhitika*.²

sn becomes *sin* in *āsinava* (from *ā-snu*).

sm becomes *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*) ; *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa* ; *h* in *dāhamti*.

hn becomes *hin* in *anugahinevu*.

hm becomes *bh* in *bābhana*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *jane*, &c. ; neut. *dāne*, &c.
Acc. masc. *janam*, &c. ; neut. *dānam*, &c.
Instr. *dhanmena*, &c.
Dat. *aṭhāye*, &c.
Gen. *janasa*, &c.
Loc. *janasi*, &c.

Plural.

Masc. *pulisā*, &c. } neut. *sāvanāni*, &c.
Masc. *pulisāni* }
ākālehi, *pulimehi*.³
pānānam, &c.
aṭhesu, &c.

Nom. sing. neut.—In *[dā]nā* (Delhi-Mīrath, II, l. 2) the termination is *-ā*.

Instr. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *usāhenā*, *bhayenā*, *v[ā]chanenā*.

Gen. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *asvasā*, *gonasā*, *jānapadasā*, *Devānampiyashā*, *lokaśā*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *abhīta*, *asvatha*, *āyata*, *kaṭa*, *pūjita*, *mahām[ā]ta* (Kauśāmbī edict, l. 1), *lajūka*. The Vedic termination *-āsaḥ* is preserved in *viyāpaṭāse* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25, 27).

Nom. plur. neut.—The final *i* is lengthened in *[ha]mtaviyāni* (Delhi-Mīrath, V, l. 8). The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter : *thambhāni*, *nikāyāni*, *nigohāni*, *niyamāni*, *mokhāni*, *timni divasāni* and *etāni divasāni* (acc.).

¹ With the compound *chilam-thitika* or *chilam-thitika* cf. Skt. *chiramjivin* and *chirantana*.

² In *chila-thitike* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 32) and *chila-thitikā* (Allahabad-Kōsam, II, l. 3).

³ From *pulima* = Pāli *purima*.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichhā</i> , &c.	<i>vaḍikyā</i> , &c.
Acc. <i>pajām</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>pūjāyā</i> and <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>vihiṣāye</i> , <i>avihiṁsāye</i> .	
Abl. <i>dakḥināye</i> , <i>dākḥināye</i> .	
Gen. <i>duṭṭiyāye</i> , <i>duṭṭiyāye</i> .	
Loc. <i>tiṣāyaṁ</i> , <i>tiṣāye</i> , <i>chāvudāsāye</i> , <i>paṁnaḍāsāye</i> , <i>paṭipadāy</i> [e]. ¹	<i>disāsu</i> .

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *apekha*, *avadhya*, *isya*, *kapilika*, *kālāpita*, *jatūka*, *daya*, *pālana*, *likhāpita*, *vaḍhita*, *viyata*, *sālika*, *sukhāyana*.

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ā in *p[a]ṭipadā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6).

Instr. sing.—The termination is -āyā in *agāyā*, *anulupāyā*, -kāmātāyā, *palikkhāyā*, *vividhāyā*, *sukhāyanāyā*, *susūsāyā*, while the final *ā* is shortened, as at Gīrnār, Dhāuli, and Jaugaḍa, in *agāya*, -kāmātāya, *palikkhāya*, *vividhāya*, *susūsāya*.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. masc. *vidhi*, *Sakyamunī*; acc. plur. neut. *tiṁni*; loc. plur. *nāṭisu*.

The feminine base *anusathi* forms the nom. and acc. plur. *anusathini* with the termination of the neuter.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>vaḍhi</i> , <i>dhāti</i> , &c.	
Acc. <i>lipīm</i> , <i>vaḍhi</i> (pillar-edict VI, B), <i>anupaṭipatī</i> .	
Instr. <i>vaḍhiyā</i> , <i>anupaṭipatiyā</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>anupaṭipatiye</i> , <i>dhātiye</i> , <i>deviye</i> .	
Gen. <i>Kāluvākiye</i> , <i>deviye</i> and <i>deviye</i> .	<i>bhi[khun]īnaṁ</i> , <i>devinaṁ</i> .
Loc. <i>tiṣyaṁ</i> , <i>tisiyaṁ</i> , <i>Kosaṁbiyaṁ</i> , <i>puṁnamāsiyaṁ</i> , <i>chātumṁāsiye</i> .	<i>chātumṁāsīsu</i> , <i>tīsu</i> . ²

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *gabhinī*, *sūkālī*, *duḍḍī* (also *duḍḍī*), *lipī* (also *lipī*).

Instr. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anusathiya* (also *anusathiya*).

III. MASCULINES AND NEUTERS IN -u.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>bhikhu</i> and <i>[bhikkh]ū</i> , <i>sādhū</i> and <i>sādhū</i> , <i>lahu</i> ; neut. <i>bahu</i> .	Neut. <i>bahūni</i> .
Gen.	<i>[bhi*]khūna[m]</i> .
Loc. <i>puṇāvasune</i> , <i>bahune</i> .	<i>gulusu</i> , <i>bahūsu</i> .

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -na.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ṛi.

Nom. sing. *apahaṭā* and *apahaṭa*, *nijhapayitā*.
Gen. sing. *mātu*.
Loc. plur. *pitisu*.

¹ As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine *pratipad* has assumed the form *paṭipadā*. Cf. Hēmachandra,

² In Sanskrit the corresponding form is *tiṣṛishu*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom. sing. masc. *saṁtām*, *anupaṭipajamām*; cf. above, p. cx.

(2) Masculines in *-yat* and *-vat*.

Nom. sing. masc. *kiyam* and *kiya* (Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh), *Bhagavam*. The base *yāvat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *āvate* (Sārṇāth, l. 9).

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā</i> , <i>lāja</i> .	<i>lājāne</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> .	<i>kaṁmāni</i> .
Instr. <i>atanā</i> , <i>atana</i> , <i>lājina</i> .	<i>lājīhi</i> .

The instr. plur. follows the *i*-declension.

(4) Masculines and neuters in *-in*.

Nom. sing. masc. *Piyadasī*; instr. sing. *Piyadasina*; nom. plur. neut. *-gāmīni*.

The final *ī* of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad-Kōsam version, while all others read *Piyadasī*.

(5) Masculines and neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. neut. *bhūye*.

The masculine *chāṇḍama-* (= Skt. *chandrāmas*) and the neuter *vayo-* occur as first members of compounds. The base *avimanas* follows the *a*-declension: nom. plur. masc. *avimanā* and (with shortening of the final *ā*) *avimana*.

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C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakam*.

Acc. sing. *maṁ*.

Instr. sing. *mamayā* and *mamiyā*, *mama* and *mamā*, *me*.

Gen. sing. *mama*, *me*.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. *tuphe*; gen. plur. *tuphākam*.

(3) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>se</i> . ¹	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>taṁ</i> , <i>se</i> .	Neut. <i>tāni</i> .
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Gen. .	<i>tesam</i> , <i>tānam</i> .
Loc.	<i>teṣu</i> .

Acc. sing. fem. *taṁ*.

Dat. sing. fem. *tāye*.

(4) Base *na*.

Nom. plur. neut. *nāni*; see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

¹ Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. *she* occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4.

(5) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> ; neut. <i>esa</i> , <i>esā</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>etām</i> .	Neut. <i>etāni</i> .
Instr. <i>etena</i> .	
Dat. <i>etāye</i> .	
Loc.	<i>etesu</i> .

Nom. sing. fem. *esa*.(6) Demonstrative *idam*.Nom. sing. neut. *iyaṃ* ; nom. plur. masc. *ime*, neut. *imāni* ; nom. sing. fem. *iyāṃ*, acc. *imāṃ*.

(7) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms the acc. sing. neut. *kiṃ* (in *kinti*), *kiṃaṃ* or *kiṃmaṃ* (see Text, p. 129, n. 5) and the instrumental **kinā*¹ (in *kinasu*, i.e. **kinassu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēnasvit*). The base *ka* is used as demonstrative: nom. plur. neut. *kāni* (in *potake cha kāni* ; see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. *kāni* (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with *pi* (= Skt. *api*) or *chi* (= Skt. *chid*) : instr. sing. *kenapi* ; nom. plur. neut. [*k*]*ānichi*.

(8) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> .
Instr. <i>yena</i> , <i>ena</i> .	
Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā</i> .	

(9) Base *anya*.Indira Gandhi National
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Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aṃne</i> ; neut. [<i>a</i>] <i>ṃne</i> , <i>ana</i> .	Masc. <i>aṃne</i> ; neut. <i>aṃnāni</i> .
Gen.	<i>aṃnānaṃ</i> .
Loc.	<i>aṃnesu</i> .

The gen. plur. *aṃnānaṃ* follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a* (above, p. cxvi) ; cf. *tānaṃ* for *tesaṃ* (above, pp. lxxviii and cxviii), *ta[nam]* at Mānsehrā, and the dat. sing. fem. *tāye* (above, p. cxviii), *imāya* and *imā[y]e* at Gīrnār, Kālsī, and Dhaulī, *imaye* at Mānsehrā.

(10) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>sarve</i> .	
Loc. <i>sarvasi</i> .	<i>sarvesu</i> .

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *ikike* (= Skt. *ekaikaḥ*), fem. *ikā* ; acc. sing. fem. *ikam*.

Two.

Instr. masc. *duvehi* (from the base *dva*). The base *dvi* appears as *du* in the ordinal *dutiya* or *dutiya*, and in the compound *dupada*.

¹ Cf. *kinā*, Hēmachandra, III, 69, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 428.

Three, four, six.

Acc. neut. *tinini*; loc. fem. *tīsu*. The bases *chatur* and *shash* form part of the compounds *chatupada* and *āsaṁmāsika*.

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen.

duvāḍasa and *duvā[la]s[a]*; *chodasa*. The ordinals *chāvudāsā* and [*pa*]*nicha[daśā]* (Allahabad-Kōsam), *paṁnaḍasā*, *paṁnaḷasā* correspond to Skt. *chaturdaśī* and *pañchadaśī*.

Twenty, &c.

vīsati, *paṁnavīsati*, *saḍvīsati*, *satavisati*.

Hundred thousand.

Loc. plur. *sata-sahasasu*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root **argh* (= Skt. *arh*): *laghamti* for **alaghamti*; cf. Skt. *argha* and Pāli *agghati*, and see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 993.

Root *iksh*: *pativekhāmi*, *anuvekhamāne*.

Root *dṛis*: *dekhati*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huvāti* (sixth class).

Root *vad*: *paliyovadātha*.

Root *vah*: *āvahāmī*.

Root *vridh*: *vaḍhati*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi*.

Root *i*: *eti*.

Root *yā*: *yāti*.

Root *śās*: *anus[ā]sāmi* (subjunctive).

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *dhā*: *vidahāmi*, *upadahevu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *anupaṭipajamtu*, &c.

Root *push*. The gerundive *pusitaviya* is formed from the Sanskrit present *pushyati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp*: *pāpovā*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*. The aorist *ichhisu* and the gerundive *ichhitaviye* are formed from the Sanskrit present *ichchhati*.

Root *kship*: *nikhipātha*.

Root *srij*: absolutive *nisijitu* (from the Sanskrit present *nisrijati*).

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *grah* follows the *a*-conjugation : *anugahinevu*.

Root *jñā*. The future *jānisānti* and the infinitive *ājānitave* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya* : *abhyuññāmayeham*, *saṃpaṭipādayānti*, *pāyamīnā* (from *pāyati* = *pāyeti*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *pivati*), *palibhasayissāhi* (future of the causative of Pāli *bhassati* = Skt. *bhraśyati*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 263), *ālādhayevu*, *āvāsayaīye*, *vivāsayaṭha*, *paṭi[vedayaṃti*]*, *pavatayeṇū*, *visvaṃsayitave*.

(b) With *paya* : *jhāpayitaviye* and *jhāpetaviye* (from root *kshai*). The long vowel of the roots *jñā*, *dā*, *dhyai* is shortened in *ānapayati*, *viññāpayitaviye*, *saṃādapayitave*, *nijhāpayisaṃti*, *nijhāpayitā*, *nijhāpayitave*.

(c) With *āpaya* : *kālāpita*, *[sa]ññānādhāpayiyā* and *saññānādhāpayitu* (from root **uadh* = Skt. *nah*), *likhāpita*, *vā[sā]petaviy[e]*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, *sāvāpayāmi*.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *lopāpita*, *usapāpita*; cf. Ardhamāgadhi *ūsaviya* (= **uchchhrapita*) in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64, and Skt. *uchchhrāpayati*. Similar forms are *viññāpāpeti* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 122, *ṭhapāpeti* in Geiger's *Pāli*, § 182, and *davāvei* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 552.

(e) With *āpāpaya* : *khānāpāpitāni*, *likhāpāpitā*.

(f) Denominatives : *tilita* and *tilita* (from Skt. *tīrayati*), *sukhayite*, *sukhāyanā*, *sukhiyanā*, *dukkhiyan[ā]*, *mahiyyite*.

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

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1. sing. *paṭivekkhāmi*, *vidahāmi*.

3. sing. *dekkhati*, *hoti*, *vaḍhati*, *athi*, *eti*, *yāti*, *ānapayati*.

3. plur. *laghānti*, *dekhaṃti*, *saṃpaṭipādayānti*, *paṭi[vedayaṃti*]*.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *āvahāmi*, *anus[ā]sāmi*, *sāvāpayāmi*.

3. sing. *huvāti* (Sārnāth, l. 6).

2. plur. *nikkhipātha*, *paliyovadātha*, *vivāsayaṭha*, *vivāsāpayāthā*.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *abhyuññāmayeham*; cf. above, pp. lxxxii, cix.

3. sing. *siyā* and *siya*, *anu[pa]ṭipajeyā*, *pāpovā* and *pāpova* (from the strong base *prāpṇō*), *vaḍheyā*.

3. plur. *yāvu*, *upadahevu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayevu*, *pavatayeṇū*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*; 3. plur. *anupaṭipajāntu*.

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle : *huthā*, *vaḍhithā*.

3. plur. active : *husu*, *ichhisu*.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āha*, *āhā*, *ahā*, the last of which is unreduplicated; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *palibhasayisam*. Cf. *likhāpayisam* at Girnār.
 3. sing. *abhyūnnamisati*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisati*, *anupaṭipajisati* (from the present **pajjati* = Skt. *padyatē*), *saṃpaṭipajisati* and **pajisati*, *chaghati* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*), *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅksyati*), *kachhati* (see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1).
 3. plur. *paṭichalisamti*, *vaḍhisamti*, *hosamti* and *hohamti*, *palivovadisamti*, *viyovadisamti*, *pavithalisamti* (from root *strī*), *dāhamti*, *chaghamti*, *kachhamti*, *jānisamti* (from the present *jānāti*), *nijhapayisamti*.

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *khādiyati*, *nīlakhiyati*, *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4).
 3. plur. indicative *anuvīdhīyamti* and **dhiyamti*.

VI. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active: *saṃtam*, *anupaṭipajamtaṇe*.

Middle: *anuvekhamāne*, *pāyamānā*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *kaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*, *tilita* and *tilita*, *mahīyita*, *sukhayita*¹, *ānapita*, *kālāpita*, *sāvāpita*, *lopāpita*, *khānāpāpita*, *likhāpita*, *likhāpāpita*, *atikamta*, *āyata* (i.e. *āyatta*), *nikhita* (= *nikshipta*), *viyata* (= *vyakta*), *yuta* (= *yukta*), *badha* (i.e. *baddha*), *niludha* (= *niruddha*), *āladha* (= **ārāddha*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *apakāṭha* (= *apakṛishṭa*), *asvatha* (= *āśvasta*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *anūp[a]ṭipamna*, *patyāsamna* and *patiyāsamna*, *dimna* (for **didna*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 386).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *hamtaviya*, *viketaviya*, *vataviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *ichhitaviya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *pusitaviya* (from *pushyati*), *vinnapayitaviya*, *jhāpayitaviya* and *jhāpetaviya* (from the causative of *kshaṭi*), *vā[sā]ṭetaviya*. In *nīlakhitaviya* (= **nīrlakshayitavya*) the causative character *aya* is neglected.

(b) In *-ya*: *dekhiya* (from the present *dekhati*), *l[a]hiya* (from root *labh*), *avadhya* and *avadhiya*, *dupaṭivekha*, *dusamṭipādaya*, *āvāsaya* (for **āvāsaya*).²

VII. INFINITIVE.

bhetave (from root *bhid*), *palihāṭave*, *paṭichalitave*, *ājānitave*, *ālādhayitave*, *visvamśayitave*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhapayitave*.

VIII. ABSOLUTE.

- (a) In *-tvā*: *sutu* (= Skt. *śrutvā*), *nīsijitu* (from the present *nīsrijati*), *sanamdhāpayitu*.
 (b) In *-ya*: *āgācha* (= *āgatya*), *[sa]mnamdhāpayiyā*.³

¹ In this form the causative character *aya* of the present *sukhayati* is retained, as in *ānapayite* at Kālsī, *[ānapayit]e* at Mānsehrā, and *ānāp[ayit]ta* at Dhāuli.

² The correct Sanskrit form would be *āvāsya*; cf. the preceding note.

³ Cf. the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both *prāpayya* and *prāpya* to be formed from *prāpayati*.

CHAPTER XI

GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSRIPTIONS

THE language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Māgadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhauli and Jaugada rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

I. THE FIVE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after *m* in *munisā*, and *i* after *y* in the future *vaḍhisiti* (Rūpnāth and Maski) = *vaḍhisati* (Sahasrām and Bairāt); cf. Saurasēnī *bhavissidi*, &c., in Hēmachandra, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the *e* of *hetā* (Sahasrām) and for the *i* of *munisā* see above, p. lxx. The abstract *gālava* (= Prākṛit and Pāli *gārava*) presupposes the adjective *galu* (= Skt. *guru*), in which *a* corresponds to Skt. *u*; see above, p. lvi. For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see *ibid.* and n. 2. The diphthong *au* becomes *o* in *moneya*.

ṛi becomes (1) *a* in *kaṭā*, *dakḥitaviye*, *vaḍhi*; (2) *u* in *musā* (= Skt. *mṛishā*), *sun[e]yu*; (3) *i* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*), *diseyā* (optative of *dṛiśyatē*). In *aḍhati[y]a* (= Pāli *aḍḍhatiya* and Skt. *ardhatṛitīya*) the syllable *ṭri* is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhi *aḍḍhāijja*; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 65, 2, and cf. Pāli *aḍḍhuddha* = Skt. *ardhachaturtha*.

Interconsonantal *a* and *i* are lengthened in *-[a]thāta* (?) and *chila-thitike*. Final *a* is lengthened in *evā* and *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *chā*, *hetā*, *āhā*, *[likhāpa]yāthā*, *h[a]mā*, *etenī(nā)*, *apaladhiyenā*, &c. (below, p. cxxvi). Final *i* and *u* are lengthened before *iti* in *saṁghasī ti*, *hosatī ti*, *jānamtū ti*, and final *u* which stands for *ur* in *upadhāl[a]yeyū*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *ahāle* (Rūpnāth); interconsonantal *ī* and *ū* in *misibhūtā* (Maski), *Jambudīpasi* (= *°dīpasi* at Sahasrām), *pa[ka]mam[i]menā* (cf. *palakamamīnenā* at Sahasrām), *ekunavīsati* (Barābar); final *ā* and *ī* in *lāja* (Barābar) = *lājā* (Calcutta-Bairāt), *sata* (Rūpnāth) = *satā* (Sahasrām), *Pr[i]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Bairāt) = *Piyadasī* (Barābar).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *sumi* (for **smi* = Skt. *asmi*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (= *itī*), *kimti* and *kiti*, *dāni* (= *idānīm*), *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*).

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Intervocalic *k* is softened in *adhigichya* (Skt. = *adhikṛitya*) and appears to have become *y* in *diyadhiya* (= **dvikār.dhya*).¹ *gh* is preserved in *Lāghula* (= *Rāhula*) and suggests that this name of Buddha's son is derived from the ancient hero *Raghu*. In *kuḥhā* (Barābar) = Skt. *guhā*, 'a cave', *k* and *bh* at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. *g* and *h*. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While *guhā* is connected with the root *guh*, 'to hide', *kuḥhā* may be related to *kumbha*, 'a pot' (originally 'a cavity'), and Greek *κύμβη*, 'a (hollow) boat'.²

Lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n* throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Bairāt in *Aliya-vasāṇi* (= Skt. *Ārya-vamsāṇi*).

¹ Cf. *diyadha* and *diadha*, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.

² The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of 'a round projection' in Ancien Persian *kaufa*, 'a mountain', Avestan *kaofa*, 'a mountain, the hump of a camel', and Skt. *kakubh*, 'a peak'; cf. *kakud*, 'a peak, a hump'.

Dentals are lingualized in *uḍāla* (= Pāli *uḷāra* and Skt. *udāra*), *duvāḍasa*, and after *ṛi* in *kaṭā*, *vaḍhi*. *t* is palatalized in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*). *dh* seems to be preserved in *ha(hi)dha* (= *idha* at Gīrnār?), but has become *h* in [*nigoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

Intervocalic *p* becomes *v* in *pāv[a]t[a]ve* (Sahasrām), the infinitive of **prāpati* (= Skt. *prāpnōti*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hotu*, *hosatī*, *husu*, *devehi*, [*ājīvi*] *kehi*.

y is dropped at the beginning of *āvatake* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *aṃ* and *e* (= *yat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in [*nigoha*] (= *nyagrōdha*). *aya* and *ayi* become *e* in *lekhāpetā*, *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *ārodheve* (read *ārādhētave*) and [*ā*] *lādheta[v]e*, *abhivāde[tū]nam*.

As in the Māgadha dialect, *r* becomes *l*; but it is preserved at Rūpnāth in *ārodheve* (read *ārādhētave*), *chira-ṭhitike*, *chha(sa)vachhare*, *sāti[ra]kekāni* (read *sātirekāni*), and at Maski in *pure*, [*sāt*] *ire[ke]*.

v becomes *p* in *apaladhiyenā* (Rūpnāth) = *aval[a]dhiyenā* (Sahasrām). It is developed out of *u* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām) = *vy[u]tha* (Rūpnāth). *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *-ovāde*, *hotu*, *hosatī*.

ś and *sh* have generally become *s*. But *ś* is preserved at Maski in *Śake* (= Skt. *Śākyak*) and is improperly used at Bairāt in *svage* (= *svage* at Rūpnāth); *sh* is preserved at Maski in *vashā[ni]*. In [*cha*] *kye* and *chakiye*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, pp. ci and cxiii.

h is prefixed in *ha(hi)dha* (?), *hetā*, *hevaṃ*.

Final consonants are dropped. *ā* (for *ās*) is shortened in *saṃta* and *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 2 f.). *as* becomes *e*; see *pure*¹ (= Skt. *puras*), *ve* (= *vas*), *bhikhuniye* (nom. plur.), *aṭhe*, &c. It is represented by *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.), and by *a* in *-[a]thāta* (?), *esa* (nom. sing. neut.), *yāvataka* and *vālatā* (Rūpnāth).

Final *a* is nasalized in *chaṃ* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 2), while final Anusvāra is omitted in *ima*, *iya*, *tupaka* (for *tuphākam*), *diyādhiya* (Rūpnāth), *prakāsa*, [*bā*] *dha*, *vaḍhi* (acc.), *vipula*, *sagh[a]* (acc.). The nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*; see *phale*, &c. The termination *-aṃ* is replaced by *-i* in *bāḍhi* (Rūpnāth, ll. 1, 2); cf. *ayi* for *ayan* at Shāhbāzgarhi.² The long nasal vowel *āṃ* is shortened in the termination (*-aṃ*) of the acc. sing. of feminines in *-ā* (below, p. cxxvi), and *īm* becomes *i* in *dāni* (= Skt. *idānīm*).

(3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved and doubled in *hevaṃmevā* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 8).

a + ā becomes *ā* in *-vasābhisita*, *sātileke*, *sādhī[ke]*, *ap[ā]bādhatam*, *jā[lagh]o[sāgama]* (?). The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *-āgama]thāta* (?), *apaladhiyenā* and *aval[a]dhiyenā*, *diyādhiyam*, but the length is preserved in *diyādhiyam* (Sahasrām). Final *ā* is elided before *u*, *e*, *o* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ekunavīsati*, *ma[ha]tanveva*, *Lāghul-ovāde*.

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *ty* (which becomes *chy*), *pr*, *rv*, *vy*, *sv*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *akya* (= Skt. *ārya*), *pa[la]kamaṃtu* (= *parākra*^o), *palakamamīnenā*, [*palaka*] *m[t]e*, *mahata-* (= *mahātman*), *Śake* and [*sa*] *k[e]* (= *Śākyak*), *abhikkhinam* (= *abhikkṣṇam*). But the length remains in *p[a]l[ā]kame* (Sahasrām), *p[ā]potave* (from *prāpnōti*), *lāti* (= *rātri*), *sūte* (= *sūtram*). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *v[ā]tave* (infinitive of *vach*).

The long nasal vowel *āṃ* is shortened before consonants in [*palaka*] *m[t]e*³ and *Devānaṃpiya* (Rūpnāth and Maski), but remains in *Devānāṃpiya* (Sahasrām and Bairāt). In *bhaṃte*, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for *bhaddaṃte*⁴ = Skt. *bhadraṃ tē*, 'happiness to you', the syllable *dda* is elided. The nasal vowel *īm* is replaced by a length in *ekunavīsati*. Anusvāra is sometimes omitted after *a*; see the infinitive *adhigatave* (Maski), *atā* (Rūpnāth) = *aṃtā* (Sahasrām and

¹ The same form is used in Ardhamāgadhi and Pāli. Cf. also [*p*] *ule* at Kālsī, I, l. 3.

² Also Pāli *saddhiṃ* = Skt. *sārdham*, &c.; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 22.

³ The Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *pakate* (= Skt. *prakrāntaḥ*).

⁴ See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *bhadanto*. According to Hēmachandra, IV, 287, *bhaṃte* is the Māgadhi voc. sing. of *bhadanta*.

Bairāt), *th[abh]e* (but *tha[m]bhasi* and *tham[bh]ā*), *pakamatu* (3. plur.), [*pala*]kamatu (Bairāt) = *pa[la]kamañtu* (Sahasrām), *vayajanenā* (= Skt. *vyāñjanēna*), *Aliya-vasāni* (= *Ārya-vamśāṇi*), *saghe* (= *saṁghaḥ*), *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sav[a]chhale* (= *saṁvatsaraḥ*). The final *a* of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in [*m*]isañ-deva and *añmisañ-[de]vā* (read *ami*^o).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before labials in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*, *s[u]ag[e]*, *sumi*; *a* in *alahāmi*, *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *vayajanenā*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

ky remains in [*cha*]kye (Bairāt), but becomes *kiy* in *chakiye*, *sakiye*, and *k* in *sake* (= Skt. *śakyah*), *Śake* and [*Sa*]k[e] (= *Śākyah*).

kr becomes *k* in *pakamasi*, *pa[la]kamañtu*, &c.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*, *bhikhu*, *bhikhuniye*, *dakhitaviye*.¹

kshñ becomes *khin* in *abhikhinam*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr becomes *g* in [*nigoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājinā*.

ñch becomes *ñin* in *sapañnā* = Skt. *śatpāñchāśat*; cf. *pañnaḍasā*, &c., in the pillar-edict V.

tp becomes *p* in *sapañnā*.

tk becomes *k* in *samukase*.

tm becomes *t* in *mahata-* (= Skt. *mahātman*).

ty becomes *chy* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*).

tr becomes *t* in *tata*, *lāti*, *sūte*, *hetā*.

tv becomes *t* in *mahatatā* (= Skt. *mahātmatvāt*).

ts becomes *chh* in *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sav[a]chhal*.

tsth becomes *th* in [*uṭhānam*].²

dr becomes *d* in *khudaka*, *bha[dak]e*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*; *d* in *ḥambudīpasi*, *diyaḍhiyam*.

pn becomes *p* in *p[ā]potave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

pr remains in *prakāsa* (Rūpnāth) and in *abhipretam*, *prasāde*, *Pr[i]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Bairāt), but becomes *p* in *Piyadasī*, &c., and perhaps *ph* in *phāsu* = Vedic *prāsu* (?); see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 62, 1.

rg becomes *g* in *svage*.

rth becomes *th* in *aṭha*, and perhaps *th* in *[-a]thāta* (?).

rdh becomes *dh* in *adhati[y]āni*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*.

rdhy becomes *dhiy* in *apaladhiyenā* and *aval[a]dhiyenā*; *dhiy* in *diyaḍhiyam*.

rm becomes *ñm* in *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Maski, l. 5).

ry becomes *liy* in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*) and *paliyāya*.

rv remains in *sarve* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 3), but becomes *v* in *pavata* and *pavatis[u]*.

rs becomes *s* in *Piyadasī*.

rsh becomes *sh* in *vashā[ni]* (Maski, l. 2); *s* in *vasa* and *samukase*.

rh becomes *lah* in *alahāmi*.

lp becomes *p* in *ap[ā]bādhatam*.

vy remains in *vy[u]thenā*, but becomes *viy* in *dakhitaviye*, *vataviyā*, *vivasetavā(vi)[ya]*, and *vay* in *lā(li)khāpetavaya* and *vayajanenā*.

śn becomes *sin* in *pasine* (= Skt. *praśnāḥ*).

śy becomes *s* in the optative passive *diseyā*.

śr becomes *s* in *misa* and *sāvane*.

sth becomes *th* in *vy[u]tha* (Rūpnāth); *th* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām).

shm becomes *ph* in *tupaka* (read perhaps *tuphākam*, as at Sārṇāth).

shy becomes *s* in *Upatisa*, *munisā*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*, *hosatī*.

st becomes *th* in *athi* and *tham[bh]a* (Sahasrām); *th* in *tha[m]bha* (Rūpnāth).

sth becomes *th* in *chira-thiṭike* and *chila-thiṭike*.

¹ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

² Cf. above, p. ciii.

sm becomes *sum* in *sumi* (= Skt. *asmi*); *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svage* (spelt *svage* at Bairāt), but becomes *su* in *s[u]ag[e]* (Sahasrām).

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aṭhe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>devā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>bhayāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>saṅghaṁ</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vipulaṁ</i> , &c.	<i>devehi</i> .
Instr. <i>Budhena</i> , &c.	[<i>ājīvi</i>] <i>kehi</i> .
Dat. <i>kālāya</i> , <i>aṭhāya</i> , <i>aṭh[ā]ye</i> .	
Abl. <i>mahatātā</i> .	
Gen. <i>Asok[a]sa</i> , <i>Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>Budhasi</i> , &c.	<i>pavatesu</i> .

In the nom. sing. masc. *yāvataka* and the nom. sing. neut. *lā(h)khāpetavaya*, *vivasetavā(vi)[ya]* at Rūpnāth, *-a* is perhaps only a clerical error for *-e*.

In the acc. sing. masc. *sagh[a]* (for *saṅghaṁ*) and the acc. sing. neut. *vipula* at Rūpnāth, the final Anusvāra is omitted.

The final *a* of the instr. sing. is lengthened in *apaladhiyenā*, *aval[a]dhiyenā*, *-abhisitenā*, *pa[kā]mam[i]nenā*, *palakamamīnenā*, *vayajanenā*, *vy[u]thenā*.

At Barābar we seem to have a loc. sing. in *-e*: *su[p]i[y]e*.

The final *ā* of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines *paryāya*, *vaṁśa*, *saṁvatsara* form the nom. and acc. plur. *palīyāyāni*, *vasāni*, [*savachhalāni*], with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending *-ā* at Sahasrām (l. 6 f.) in *lāti-satā vivruthā*; at Rūpnāth (l. 5 f.) we have *sata* instead of *satā*.

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. *kubhā*, *dinā*; acc. sing. *ap[ā]bādhatām*, *phāsu-vihālataṁ*; nom. plur. *upāsikā*, *gāthā*.

(3) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Acc. sing. *vaḍhi*; nom. plur. *bhikkhuniye*; loc. plur. *pavatis[u]*.¹

(4) Masculines in *-at*.

Nom. sing. *kalamtām*; instr. sing. *bhagavatā*; nom. plur. *saṁta* (for either *saṁtā* or *saṁte*).

(5) Masculines in *-an*.

Nom. sing. *lājā*, *lāja*; instr. sing. *lājinā*, *ma[ha]tan[ā]*.

(6) Masculine in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī*, *Pr[i]yadas[i]*; instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakam*.

Instr. sing. *mamayā*, *hamiyāye*, [*me*].

Gen. sing. *h[a]mā*, *me*.

¹ The feminine *parvati* (= *parvata*) occurs in the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*; see Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

The genitive *h[ā]mā* is a compromise between the usual form *mama* or *mamā* and the nom. **ham* (for Skt. *aham*). With the instr. *hamiyāye* cf. *mamiyāye* at Jaugaḍa.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Dat. plur. *ve* (= Skt. *vaḥ*), which is used for the nom. at Maski (l. 7); gen. plur. *tupaka* (Rūpnāth), which is probably a clerical error for *tuphākam* (Sārṇāth).

(3) Base *ta*.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *se*; acc. sing. neut. *ta[m̐]*, *se*; nom. plur. masc. *te*.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*, *esā*, *e[s]e*; instr. sing. [*etena*], *eteni(nā)*, *etinā*; dat. sing. *etāye*, *etiya*; acc. plur. neut. *etāni*.

With the forms *etinā* and *etiya* at Rūpnāth cf. the gen. sing. *etisa* in the two Kharōshthi versions of the rock-edicts, and *etishā* at Kālsī.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>iya[m̐]</i> , <i>iya</i> ; neut. <i>iyam̐</i> .	Neut. <i>imāni</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>ima</i> ; neut. <i>imam̐</i> .	
Dat. [<i>i</i>]māyā.	

Nom. sing. fem *iyam̐*.

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms part of the conjunction *kīnti* or *kiti*, and the base *ka* of the indefinite *kechi* (nom. sing. neut.).

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *e*; acc. sing. neut. *yā*, *aṃ*; nom. plur. masc. *yā*, which follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a*, and [*ye*].

(8) Base *sarva*.

Nom. sing. neut. *sarve*

D.—NUMERALS

Two : nom. neut. *duve*.

Twelve : *duvāḍasa*.

Nineteen : *ekunavīsati*.

Fifty-six : *sapaṃnā*. For *pannā* = Skt. *pañchāśat*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 445

Hundred : *satā* and *sata* (nom. plur.).

E.—CONJUGATION

(I) PRESENT.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *alahāmi*, *sumi*, *ichhāmi*, *likhā[pa]yāmi*.

3. sing. *atki*.

(b) Subjunctive.

2. plur. [*likhāpa*]yāthā.

(c) Optative.

3. sing. *adhigachh[e]yā, siyā, diseyā* (passive).
 3. plur. *sun[e]yu* (= *shune[y]u* at Kālsī), *upadhāl[a]yeyū*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*.
 2. plur. *lekhāpeta, [likhāpayatha]*.
 3. plur. *pakamatu* (for °*man̐tu*), *palakamam̐tu, jānam̐tu*.

(2) AORIST: 3. plur. *husu*.(3) PERFECT: 3. sing. *āhā*.

(4) FUTURE.

3. sing. *hosatī, vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*.

(5) PARTICIPLES.

(a) Present Participle.

Active: *kalam̐taṁ, sam̐ta* (nom. plur.).
 Middle: *pa[ka]mam[i]na, palakamam̐na*.

(b) Past passive participle.

In -*ta*: *kaṭa, pakata* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vy[u]ṭha* and *vivutha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.
 In -*na*: *dina* (i. e. *dinna*); see above, p. cxxii.

(c) Future passive participle.

In -*tavya*: *dakhitaviya, vataviya, lā(li)khāpetavaya, vivasetavā(vi)[ya]*.
 In -*ya*: *sakiya* and *saka, [cha]kya* and *chakiya*.

(6) INFINITIVE.

adhigatave, v[ā]ṭave (from root *vach*), *p[ā]ṭave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *pāv[a]ṭ[ā]ve* (from **prāpati*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504), *ārodheve* (read *ārādhēṭave*) and *[ā]lādheta[v]e*.

(7) ABSOLUTIVE.

abhivāde[tū]nam̐; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 585.

II. THE THREE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE

A.—PHONETICS

(I) VOWELS.

For *vaḍhisiti* and *munisā*, see above, p. cxxiii. Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (= *guru*). For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. *ṛi* becomes (1) *i* in *pakitī* (= *prakritik*), *pitisu* (= *pitṛishu*); (2) *u* in *pitusu*; (3) *ra* in *drahyitavyam̐* (from *drīhyati*). *au* becomes *o* in *porānā*.

Interconsonantal *a* or *i* are lengthened in *adhātiya* (= Ardhamāgadhi *aḍḍhāijja*; see above, p. cxxiii), *upayita* (= Skt. *upēta*), *chira-ṭhitike, Suvam̐nagirite*, and final *i*, which stands for *is*, in *pakitī*. Initial *a* and *i* are lost in *pi, hakan̐, ti*.

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā rock-edicts in retaining the letter *r*, which has become *l* in the Māgadha dialect.

Skt. *ṛ* is preserved in *guṇā*, *paka[m]i* . . . *neṇa* (read *pakamaminēṇa*), *porāṇā*, *prāṇesu*, *mahāmātānaṃ*, *li[pi]kareṇa*, *Suvarṇagiri*, *sāvaṇe*, but is replaced by dental *n* in *adhātīyāni*, *khudakena*, *vasāni*. It is used instead of *n* in *Devāṇāmpīya* (Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = *[Dev]ā[na]m̐piya* (Śiddāpura) and corresponds to Skt. *jñ* in *āṇapayati*.¹

k appears to have become *y* in *diyadhīya* (= **dvikārdhya*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hoti*, *husaṃ*, *devehi*.

y is developed out of *i* in *upayite* and becomes *v* before *u* in *dī[gh]āvuse*. *ayi* becomes *e* in *ārādhetaṇe*. *ava* becomes *o* in *hoti*.

ś and *sh* have become *s* throughout; but *ś* is improperly used for *s* in *[ā]char[i]yaśa* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) and *śa[cha]m̐* (Śiddāpura). *h* is prefixed in *hevaṃ* and *hemeva*.

Final *as* becomes *e* in *Suvarṇagiri*, *aṭhe*, &c., but *a* in *esa* (nom. sing. neut.). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *iya* and *bādha*.

(3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved, and the syllable *va* is dropped, in *hemeva* (= Skt. *ēvamēva*). Final *a* is elided before *u* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), and before *e* in *mahātpeṇzeva*. *i + i* become *ī* in *hiyaṃ* (Brahmagiri, l. 4).

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *tm* (which becomes *tp*), *dr*, *pr*, *vy*, *sv*, *hy*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *ayaputasa*, *āchariya*, *avaradhiyā*, *diyadhīyaṃ*, *e[t]āyathāya*, but the length remains in *āṇapayati*, *dī[gh]āvuse*, *pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta*, *yathārahāṃ*. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *vyūthēna*.

The long nasal vowel *ām̐* is shortened before consonants in *[Dev]ā[na]m̐piye*, *prakāṃte* and *pakāṃte*. Anusvāra is omitted after *a* in *atā* and *savachharaṃ*.

kt becomes *t* in *vataṭiya*.

ky remains in *sakye* (Brahmagiri), but becomes *k* in *sake* (Śiddāpura).

kr becomes *k* in *pakama*, *prakāṃte* and *pakāṃte*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gy becomes *giy* in *ārogiyaṃ*.

jñ becomes *ñ* in *ñātika*; *ṇ* in *āṇapayati*.

As in *ātpa-* (= Skt. *ātman*) at Gīrnār, *tm* becomes *tp* in *mahātpa* (= *mahātman*).

ty becomes *ch* in *sachāṃ*.

tr becomes *t* in *ayaputasa*, *mahāmāta*.

ts becomes *chh* in *saṃvachhara*.

dr remains in *drahyitavyaṃ*, but becomes *d* in *khudaka*.

dv becomes *d* in *Jambudīpasi* and *diyadhīyaṃ*.

pn becomes *p* in *pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

pr remains in *prakāṃte* (Brahmagiri, l. 2), but becomes *p* in *pakāṃte*, &c.

rg becomes *g* in *svage*.

rg becomes *gh* in *dī[gh]āvuse*.

ṛṇ becomes *m̐* in *Suvarṇagiri*.

rt becomes *t* in *pavatitaviya*; *ṛ* in *kaṭaviye*.

rth becomes *th* in *aṭha*.

¹ Cf. Prākṛit *āṇavedi*, and *āṇapemi*, *āṇapita*, &c. at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā.

- rdh* becomes *ḍh* in *aḍhātīyāni* and *vaḍhisiti*.
rdhy becomes *dhiy* in *avaradhiyā*; *ḍhiy* in *diyaḍhiyaṃ*.
rm becomes *ṛm* in *dhamma*.
ry becomes *riy* in *āchāriya*; *y* in *ayaputasa*.
rsh becomes *s* in *vasāni*.
rh becomes *rah* in *yathārahaṃ*.
vy remains in *vyūthēna* and *drahyitavyaṃ*, but becomes *viy* in the remaining gerunds in *-taviya* (= Skt. *-tavya*).
śr becomes *s* in *misa*, *sāvane*, *sāvite*, *sāvāpīte*, *susūs[i]taviye*.
shṭ becomes *th* in *vyūthēna*.
shy becomes *s* in *munisā* and *vaḍhisiti*.
sth becomes *th* in *chira-ṭhīṭke*.
sm becomes *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asī*.
sy becomes *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.
sv remains in *svage*.
hy remains in *drahyitavyaṃ*.

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aṭhe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>ñātikā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>ekaṃ</i> , <i>savachharaṃ</i> ; neut. <i>ārogiyaṃ</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>kālena</i> , &c.	<i>devehi</i> .
Dat. <i>athāya</i> .	
Abl. <i>avaradhiyā</i> .	
Gen. <i>ayaputasa</i> , <i>pakamasa</i> .	<i>mahāmātānaṃ</i> .
Loc. <i>Isilasi</i> , <i>Jambudīpasi</i> .	<i>ñātikesu</i> , <i>prāṇesu</i> .

The termination of the nom. sing. neut. is *-aṃ* in [*likhita*]*ṃ* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = *likhite* (Brahmagiri), *vataviyaṃ*, *sachāṃ*.

- (2) Feminine in *-ā*: nom. sing. *porāṇā*.
- (3) Feminine in *-ī*: nom. sing. *pakīṭi*.
- (4) Masculine in *-u*: loc. plur. *garu[su]*.
- (5) Masculine in *-ṛi*: loc. plur. *pīṭisu* (Brahmagiri) and *pīṭusu* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara).
- (6) Masculine in *-an*. The Sanskrit base *mahātman* follows the *a*-declension: instr. sing. *mahātṭen[a]*; nom. plur. *mahātṭā*.
- (7) Masculine in *-in*: instr. sing. *aṃtevaśinā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakaṃ*; instr. *mayā*, *me*; gen. *mai* (read *me*).

(2) Base *ta*.

Acc. sing. neut. *se*; nom. plur. masc. *se*.

(3) Base *ēta*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*; dat. sing. *e[i]āya*; nom. sing. fem. *esā*.

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>iyaṁ</i> ; neut. <i>iyaṁ, iya</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>imaṁ</i> .	
Instr. <i>iminā</i> .	

(5) Relative pronoun.

Acc. sing. neut. *ya, yaṁ*.

D.—CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

- (a) Indicative: 3. sing. *hoti, āṇapayati*.
 (b) Optative: 3. plur. *pakameyu, jāneyu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

(2) Aorist: 1. sing. *husaṁ*.

(3) Perfect: 3. sing. *āha*.

(4) Future: 3. sing. *vaḍhisiti*.

(5) Participles.

- (a) Present middle participle: *paka[m]i . . ṇa* (read *pakamamīṇa*), *samāna* (from root *as*).
 (b) Past passive participle: *upayīta* (from *upa-i*), *prakamita* and *pakamita* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vyūtha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.
 (c) Future passive participle: *vataviya, kṛtaviya, drahyitaviya* (from the present *ḍrihyati*), *apachāyitaviya, pavatitaviya, susūs[i]taviya* (from the desiderative of *śru*).

(6) Infinitive.

pāpotave (from Skt. *prāṇnōti*), *ārādhetaṇe*.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
- 2 प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता (B) इध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजूहितव्यं
- 4 (C) न च समाजो कतव्यो (D) बहुकं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजग्हि पसति देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा
- 6 (E) अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
- 7 प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो (F) पुरा महानसग्हि
- 8 देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं व-
- 9 हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाय
- 10 (G) से अज यदा अयं धम्मलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
- 11 णा आरभरे सूपाय वो मोरा एको मगो सो पि
- 12 मगो न ध्रुवो (H) एते पि चि प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे

- 1 (A) iy[am] dhamma-lipī Devānaṃpriyena
- 2 Priyadasinā rāñā lekh[ā]pitā (B) [i]dha na kiṃ-
- 3 chi jīvaṃ ārabhitpā prajūhitavyaṃ
- 4 (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ
- 5 samājamhi pasati Devānaṃpriyo Priyadasi rājā¹
- 6 (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhu-matā Devānaṃ-
- 7 priyasa Priyadasino rāño (F) purā mahānas[amhi]²
- 8 Devānaṃpriyasa Priy[a]dasino rāño anudivasam ba-

¹ Before *rājā* a superfluous *ra* seems to have been struck out by the writer.

² The first syllable of *mahānasa*^o looks almost like *me*, and *sa* like *se*. Originally *mahānase* may have been written, to which *mhi* was added subsequently without correcting the *se* into *sa*. As noted by Bühler (EI, 2. 449, n. 10), a second *mhi* was added at the very end of the line.

- 9 hūni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya
 10 (G) se aja yadā yaṁ dha[m]ma-lip[i] likhitā tī eva prā-
 11 ṇā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi
 12 mago na dhruvo¹ (H) ete pi trī prāṇa pachhā na ārabhisare

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality² has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin.

(B) Here³ no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And no festival meeting⁴ must be held.

(D) For king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin.⁵

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāṁpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.⁶

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily) for the sake of curry,⁷ (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो
 2 एवमपि प्रचंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंव-
 3 पंणी अंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियकस सामीपं
 4 राजानो सर्वच देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो वे चिकीछ कता

¹ *dhruvo* Senart and Bühler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the *dh*, one of which is *u*, while the upper one is probably *r*. Cf. the *r* of [A]*ndhra* in the Girnār edict XIII, l. 9, and of *aparakaraṇamhi* in edict XII, l. 3.

² The literal meaning of *dhamma-lipi* (or *dhrama-dipi* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions) is 'a writing on morality'. To retain the sense of 'writing', I use the translation 'rescript on morality' instead of 'religious edict' as the term was rendered by Bühler.

³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. the rock-edict XIII, Q and R. and the Rūpnāth rock-inscription, K.

⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 93 f.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the word *samāja*, which Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1324 f.) had translated by 'battu'.

⁵ This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.

⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes *Mahābhārata*, III, 208, 8-10, where 'we are told that 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of king Rantidēva, and that by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.' Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f., and VII, 67, 16-18: 'On the nights which guests spent with Rantidēva, the son of Saṁkṛiti, 21,000 kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: "Eat ye a lot of curry (*sūpa*)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!"'

⁷ Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict vegetarians.

- 5 मनुसचिकीछा च पसुचिकीछा च (B) ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
 6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत्र हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
 7 (C) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत्र नास्ति सर्वत्र हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
 8 (D) पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता व्रछा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं

- 1 (A) sarvata vijitamhi Devānāmpriyasa Piyadasino¹ rāño
 2 evamapi prachamtesu yathā Chodā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Tām-
 3 paṁṇī Antiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tasa Antiy[a]kas[a]² sāmīp[am]³
 4 rājāno sarvatra Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rāño dve chikichha katā
 5 manusa - chikichhā cha pasu - chikichhā cha (B) osuḍhāni cha yāni
 m[a]nusopagān[i] cha
 6 paso[pa]gāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā⁴ hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni cha
 7 (C) mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra⁵ nāsti sarvata⁶ hārāpitāni cha
 rop[ā]pitāni cha
 8 (D) paṁthesū kūpā cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpit[ā] paribhogāya pasu-
 manusānam

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa,⁷ the Kētalaputa,⁸ even⁹ Tāmraparṇī,¹⁰ the Yōna king Antiyaka,¹¹ and also the

¹ Priya° Bühler.

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² Thus Senart and Bühler, EI, 2. 449; *Antiyokasā* Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 95.

³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 95) would read *sāmīnam*, which he considered to be a clerical error for *sāmāntā*, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that *sāmāntā* was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into *sāmīpam* (or *sāmīpā*?).

⁴ *sarvatā* Senart, *sarvatra* Bühler.

⁵ *yata* Bühler.

⁶ *sarvatra* Bühler.

⁷ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 98 ff.) rejected Kern's identification of this term with the Sātpurā range, and explained it by 'the king of the Satvats', whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kālsī version reads Satiyaputa, with Sātputē, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Lüders (ZDMG, 58. 693 f.) has shown that the Pāli *putta* (= Skt. *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe'. He quotes as examples *Andhakavenhuputta*, *Videhaputta*, *Bhojaputta*, *Milāchaputta*, *devaputta* (cf. the feminine *devadhītā*), and Skt. *rājaputra*.

⁸ Kētalaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Mānsehrā version: Kēralaputra, i.e. the king of Kērala or Malabar, the *Κηρόβορος* of Ptolemy; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.

⁹ The syllable *ā* cannot be the preposition *ā*, 'as far as', because the latter would require after it the ablative *Tāmbapaṁṇiyā*, as at Mānsehrā, XIII, Q. Lüders therefore explains it as an Ardhamāgadhī form of the Skt. relative *yā*; see SPAW, 1914. 831.

¹⁰ Tāmraparṇī (*Tāmbapaṁṇī* in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form *Ταμποβάνη*; see IA, 6. 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmraparṇī is the name of a river in the Tinnevely district, which was known to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17).

¹¹ Kālsī and Mānsehrā read *Antiyoga*, the remaining versions *Antiyoka*. Antiochus II Theos

kings who are the neighbours¹ of this *Antiyaka*,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment² were established by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन मया इदं आजपितं
2 (C) सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजूके च प्रादेसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
3 यानं नियातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसस्ठिय यथा अजा-
4 य पि कंमाय (D) साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूसा मित्रसंस्तुतजातीनं बाम्हाण-
5 समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपव्ययता अपभाडता साधु
6 (E) परिसा पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च

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- 1 (A) *Devānāmpīyo*³ *Piyadasi* r[ā]jā evaṃ āha (B) *dbādasa-vāsābhisitena* mayā
idaṃ ān[a]pitam
2 (C) *sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha pañchasu pañchasu*
vāsesu anusam-
3 *y[ā]na[m] n[ī]yātu etāyeva athāya imāya dhammānusasthiya yathā añā-*
4 *ya pi kaṁmāy[a]* (D) *[s]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā mitra-saṁstuta-ñātinam*⁴
bāmhāṇa-
5 *samaṇānam sādhu d[ā]nam prāṇānam sādhu anārambho apa-vyayatā apa-bhādatā*⁵
sādhu
6 (E) *parisā pi yute āṇapayisati gaṇanāyam hetuto cha vyamjanato cha*

of Syria (261-246 B.C.) is probably meant; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II (sec. ed.), p. 255, and Senart, *IA*, 20. 242.

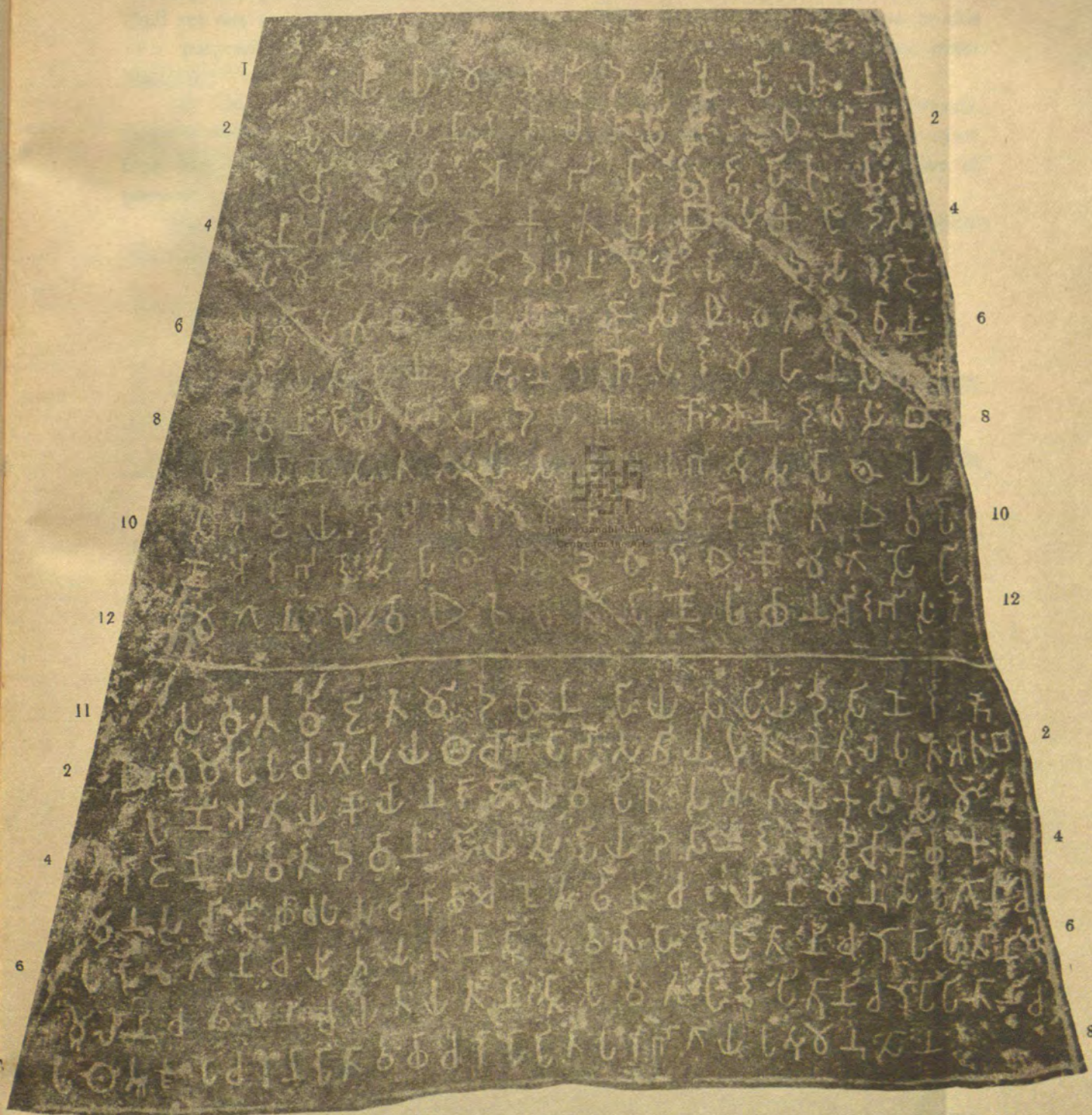
¹ For *sāmāntā*, 'neighbours', and its equivalent *sāmīpaṁ*, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, *IA*, 34. 245, and *AJP*, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālsī edict XIII, Q.

² D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that *chikitsā* means neither 'hospitals' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart); he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

³ *°priyo* Bühler.

⁴ *mitra-* looks almost like *mitā-*; see *EI*, 2. 450, n. 47.

⁵ *apabhīṁdatā* Senart, *apabhāṁdatā* Bühler.



TRANSLATION

(A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*,¹ the *Rājūka*,² and the *Prādēśika*³ shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges)⁴ every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.⁵

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'⁶

(E) The council (of *Mahāmātras*)⁷ also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.⁸

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिक्रान्तं अंतरं बहूनि वाससतानि वदितो एव प्राणारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं
जातीसु
- 2 असंप्रतिपत्ती ब्राह्मणसमणानं असंप्रतीपत्ती (B) त अज देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो
राजो
- 3 धंमचरणेन भेरीघोसो अहो धंमघोसो विमानदर्शणा च हस्तिदसणा च

¹ For *yuta* = Sanskrit *yukta*, 'an officer', which occurs in the *Kautilīya*, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909. 467, and 1914. 387 ff., and cf. the terms *āyuktaka* and *vinīyuktaka* in the Valabhi inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

² Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from *rajjū*, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the *Kautilīya*, the two terms *chōra-rajjū* (p. 60) and *chōra-rajjūka* (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, *Notes on the Arthaśāstram*, p. 10 f., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

³ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with *prādēśhtri* in the *Kautilīya*, which is, however, a *nomen agentis* of the verb *pradīśati*, 'to direct', while *prādēśika* is derived from the substantive *pradēśa*. Kern (JRAS, 1880. 393) translated *prādēśika* by 'a provincial governor'. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (IV, 126) *prādēśikēśvara* means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauī, Z-CC; Jaugaḍa, AA-DD) suggests that the *Prādēśika* of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the *Mahāmātras*, and that *Prādēśika-mahāmātra* would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

⁴ Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

⁵ Cf. the Dhauī separate edict I, CC.

⁶ This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

⁷ Bühler translated *parisā* by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term *mantri-parishad*, 'the council of ministers', in the *Kautilīya*. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

⁸ I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words *gaṇanāyaṇi hetuto cha vyañjanato cha*. For *vyañjana* cf. my note on the translation of the Sārnāth pillar-edict, section I.

- 4 अगिखंधानि च अजानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्वा जनं (C) यारिसे बहूहि
वाससतेहि
- 5 न भूतपुवे तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो धंमानुसस्ठिया अनारं-
- 6 भो प्राणानं अविहीसा भूतानं जातीनं संपटिपती ब्रह्मणसमणानं संपटिपती
मातरि पितरि
- 7 सुसुसा चैरसुसुसा (D) एस अजे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वढिते (E) वढयिसति चैव
देवानंप्रियो
- 8 प्रियदसि राजा धंमचरणं इदं (F) पुत्रा च पोत्रा च प्रपोत्रा च देवानंप्रियस
प्रियदसिनो राजो
- 9 प्रवधयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सवटकपा धंमहि सीलमहि तिस्टंती धंमं
अनुसासिसंति
- 10 (G) एस हि सेस्ते कंमे य धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस
(I) त इममहि अथमहि
- 11 वधी च अहीनी च साधु (J) एताय अथाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अथस वधि
युजंतु हीनि च
- 12 नो लोचेतथा (K) द्वादसवासाभिसित्तेन देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा इदं
लेखापितं

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- 1 (A) atikātaṃ aṃt[a]raṃ bahūni vāsa-satāni vaḍhito eva prāṇāraṃbho vihiṃsā cha
bhūtānaṃ nātisu
- 2 a[s]aṃpratipati brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṃ asaṃpratīpatī¹ (B) ta² aja Devānaṃ-
priyasa Priyadasino³ rāṇo
- 3 dhamma-charaṇena [bhe]rī-ghoso aho dhamma-ghoso vimāna-darsaṇā⁴ cha hasti-
da[sa]ṇā cha
- 4 agi-kh[a]m dhāni cha [a]ṇāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janam (C) yārise bahūhi
v[āsa]-satehi
- 5 na bhūta-puve tārise aja vaḍhite Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo
dhammānusasṭhiyā anāraṃ-
- 6 [bh]o prāṇānaṃ avihiṣā⁵ bhūtānaṃ nātīnaṃ saṃpaṭipatī brahmaṇa-samaṇānaṃ
saṃpaṭipatī mātari pitari
- 7 [s]usrusā thaira-susrusā (D) esa aṇe cha bahuvīdhe [dha]mma-charaṇe va[dhi]te
(E) vaḍhayisati cheva Devānaṃpriyo
- 8 [Pri*]ya[da]si⁶ rājā dhamma-[cha]raṇam idaṃ (F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā
cha Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo

¹ The syllable *pa* was inserted subsequently.

² This syllable was inserted subsequently.

³ The syllable *da* was inserted subsequently.

⁴ -*dasaṇā* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ The syllable *hi* was inserted subsequently.

The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (*pri* and *pra*) is invisible on my materials and is taken from the plate facing ASWI, 2, 102.

- 9 [pra*]vadhayisaṃti¹ idaṃ [dha]ṃma-charaṇaṃ āva savāṭa-kapā² dhammamhi
silamhi tiṣṭaṃto [dha]ṃmaṃ anusāsisaṃti
- 10 (G) [e]sa hi seṣṭe kaṃme ya dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-charaṇe pi na
[bha]vati asīlasi (I) [ta] imamhi athamhi
- 11 [va]dhī cha ahīni cha sādhu (J) e[t]āya athāya³ ida[m] lekhāpitaṃ imasa atha[sa]
v[a]dhi yujamtu hīni⁴ ch[a]
- 12 [no]⁵ lochetavyā (K) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena Devān[a]ṃpriyena Priyadasinā
rāñ[ā] idaṃ lekhāpitaṃ

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality,⁶ showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.⁷

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king **Dēvānāṃpriya**

¹ See note 6 on previous page.

² *saṃvāṭa*- Bühler.

³ Between *thā* and *ya* the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erasure.

⁴ There is a vacant space between *hī* and *ni*.

⁵ Instead of *no* the plate facing EI, 2. 452 shows the syllable *mā*, which seems, however, to be due to retouching. Kern (IA, 5. 261 and 262) preferred to read *nālochetavyā*.

⁶ For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911. 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 25), who says: 'The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Aśoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness.' Cf. the Girnār edict X, A, and the third note on the translation of it.

⁷ D. R. Bhandarkar (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aerial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practise morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (*hathīni* at Dhauli) he explains as representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lōkapālas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the *Khadirāṅgāra-jātaka*. But according to Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 18, *aggikkhandha* is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the *Dhammapada* may be added *Mahāvagga*, I, 16-18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (*maṇḍā aggikkhandhā*). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (*aggikkhandhā*) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 395) would render *agniskandhā* by 'bonfires'; but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Prinsep (JASB, 7. 266) quoted *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of *aggikkhandha* (*Āṅguttara-nikāya*, ed. Hardy, part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With *divyāni rūpāni* cf. *devā* in the Rūpnāth edict, E. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.

Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will promote this practice of morality until the æon of destruction (of the world),¹ (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they² should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them).³

(K) This was caused to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

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- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) कलाणं दुकरं (C) यो आदिकरो
कलाणस सो दुकरं करोति
- 2 (D) त मया बहु कलाणं कतं (E) त मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे अपचं
आव संबटकपा अनुवतिसरे तथा
- 3 सो सुकतं कासति (F) यो तु एत देसं पि हापेसति सो दुकतं कासति (G) सुकरं
हि पापं (H) अतिकतं अंतरं
- 4 न भूतपुवं धंममहामाता नाम (I) त मया चैदसवासाभिसितेन धंममहामाता
क्ता (J) ते सवपासंडेसु व्यापता धामधिस्तानाय
- 5 धंमयुतस च योणकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्तिकपेतेणिकानं ये वा
पि अंजे आपराता (K) भतमयेसु व

¹ See Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1911, 485, n. 1. Böhtlingk's Abridged Dictionary (vol. VII, addenda) quotes *samvarta-kalpa* from the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (§ 253, No. 62).

² Hereby the successors of Aśoka appear to be meant; cf. section F, above.

³ In the rock-edict XIII, section X, *lochetu* at Kālsī corresponds to *rochetu* (from Skt. *rōchayati*) at Shāhbāzgarhī. Here, however, we find forms of the verb *locheti* in all versions. Probably these are pure Māgadhisms at Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā, where forms of *rocheti* would have to be expected. The same applies to section E of the rock-edict XIV, where [a] *lochetpā* at Gīrnār and *alocheti* at Shāhbāzgarhī correspond to *alochayitu* at Kālsī.

- 6 सुखाय धंमयुतानं अपरिगोधाय व्यापता ते (L) बंधनवधस
पटिविधानाय
7 प्रजा कताभीकारेसु वा चैरेसु वा व्यापता ते (M) पाटलिपुते
च बाहिरसु च
8 ये वा पि मे अजे जातिका सर्वत व्यापता ते (N) यो अयं
धंमनिस्सितो ति व
9 ते धंममहामाता (O) एताय अथाय अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता
10

- 1 (A) D[e]vānaṃpriyo Piyadasi rājā¹ evaṃ āha (B) kalāṇaṃ dukaraṃ (C) y[o
ādikaro] kalāṇ[a]sa² so dukaraṃ karoti
2 (D) ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā³ cha paraṃ cha
tena y[a] me [a]pachaṃ āva saṃvaṭa-kapā anuvatisare tathā
3 so sukataṃ kāsati⁴ (F) yo tu eta desaṃ pi hāpesati so [du]kataṃ kāsati
(G) sukaraṃ hi pāpa[m] (H) atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ
4 na bhūta - pruvāṃ⁵ dhamma - mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[a]yā traidasa-
vāsābhi[s]i[tena] dhamm[a]-mahāmātā katā (J) te sava-pāsaṃḍesu vyāpatā
dhāmadhiṣṭhānāya⁶
5 [dha]mma-yutasa cha Yona-K[a]mbo[ja]-Gaṃdhārānaṃ⁷ Ristika-
P[e]tenikānaṃ ye vā pi a[m]ñ[e ā]parātā⁸ (K) bhatamayesu va
6 [su]khā[ya dhamma] - yutānaṃ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te
(L) ba[m]dhana-badhasa⁹ paṭividdhānāya
7 [p]rajā¹⁰ katābhikāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te (M) Pāṭalipute
cha bāhiraṣu¹¹ cha
8 [y]e vā pi me añe ñātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayaṃ dhamma-
nisrito ti va
9 [t]e [dha]mma-mahāmātā (O) etāya¹² athāya ayaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā
10

¹ There is a vacant space before and after the syllable rā.

² ye a kalāṇesa Senart and Bühler.

³ potā Bühler.

⁴ The Kālsī and Dhaulī versions read correctly *so sukataṃ kachhamti*. As Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) suggests, the Gīrnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.

⁵ Read -*purvaṃ*, which is Senart's reading; -*pruvāṃ* Bühler.

⁶ The other versions read *dhammādhī*.

⁷ Yona- Bühler.

⁸ aparātā Bühler.

⁹ The *na* of *bāmdhana*- was inserted subsequently.

¹⁰ [p]rajā looks exactly like [p]ājā. Cf. the *r* of *traidasa*- in line 4, and above, p. 4, n. 4.

¹¹ Read *bāhiresu*, which is Senart's and Bühler's reading.

¹² The syllable *ya* was inserted subsequently.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin is easily committed.

(H) In times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality (*Dharma-mahāmātra*) did not exist before.

(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōṇas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras,¹ the Ristikas and Pētōnikas,² and whatever other western borderers³ (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters⁴ for the happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).⁵

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners⁶ (with money)⁷ (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i. e. incurably ill?),⁸ or with the aged.

¹ i. e. the Greeks, Kābulis, and north-western Panjābīs; see ASSI, I. 123, n. 1, and, for the Kambōjas, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 3. 353 f., and JRAS, 1911. 801 f., 1912. 255 ff., 1915. 171.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 261) identified the Ristikas with the Rīstīkas of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But *Ristika* is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāstika*; see my note on the translation of the Shāhbāzgarhi edict V, J. According to Michelson (IF, 24. 52 ff.), *Petenika* stands for **Paitrayanika*. Dhauti reads *Pitenika*, and the two Kharōshthī versions read *Pitinika*. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R; see my note on the translation of the Kālsī version of that passage.

³ In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word *apara*, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20. 240. For *aṃta* see the Kālsī edict II, l. 1, and XIII, l. 6; Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, I; and the second separate edict at Dhauti and Jaugaḍa. Later on *Aparānta* became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, II. 220.

⁴ The *m* between *bhata* (Sanskrit *bhṛta*) and *aya* (Sanskrit *ārya*) is euphonic; see Franke in GN, 1895. 533 f., and cf. Kuhn's *Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 63 f., and Windisch, *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1893. 240 f.

⁵ Instead of *aparigodha* other versions read *apalibodha*, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālsī. Thomas has traced the substantive *paligodha*, 'desire', and the participle *paliguddha* (= *parigriddha*), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915. 99 ff.

⁶ Cf. *bamdhana-badhānam munisānam* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, L, which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

⁷ Cf. *hiraṇya-patividhāno* in the Gīrnār edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 840.

⁸ With *katābhikāra* Senart compares *abhikṛitvarīḥ*, '(female) demons who are' bewitchers', and *abhinishkārin*, 'devising (against others)', in the *Atharvaveda*. Bühler (EI, 2. 468) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48. 55.



(M) They are occupied everywhere, both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality whether one is eager for morality¹

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवा सि राजा एवं आह (B) अतिक्रांतं अंतरं
- 2 न भूतप्रुव सव . . ल अथकमे व पटिवेदना वा (C) त मया एवं कतं
- 3 (D) सवे काले भुंजमानस मे ओरोधनम्हि गभागारम्हि वचम्हि व
- 4 विनीतम्हि च उयानेसु च सवच पटिवेदका स्तिता अथे मे जनस
- 5 पटिवेदेथ इति (E) सर्वच च जनस अथे करोमि (F) य च किंचि मुखतो
- 6 आजपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सावापकं वा य वा पुन महामाचेसु
- 7 आचायिके अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निम्ती व संतो परिसायं
- 8 आनंतरं पटिवेदेतथं मे सर्वच सर्वे काले (G) एवं मया आजपितं (H) नास्ति हि मे तोसो
- 9 उस्टानम्हि अथसंतीरणाय व (I) कतथमते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं
- 10 (J) तस च पुन एस मूले उस्टानं च अथसंतीरणा च (K) नास्ति हि कमतरं
- 11 सर्वलोकहितत्पा (L) य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनणं गछेयं
- 12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परचा च स्वगं आराधयंतु त (M) एताय अथाय
- 13 अयं धंमलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिस्टेय इति तथा च मे पुचा पोता च प्रपोचा च
- 14 अनुवतरं सवलोकहिताय (N) दुकरं तु इदं अजच अगेन पराक्रमेन

- 1 (A) [Devā] [s]i rājā evaṁ āha (B) atikrāt[a]m antara[m]
- 2 na bhūta-pru[v].² [s]. [v] . . . [l].³ atha-kamme va paṭivedanā vā (C) ta mayā evaṁ kataṁ
- 3 (D) s[a]ve kāle bhuñj[a]mānasa me orodhanamhi gabhāgāramhi vachamhi va
- 4 vinītamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā⁴ stitā athe me [ja]nasa
- 5 paṭivedetha iti (E) sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi (F) ya cha kiṁchi mukhato
- 6 āñapayāmi svayaṁ dāpakam vā srāvāpakam vā ya vā puna mahāmātresu
- 7 āchāyī[ke]⁵ aropitaṁ⁶ bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī v[a] sjaṁto parisāyam

¹ *nisrito* = Pāli *nissito* and Skt. **nisritaḥ* (Senart). For *yo ayam* cf. my note on the translation of section L of the Kālsī version of this edict.

² Read -*purva*; -*puva* Senart, -*purva* Bühler.

³ Restore *save kāle*.

⁴ An apparent *u*-mark is attached to the bottom of *ti*.

⁵ *āchāyika* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *aropitaṁ* Bühler.

- 8 ānaṃtaraṃ paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṃ me sa[r]vatra sarve kāle (G) evaṃ mayā āṇapitaṃ
(H) nāsti¹ hi me to[s]o
9 uṣṭānamhi atha-saṃtiraṇāya va (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitam
10 (J) tasa cha puna esa mūle uṣṭānam cha atha-saṃtiraṇā cha (K) nāsti hi kaṃmataraṃ
11 sarva-loka-hitatpā (L) ya cha kiṃchi parākramāmi ahaṃ kiṃti bhūtānam ānaṃṇam
gachheyaṃ
12 idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagaṃ ārādhayaṃtu ta² (M) etāya athāya
13 ayaṃ dha[m]ma-lipī lekhāpitā kiṃti chiram tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha
prapotrā cha
14 anuvataram³ sava-loka-hitāya (N) dukaram [t]u idaṃ aṇatra⁴ agena parākramena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment,⁵ even at the cowpen,⁶ in the palanquin,⁷ and in the parks.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*)⁸ a dispute arises,⁹ or an amendment is moved,¹⁰ in connexion with any donation or proclamation¹¹ which I myself am ordering

¹ An ancient fissure of the rock, which extends from l. 8 to l. 11, must have existed already at the time when the inscription was incised. This would account for the spaces which were left vacant by the engraver after *nāsti* in l. 8, *-loka-* in l. 9, *kaṃmata*² in l. 10, and *ānaṃṇam* in l. 11.

² Read *ti*.

³ Senart and Bühler correct *anuvataram*. Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) and Bühler read *anuvatarām*, which the former considered to be an imperative like *duhrām* in the *Atharvaveda*. Cf. Johansson's *Shāhbāzgarhi*, 2. 89 f. The *ra* certainly resembles *rā*; but the same applies to the *ra* of *pakaraṇe* in the Gīrnār edict IX, l. 8, and of *samachairam* in XIII, l. 7, where the reading *rā* is impossible.

⁴ *āṇata* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ Cf. Molesworth's *Marāṭhī Dictionary*, s. v. *gābhār*.

⁶ The locative *vachamhi* (= *vrachaspi* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions) is generally rendered by 'in the latrine'. But Skt. *varchas* does not mean 'a latrine', but 'ordure'. As, in the rock-edict XII, M, *vacha* or *vracha* probably corresponds to Skt. *vraja*, 'a cowpen', it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Rajas and their governments even in the present time.

⁷ With *vinīta* cf. Skt. *vinītaka* and *vainītaka*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 277.

⁸ See above, p. 5, n. 7.

⁹ *saṃto* is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālsī rock-edict VI, F.

¹⁰ Bühler (ASSI, 1. 123) rendered *nijhatī* by 'fraud'. This translation seems to be due to an oversight; it would suit the former misreading *nikatī*, but not the actual reading *nijhatī*. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be **nidhyapti*, 'inducing to meditate', i. e. in the present case, 'moving a repeated consideration'.

¹¹ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M.

verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*,¹ it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.²

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important³ than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that⁴ I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them⁵ happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz.) that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा सर्वत इच्छति सवे पासंडा वसेयु (B) सवे ते सयमं च
- 2 भावसुधिं च इच्छति (C) जनो तु उचावचछंदो उचावचरागो (D) ते सर्वे व कासंति
एकदेसं व कसंति
- 3 (E) विपुले तु पि दाने यस नास्ति सयमे भावसुधिता व कतंजता व ददभतिता च
निचा बाढं

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- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhati save pāsāṇḍā vaseyu (B) save te sayamaṃ cha
- 2 bhāva-sudhiṃ cha ichhati (C) jano tu uchāvacha-chhaṇḍo uchāvacha-rāgo (D) te sarvaṃ va kāsanti eka-desam va kasa[m]ti
- 3 (E) vip[ul]e tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va katanjātā va daḍha-bhati[t]ā cha nichā bāḍham

¹ K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) quotes the *Kauṭīlyā*, p. 29, l. 12: 'आत्ययिके कार्ये मन्त्रिषो मन्त्रिपरिवदं चाह्वय ब्रूयात् 'in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told'.

² With *atha-saṃtīraṇā* cf. *śīlita-damḍa* in the pillar-edict IV, L.

³ I adopt Bühler's explanation of *kaṃmataram* as a comparative of *karman*.

⁴ Franke (GN, 1895. 537) has shown that both in the Aśoka inscriptions and in literary Pāli *kiṃti* means 'that, in order that'. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, B, and the rock-edict XIV, D, where *kiṃti* at Gīrnār, Dhauḷi, and Jaugaḍa corresponds to *yena* at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.

⁵ The form *nāni* occurs again in the pillar-edict V, C, and in the Queen's edict, l. 4; *nā* in the Kālsī edict XII, C. The pronoun *na* may be derived from Skt. *ēna*, and *sha*, which corresponds to it in the two Kharoṣṭhī versions, from *ēsha*.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) (For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.¹

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) अतिक्रांतं अंतरं राजानो विहारयातां जयासु (B) एत मगव्या अजानि च एतारिसनि

2 अभीरमकानि अहुंसु (C) सो देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा दसवर्साभिसितो संतो अयाय संबोधिं

3 (D) तेनेसा धंमयाता (E) एतयं होति बाम्हणसमणानं दसणे च दाने च धैरानं दसणे च

4 हिरणपटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्पनं धंमानुसस्ती च धमपरिपुछा च
5 तदोपया (F) एसा भुय रति भवति देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो भागे अंजे

1 (A) atikātaṃ antaraṃ rājāno vihāra-yātāṃ ñayāsu (B) eta magavyā añāni cha etārisani²

2 abhīramakāni ahuṃsu (C) so Devānāmpriyo³ Piyadasi rājā dasa-varsābhisito⁴ saṃto ayāya Saṃbodhiṃ

3 (D) tenesā dhamma-yātā (E) etayaṃ hoti bāmhāṇa-samaṇānaṃ dasaṇe cha dāne cha thairānaṃ dasaṇe ch[a]

4 hiraṇṇa-paṭivīdhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa⁵ daspanaṃ⁶ dhammānus[a]ṣṭi cha dhama-paripucchā cha

5 tadopayā (F) esā bhuya rati bhavati Devānāmpiyasa Priyadasino rāño bhā[g]e aṃñe

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.⁷

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

¹ The translation of this section follows Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 844. He identifies *nichā* with the Vēdic adverb *nichā*. The variant *niche* at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa may correspond to Skt. *nichaiḥ* or *nichah*.

² Read °sāni.

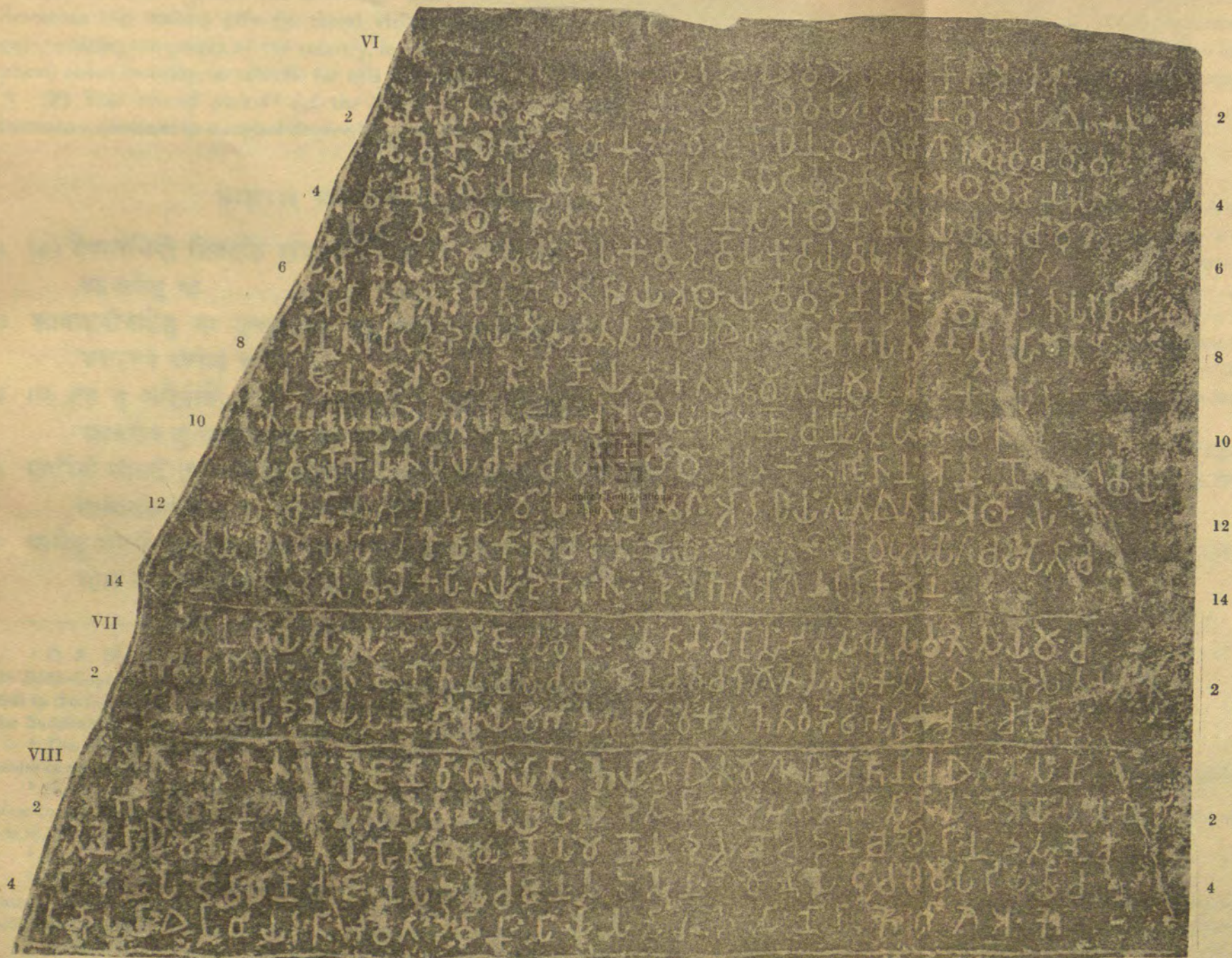
³ °piyo Bühler.

⁴ -vasā° Senart and Bühler.

⁵ jānasa Bühler.

⁶ Read *darsanaṃ*, which is Senart's reading; *dasanaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ Michelson (JAOS, 31. 245) explains *ñayāsu* = *nyayāsuḥ in the sense of *nirayāsuḥ*. See also Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 488, n. 2.



(C) But when king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went to Sāmbōdhi.¹

(D) Therefore these tours of morality (were undertaken).²

(E) On these (tours) the following³ takes place, (viz.) visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold,⁴ visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).⁵

(F) This second period⁶ (of the reign) of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.⁷

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा एव आह (B) अस्ति जनो उचावचं मंगलं करोते
आवाधेसु वा
- 2 आवाहवीवाहेसु वा पुचलाभेसु वा प्रवासंमिह वा एतम्ही च अजमिह च जनो
उचावचं मंगलं करोते
- 3 (C) एत तु महिडायो बहुकं च बहुविधं च छुदं च निरथं च मंगलं करोते (D) त
क्तथमेव तु मंगलं (E) अपफलं तु खो
- 4 एतरिसं मंगलं (F) अयं तु महाफले मंगले य धंममंगले (G) ततेत दासभतकमिह
सम्यप्रतिपती गुरुनं अपचिति साधु
- 5 पाणेषु सयमो साधु बम्हणसमणानं साधु दानं एत च अज च एतारिसं धंममंगलं
नाम (H) त वतथं पिता व

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 160) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bōdh-Gayā, south of Paṭṇā) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśōka's visit to the bōdhi-tree is described in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Buddha's birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rumindēi pillar.

² The singular *esā dhammayātā* seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as *vihāra-yātām* in section A.

³ Bühler (EI, 2. 457, n. 95) explained *etayam* by *eta iyam*. As *ayam* is used for the neuter *idam* in the Gīrnār edict IX, F, and XII, N, it may as well stand for *eta ayam*; cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31. 238.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.

⁵ With *tadōpaya* Senart compares the Pāli words *tadūpiya* and *opāyika*. Franke (VOJ, 9. 345) connects it with *opaga* in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 845) have construed this word with the next section.

⁶ Hitherto the two words *bhāge amñe* and *bhāge amne* at Kālsī and Dhauli have been taken as locatives = Pāli *apara-bhāge*. As Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990) remarks, this is impossible, because in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in *-asi*.

⁷ The word *bhuya* (= *bhuye* in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as *bhuye* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 846) takes *bhuya-rati* to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with *esā*, and *bhāge amñe* to be locatives. But *esā* need not be a nom. sing. fem., but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Gīrnār edict XIII, I, and may as such be connected with *bhāge amñe*, as *[e]se* at Kālsī and *eshe* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions.

- 6 पुनेन वा भावा वा स्वामिकेन वा इदं साधु इदं कतव्य मंगलं आव तस अथस
निष्ठानाय (I) अस्ति च पि वुतं
- 7 साधु दन इति (J) न तु एतारिसं अस्ता दानं व अनगहो व यारिसं धमदानं व
धमनुगहो व (K) त तु खो मिचेन व सुहदयेन वा
- 8 जतिकेन व सहायन व ओवादितव्यं तम्हि तम्हि पकरणे इदं कचं इदं साध इति
इमिना सक
- 9 स्वगं आराधेतु इति (L) कि च इमिना कतव्यतरं यथा स्वगारधी
- 1 (A) Devānāmpīyo Priyadasi rājā eva¹ āha (B) asti jano uchāvacham maṅgalam
karote ābādhesu vā
- 2 āvāha-vivāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsamhi vā etamhi cha añamhi cha jano
uchāvacham maṅgalam karote
- 3 (C) eta tu mahiḍāyo bahukam cha bahuvidham cha chhudam cha nirath[am] cha
maṅgalam karote (D) ta katavyameva tu magalam² (E) apa-phalam tu kho
- 4 etarisaṁ³ maṅgalam (F) ayam tu mah[ā]-phale maṅgale ya dhamma-maṅgale
(G) ta[te]ta⁴ dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipatī gurūnam apachiti sādhu
- 5 pāṇesu sayamo sādhu bamhaṇa-samaṇānam sādhu dānam et[a] cha añ[a] cha
etārisam dhamma-maṅgalam nāma (H) ta vatavyam pitā va
- 6 putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā idam sādhu idam katavya⁵ maṅgalam āva tasa
athasa niṣṭānāya (I) asti cha pi vutam
- 7 sādhu dana⁶ iti (J) na tu etārisam astā⁷ dānam va ana[ga]ho⁸ va yārisam dhamma-
dānam va dhamanugaho⁹ va (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [v]ā
- 8 ñatikena¹⁰ va sahāyana¹¹ va ovāditavyam tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe¹² [i]dam kacham
idam sādha¹³ iti iminā sak[a]¹⁴
- 9 svagam ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataram yathā svagāradhi¹⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter,¹⁶ or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey; on these and other (occasions) men are practising various ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

¹ *evam* Bühler.

² Read *maṅgalam*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

³ Read *etārisam*.

⁴ *tata* Senart and Bühler; but the *te* can be clearly distinguished on the back of the estampage, and is supported by the other versions.

⁵ *katavyam* Bühler.

⁶ Read *dānam*; *danam* Bühler.

⁷ Read *asti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁸ Read *anugaho*.

⁹ *dhammānugaho* Bühler.

¹⁰ Read *ñāti*.

¹¹ Read *yena*.

¹² The syllable *ra* looks almost like *rā*.

¹³ Read *sādhu*.

¹⁴ *sakam* Bühler.

¹⁵ *radhi* Bühler.

¹⁶ For *āvāha* and *vivāha* cf. *Jātaka*, Translation, vol. V, p. 145, n. 1.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following practice bears much fruit, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders,¹ gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.’

(I) And it has been said also: ‘Gifts are meritorious.’

(J) But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.²

(K) Therefore a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—‘This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.’

(L) And what is more desirable than this,³ viz. the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व कीति व न महाथावहा मज्जते अज्जत तदात्पनो दिधाय च मे जनो
- 2 धम्मसुसुंसा सुसुसता धम्मवुतं च अनुविधियतां (B) एतकाय देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा यसो व किति व इच्छति
- 3 (C) यं तु किंचि परिकमते देवानं प्रियदसि राजा त सर्वं पारचिकाय किति सकले अपपरिसवे अस (D) एस तु परिसवे य अपुंजं
- 4 (E) दुकरं तु खो एतं छुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अज्जच अगेन पराक्रमेन सवं परिचजित्पा (F) एत तु खो उसटेन दुकरं

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo⁴ Priyadasi rājā⁵ yaso va kiti va na mahāthāvah[ā] mañate⁶ añata tadātpano⁷ dighāya cha me [ja]no
- 2 dhamma-susu[m]sā⁸ susrusatā⁹ dhamma-vutaṃ cha anuvīdhiyatāṃ (B) etakāya Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va i[chha]ti

¹ The word *sādhū* after *apachiti*, *sayamo*, and *-samañānaṃ* is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Girnār text, because the person who drafted the latter had in his mind passages like the rock-edict III, D.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 57 f.) has traced the two terms *dhamma-dāna* and *dhammānuggaha* in the *Itivuttaka*.

³ A number of instances in which a comparative is construed with the instrumental (instead of the ablative) have been collected by Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1332.

⁴ *priyo* Bühler.

⁵ An obliterated *de* is visible between the syllables *sī* and *rā*, and an obliterated *vā* between *rā* and *jā*.

⁶ *maññate* Bühler.

⁷ Read, with Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 87), *tadātpane*.

⁸ *-susuṃsā* Senart, *-susrusā* Bühler.

⁹ *°satām* Senart and Bühler.

- 3 (C) ya[m̐] tu kich[i] ¹ parik[a]mate ² Devānaṃ ³ Priyadasi rājā ta savaṃ pāratrikāya
kiṃti sakale a[pa]-parisrave ⁴ asa (D) esa tu parisave ⁵ ya apuṃṇaṃ
4 (E) dukaraṃ tu kho etaṃ chhudakena va janena usaṇena va añatra agena
parāk[r̥]amena ⁶ savaṃ parichajitpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho usaṇena dukaraṃ

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame ⁷ conveys much advantage, except (on account of his aim that) in the present time, and in the distant (future), ⁸ men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality. ⁹

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). ¹⁰

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult ¹¹ to accomplish for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देविनंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) नास्ति एतारिसं दानं यारिसं धंमदानं
धंसंस्तवो वा धंसंविभागो वा धंसंबधो व
2 (C) तत इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्यप्रतिपती मातरि पितरा साधु सुसुसा मित-
सस्तुतजातिकानं बाम्हेणसमणानं साधु दानं
3 प्राणानं अनारंभो साधु (D) एत वतथं पिता वं पुत्रेन व भाता व मितसस्तुत-
जातिकेन व आव पटीवेसियेहि इद साधु इद कतथं
4 (E) सो तथा करु इलोकचस आरधो होति परत च अनंतं पुइजं भवति तेन
धंमदानेन

¹ *kimchi* Bühler.

² Read *parākamate*; *parākāmate* Senart, *parākamate* Bühler.

³ Add °*priyo*.

⁴ *appa-* (probably a misprint) Bühler.

⁵ *parisrave* Bühler.

⁶ *parākamena* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ i.e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 575), glory in this life and fame after death,

⁸ Instead of *tadātpano(ne) dighāya cha* the Jaugaḍa version has the synonymous expression *tadatvāye āyatiye cha*, which occurs also in the *Kauṭīliya*, p. 248, l. 9 (*tadātve cha āyatyām cha*), and p. 240, l. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prakṛit affix *-tvana* or *-tana*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 405.

⁹ With this passage cf. the Girmār edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhbāzgarhi edict XIII, P: 'And this conquest is considered the principal one by Dēvānāmpriya, viz. the conquest by morality'.

¹⁰ I adopt Fleet's translation of the last words in JRAS, 1909. 1014, n. 4. The usual translation, 'renouncing everything', is improbable because Aśoka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though he recommends 'moderation in possessions' in the rock-edict III, D.

¹¹ The Jaugaḍa version reads *dukalatale* for *dukaraṃ*.

- 1 (A) *Devānāmpriyo*¹ *Piyadasi rājā* ev[a]m āha (B) *nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ dhamma-saṃstavo vā dhamma-saṃvibhāgo [vā]*² *dhamma-sāmbadho*³ va
- 2 (C) *tata idaṃ bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipatī mātari pitarā*⁴ *sādhū sus[r]usā mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṃ bāmaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[naṃ]*⁵ *sādhū dā[naṃ]*
- 3 *prāṇānaṃ anāraṃbho sādhū* (D) *eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putrena va bhāt[ā] va mita-sastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na va āva paṭivesiyehi*⁶ *ida*⁷ *sādhū ida*⁷ *ka[tav]ya[m]*
- (E) *so t[a]thā karu*⁸ *ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha anantaṃ*⁹ *puiṇaṃ*¹⁰ *bhavati tena dhamma-dānena*

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality.¹¹

(C) Herein the following are (comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.¹²

(D) Concerning this¹³ a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mere) neighbours, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done.'¹⁴

(E) If one is acting thus,¹⁵ the attainment¹⁶ of (happiness) in this world is (secured), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

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¹ Read *Devānaṃ*^o, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² *va* Bühler.

³ Read *-sāmbādho*.

⁴ Read *pitarī*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *-samaṇānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *paṭi*^o Senart and Bühler.

⁷ *idaṃ* Bühler.

⁸ Read *karuṃ*, as in the Gīrnār edict XII, F.

⁹ Read *anantaṃ*.

¹⁰ *puiṇaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ The two expressions *dhamma-dāna* and *dhamma-saṃvibhāga* occur in a passage of the *Itivuttaka*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 57 f.

¹² The other versions omit the superfluous word *sādhū* after *pitarā*, *-sramaṇānaṃ*, and *anāraṃbho*; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.

¹³ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.

¹⁴ Cf. the Gīrnār edict IX, H and K.

¹⁵ Senart and Bühler take *karuṃ* as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS, 31. 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between *karo-* and *kuru-*.

¹⁶ In the Gīrnār version *āradho* seems to be used as a substantive, just as *āradhi* in the Gīrnār edict IX, L, and *āladhi* in the Dhauli separate edict I, S, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि राजा सवपासंडानि च पवजितानि च घरस्तानि च पूजयति दानेन च विवाधाय च पूजाय पूजयति ने
- 2 (B) न तु तथा दानं व पूजा व देवानंपियो मंजते यथा किति सारवढी अस सवपासंडानं (C) सारवढी तु बहुविधा
- 3 (D) तस तु इदं मूलं य वचिगुती किंति आत्पपासंडपूजा व परपासंडगरहा व नो भवे अप्रकरणमिह लहुका व अस
- 4 तमिह तमिह प्रकरणे (E) पूजेतया तु एव परपासंडा तेन तन प्रकरणेन (F) एवं कंरु आत्पपासंडं च वढयति परपासंडस च उपकरोति
- 5 (G) तदंजया करोतो आत्पपासंडं च छणति परपासंडस च पि अपकरोति (H) यो हि कोचि आत्पपासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं व गरहति
- 6 सवं आत्पपासंडभतिया किंति आत्पपासंडं दीपयेम इति सो च पुन तथ करातो आत्पपासंडं वाढतरं उपहनाति (I) त समवायो एव साधु
- 7 किंति अजमंजस धंमं सुणारु च सुसुंसेर च (J) एवं हि देवानंपियस इच्छा किंति सवपासंडा बहुसुता च असु कलाणागमा च असु
- 8 (K) ये च तथ तत प्रसंना तेहि वतथं (L) देवानंपियो नो तथा दानं व पूजां व मंजते यथा किंति सारवढी अस सर्वपासंडानं (M) बहका च एताय
- 9 अथा व्यापता धंममहामाता च इथीमूखमहामाता च वचभूमीका च अजे च निकाया (N) अयं च एतस फल य आत्पपासंडवढी च होति धंमस च दीपना

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyad[a]si rājā sava-pāsaṃḍāni cha [pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati d[a]nena cha vivādhāya¹ [cha] pūjāya pūjayati ne
- 2 (B) na tu tathā dānaṃ va pū[jā] va D[e]vānaṃpiyo maṃñate yathā kiti sāra-vaḍhī asa sa[va-pā]-saṃḍānaṃ (C) sār[a]-vaḍhī tu bahuvidhā
- 3 (D) tasa² tu idaṃ mūlaṃ ya vachi-guṭī kiṃti ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-pūjā va para-pāsaṃḍa-garahā³ va no bhava aprakaraṇamhi⁴ lahukā va asa
- 4 tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe (E) pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsaṃḍā tena tana⁵ prakaraṇena (F) evaṃ karuṃ ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ cha vaḍhayati para-pāsaṃḍasa cha upakaroti
- 5 (G) tad-aṃñathā karoto ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ⁶ cha chhaṇati para-pāsaṃḍasa cha pi apakaroti (H) yo hi kochi ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ pūjayati para-pāsaṃḍaṃ v[a]⁷ garahati

¹ Read *vividhāya*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² The writer had originally written *tasa tasa*, but he scored out the first *sa* and the second *ta*.

³ The syllable *sarh* of *-pāsaṃḍa-* was inserted subsequently.

⁴ The syllable *pra* looks almost like *ha*; the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *abhipretam* near the end of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

⁵ Read *tena*.

⁶ *-pāsaṃḍaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ *vā* Bühler.

- 6 *savaṃ ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-bhatiyā*¹ *kiṃti ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ dīpayema iti so cha puna tatha*
*karāto*² *ātpa-pāsaṃḍa[m] bādhataṃ upahanāti* (I) *ta samavāyo eva sādhu*
- 7 *kiṃti [a]ñamañña*³ *dhammaṃ sruṇāru*⁴ *cha susuṃsera*⁵ *cha* (J) *evaṃ hi*
D[e]vānaṃpiyasa *ichhā kiṃti*⁶ *sava-pāsaṃḍā bahu-srutā cha asu kal[ā]ṇāgamā*
cha [a]su
- 8 (K) *ye cha tatra tata*⁷ *prasaṃnā tehi vatavyaṃ* (L) *Devānaṃpiyo* *no tathā dānaṃ*
*va pūjāṃ*⁸ *va maññate yathā kiṃti sāra-vaḍhī asa sarva-pāsaḍānaṃ* (M)
*bahakā*⁹ *cha etāya*
- 9 *athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha ithijhakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmikā cha*
añe cha nikāyā (N) *ayaṃ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-vaḍhī cha hoti*
dhammasa cha dīp[a]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is honouring all sects:¹⁰ both ascetics and householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them.

(B) But *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But a promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech,¹¹ (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this)¹² out of devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore concord alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of *Dēvānāmpriya*, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

¹ *-pāsaḍa-* Bühler.

² Read *karoto*.

³ *mañña*^o Senart, *amñña*^o Bühler.

⁴ Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1336) proposed to read *sruṇeru*. But the form *sruṇāru* is probably an imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.

⁵ *susuṃserā* Senart, *sususera* Bühler.

⁶ The syllable *ti* was inserted subsequently.

⁷ *tate* Bühler.

⁸ *pūjā* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Read *bahukā*.

¹⁰ The *cha* after *sava-pāsaṃḍāni* is superfluous; see Bühler, EI, I. 19, n. 42. It is missing in the other versions.

¹¹ Instead of *vachi-gutī* the other versions read *vacha-gutī*. With *vachi* cf. the *Ardhamāgadhī* from *vaī* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

¹² The readings *shave* at Kālsī and *savre* in the two *Kharōṣṭhī* versions show that *savaṃ* at Gīrnār is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in KZ, 34. 422.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to¹ (as follows).

(L) *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers)² are occupied for this purpose,³ (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women,⁴ the inspectors of cowpens,⁵ and other classes (of officials).⁶

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) जो कलिंगा वज वडे सतसहस्रमात्रं तचा
हतं बहुतावतकं मत (C) तता पद्धा अधुना लधेसु कलिंगेसु तीवो धमवायो
2 सयो देवानंप्रियस वज वधो व मरणं व
अपवाहो व जनस त बाढं वेदनमत च गुरुमत च देवानंपि .. स
3 बाह्मणा व समणा व अजे सा माचि पितरि
सुसुंसा गुरुसुसुंसा मितसंस्ततसहायजातिकेसु दासभ
4 अभिरतानं व विनिखमण (H) येसं वा प
हायजातिका व्यसनं प्रापुणति तत सो पि तेस उपघातो हाति (I) पटीभागो
चेसा सव
5 स्ति इमे निकाया अजच योनेसु म्हि यच नास्ति
मानुसानं एकतरम्हि पासंडम्हि न नाम प्रसादो (K) यावतको जनो तदा
6 स्रभागो व गरुमतो देवानं न य सक छमितवे
(M) या च पि अटवियो देवानंपियस पिजिते पाति
7 चते तेसं देवानंपियस सबभूतानां अद्धतिं च
सयमं च समचैरं च मादव च

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¹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in *-chi* at Jaugada (*-sama-nehi*, III, 1. 3, and *mahāmātehi*, VI, 1. 3), and at Kālsī (*mahāmātehi*, VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānsehrā, VI, 1. 28, and XII, 1. 7, and *ājivikehi* in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

² As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 849), the two words *bahukā cha*, which previous translators had connected with section L, are in reality the first words of section M.

³ For the dative *athā* (= *athāya*), see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 67.

⁴ With *ithijhakha* cf. *ganikādhyaaksha*, 'the overseer of courtesans', in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, II, 27.

⁵ Bühler (EI, 2. 470, n. 18) suggested that *vaṇḍa* (= *vracha* at Mānsehrā) may be a Prākṛit form of *vraja*, 'a cowpen', and compared *gavādhyaaksha*, 'the overseer of cows', in the *Kāmasūtra*, p. 290, l. 1. Cf. also *gōdhyaaksha* in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, II, 29. For the hardening of *j* in *vracha* cf. *vrachamti* and *v[r]acheyam* (from Skt. *vrajati*) at Shāhbāzgarhī, XIII, S, and VI, L.

⁶ The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend to Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas, Ājivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.

IX

2

4

6

8

X

2

4

XI

2

4

XII

2

4

6

- 8 लधो नप्रियस इध सवेसु च योनराज
परं च तेन चत्पारो राजानो तुरमायो च अन्तेकिन च मगा च
9 इध राजविसयम्हि योनकंबो अंपारिदेसु सवत
देवानंपियस धंमानुसस्तिं अनुवतरे (S) यत पि दूति
10 नं धमानुसस्तिं च धमं अनुविधियरे विजयो
सवथा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सा (U) लधा सा पीती होति धंमवीजयम्हि
11 प्रियो (X) एताय अथाय अयं धंमल वं विजयं
मा विजेतय्यं मंजा सरसके एव विजये छाति च
12 किको च पारलोकिको इल्लोकिका च
पारलोकिका च

- 1 (A) ño *Kalimā* [v . j .] [v . dh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātram
tatrā hataṁ bahu-tāvatakaṁ mata¹ (C) tatā pachhā adh[u]nā² ladhesu
*Kalimā*gesu ti[v]o dhammavāyo
2 [sa]yo *Devānaṁpriyasa* [v . j .] [va]dho va maraṇaṁ va
apavāho va janasa ta³ bāḍhaṁ vedana-mata⁴ cha g[u]r[u]-mata⁴ cha
Devā[naṁpi] .. [sa]
3 bāmhaṇā va samaṇā va añe [s]ā mātr[i]⁵ pitari susuṁsā
guru-susuṁsā⁶ mita-saṁstata-sahāya-ñātike[su]⁷ dāsa-[bha]
4 abhiratānaṁ va vinikhamāṇa (H) yesaṁ vā [p .] [h]āya-
ñātikā vyasanaṁ prāpuṇati tata⁸ so pi tesa⁹ [u]paghāto hāti¹⁰ (I) paṭibhā[g]o
chesā s[ava]
5 sti ime nikāyā añatra *Yone[su]*¹¹ [mh]i yatra nāsti
mānusānaṁ¹² ekataramhi pāsamaṇaṁhi na nāma prasā[d]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o
j[ano ta]d[ā]
6 sra-bhāgo va garu-mat[o] *Devānaṁ* na ya saka¹³
chhamitave (M) yā cha pi aṭaviyo *D[e]vānaṁpiya[s]*¹⁴ pijite¹⁵ pāti¹⁶

¹ *matam* Bühler.² *adhanā* Bühler.³ *taṁ* Senart and Bühler.⁴ *-matam* Bühler.⁵ *mātā*- Senart and Bühler; the horizontal stroke on the right of *t* seems to be intended for *r*.⁶ *-susuṁsā* Bühler.⁷ Read *-saṁstuta*-, which is Bühler's reading.⁸ *tatā* Senart, *tatra* Bühler.⁹ *tesaṁ* Senart and Bühler.¹⁰ Read *hoti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.¹¹ *yo nesa* Senart; Mānsehrā reads *Yoneshu* quite distinctly.¹² *manu*^o Bühler.¹³ *sakam* Bühler.¹⁴ Two old fissures of the rock, the first after *pi* and the second after *sa*, run on to the next line, where they divide the word *samachairam* into three parts; ^o*priyasa* Bühler.¹⁵ Read *vijite*.¹⁶ Read *hoti*.

- 7 chate te[sam] Devānāmpiyasa sava-bhūtānām¹
 achhatim² cha sayamañ cha samachairam³ ch[a] mādava⁴ cha
 8 [la]dh[o] nam̐priyasa idha [sa]vesu [ch .]
 [Yo]na-rāja⁵ param̐ cha tena chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo cha [A]m̐t[ek]ina⁶
 cha Magā cha
 9 idha rāja-vi[sam]yamhi [Y]o[na]-Kam̐bo m̐dhra-
 Pārimdesu⁷ savata Devānāmpiyasa dhammānus[a]ṣṭim̐ anuv[a]tare (S) yata
 pi dūti⁸
 10 [na]m̐ dhammānusastim̐ cha dhamam̐ anuvīdhiyare⁹
 [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo pīti-raso sā¹⁰ (U) ladhā sā pīti hoti dhamma-
 vijayamhi
 11 m̐[p]riyo (X) etā[ya athā]ya ayañ dhamma-[l]
 [va]m̐ vijayam̐ mā vijetavyam̐ mam̐ñā¹¹ sarasake eva vijaye chhāti¹² cha
 12 kik[o] ch[a pā]r[alo]ki[ko] ilokikā cha pāralokikā¹³ cha

TRANSLATION

- (A) the **Kaliṅgas**
 (B) one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain
 there, (and) many times as many those who died.
 (C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, a zealous
 study of morality¹⁴
 (D) [the repentance] of **Dēvānāmpriya**
 (E) slaughter, death, and deportation of people, this is considered
 very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.
 (G) Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, [or] other obedience to
 mother (and) to father, obedience to elders to friends, acquaintances,
 companions, and relatives, [to] slaves or deportation of (their)
 beloved ones.
 (H) [companions] and relatives are then incurring misfortune,
 this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons).
 (I) This is shared [by] all

¹ -bhūtānām Bühler.

² An old fissure of the rock, between *chha* and *tiñ*, runs on to the two next lines of the edict.

³ *samacheram̐* Senart, *samacherām̐* Bühler.

⁴ *mādavam̐* Bühler. ⁵ -rājā Bühler.

⁶ *Am̐takāna* Senart, *Am̐tekinā* Bühler.

⁷ The apparent *e*-stroke attached to *dha* is probably meant for *r*; *m̐dha-P[i]rimdesu* Bühler.

⁸ Read *dūtā*. ⁹ *dhama* Senart; *anuv[i]dh[i]yare* Bühler.

¹⁰ *so* Bühler. ¹¹ *mañā* Bühler.

¹² *chhāti[m̐]* Bühler.

¹³ Between *pāra* and *lo* a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the writer.

¹⁴ Instead of *dhammavāyo* Shāhbāzgarhī seems to read *dhrama-silana*, 'the practice, or study, of morality'. Hence Senart is probably correct in explaining *dhammavāyo* by *dharmavāya*.

(J) these classes except among the Yōnas¹ where men are not indeed attached to some sect.²

(K) As many people as at that time part is considered deplorable by Dēvānām[priya].

(L) what can be forgiven.

(M) And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānām-priya

(N) They are [told] of Dēvānāmpriya

(O) towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, impartiality, and kindness.

(Q) has been won by [Dēvā]nāmpriya here and among all the Yōna king,³ and beyond him four kings, (viz.) Turamāya, Antekina, Magā

(R) here in the king's territory, [among] the Yōnas and Kambō[jas] among the [A]ndhras and Pārindas,—everywhere (people) are conforming to Dēvānāmpriya's instruction in morality.

(S) Even where the envoys and the instruction in morality, are conforming to morality

(T) this conquest,—a conquest (won) in every respect (and) repeatedly,⁴—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) This satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(W) [Dēvānā]mpriya.

(X) For the following purpose this [rescript] on morality should not think that a [fresh] conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,⁵ mercy

(Y) in the other world.

(AA) both in this world and in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अयं धंमलिपी देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता अस्ति एव
- 2 संखितेन अस्ति मरुमेन अस्ति विस्ततन (B) न च सर्वे सर्वत घटितं
- 3 (C) महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चैव (D) अस्ति च एत कं
- 4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अयस माधूरताय किंति जनो तथा पटिपजेय
- 5 (E) तत्र एकदा असमातं लिखितं अस देसं व सहाय कारणं व
- 6 अलोचेत्पा लिपिकरापरधेन व

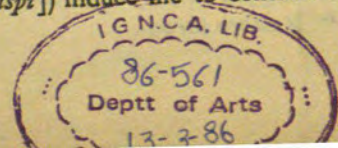
¹ i.e. the Greeks.

² As remarked by Senart, the last negation of this sentence (*na*) is redundant.

³ For the proper names mentioned in this passage see my notes on the translation of the Kālsī version.

⁴ Cf. the Kālsī version, Q.

⁵ Bühler divided *sarasake* into *sara-sake*, which he translated by 'possible by arrows'. The various readings of Kālsī (*shayakashī*) and Shāhbāzgarhi (*spa[kaspi]*) induce me to consider it as a Bahuvrīhi of *sua + rasa*.



- 1 (A) ayaṃ dhamma-lipī Devānaṃpriyena Priyadasinā r[ā]ñā l[e]khāpitā asti eva
 2 saṃkhit[e]na asti majhamena asti vistatana¹ (B) na cha sarvaṃ [sa]rvata ghaṭitaṃ
 3 (C) mahālake hi vijitaṃ bahu cha likhitaṃ likhāpayisaṃ cheva (D) asti cha eta kaṃ
 4 puna puna vutaṃ tasa tasa athasa² mādūratāya kiṃti jano tathā paṭipajetha
 5 (E) tatra ekadā asamāt[a]ṃ likhita[m] asa desaṃ va sachhāya [kā]raṇaṃ va
 6 [a]lochetpā lipikarāparadhena va

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king Dēvānām-priya Priyadarśin either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) And³ the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And some of this⁴ has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and)⁵ in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,⁶ or because (my) motive was not liked,⁷ or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, LEFT SIDE

- 1 तेषां
 2 पिपा
 1 , t[esha]⁸
 2 [p]i[p]ā⁹

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

..... वस्वेतो हस्ति सर्वलोक्सुखाहरो नाम
 rva-sveto¹⁰ hasti sarva-loka-sukhāharo nāma

¹ Read *vistatena*.

² The syllable *sa* was inserted subsequently.

³ The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Girnār reading would suit Senart's translation of *ghaṭitaṃ* by 'put together'.

⁴ The other versions suggest that *eta kaṃ* must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to *atra kiṃchit*. Cf. also *ata k[i]chhi* in the Kālsī version, E.

⁵ The particle *cha* is inserted at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

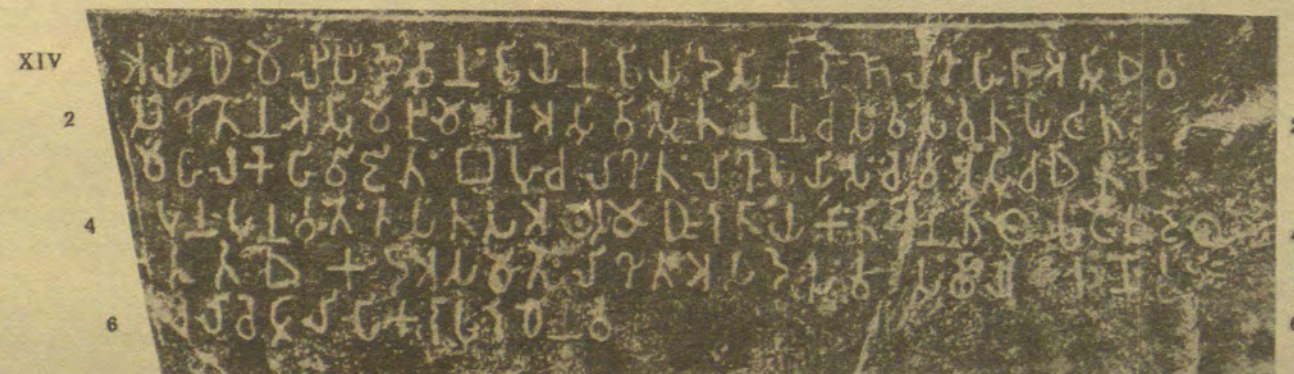
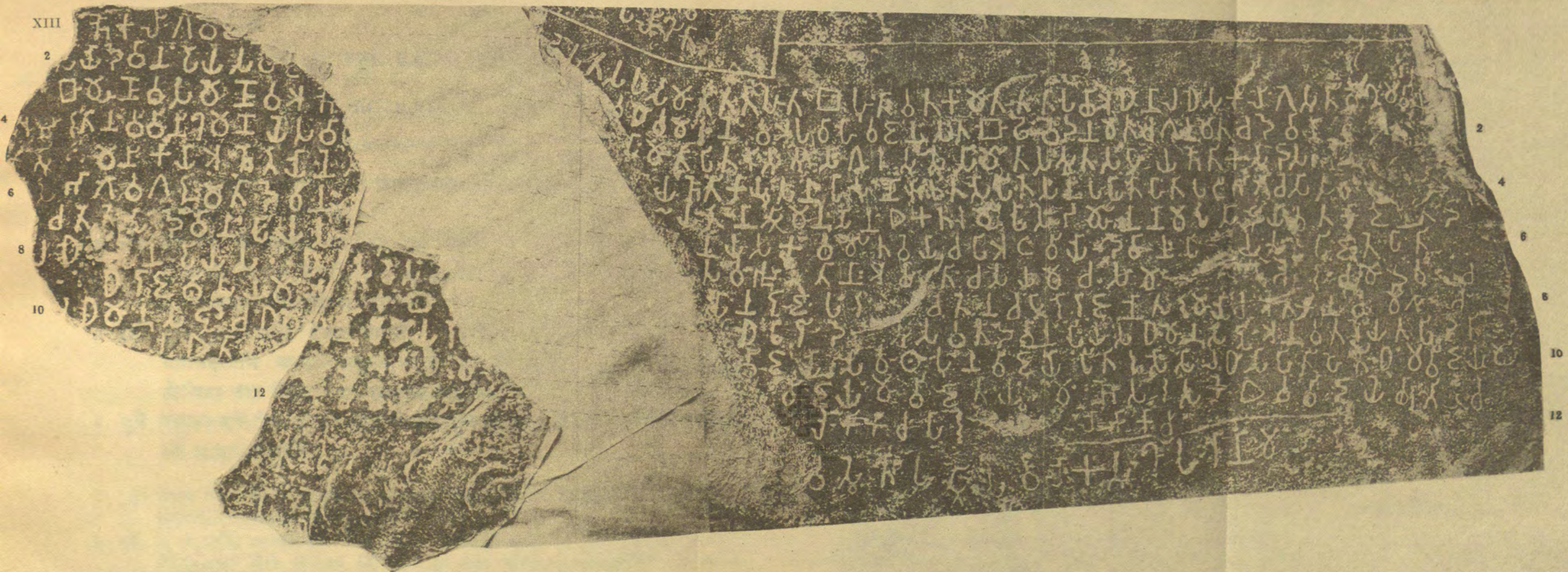
⁶ Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühler considered *sachhāya* = *saṃkhyēyam*, and connected it with *kāraṇaṃ*; see ZDMG, 40. 142, and 48. 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = *saṃkṣāya* or *saṃkhyāya*.

⁷ Senart translates: 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take *locheti* = Skt. *rōchayati*; see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁸ This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula *hētuṃ tēshāṃ Tathāgatō hy'avadat | tēshāṃ cha &c.*

⁹ Bühler (VOJ, 8. 320) suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture *lipi[kareṇa*]*, which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.

¹⁰ Restore *sarva*.



TRANSLATION

..... the entirely white¹ elephant² bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

II. THE KALSI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

A.—East Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लेखिता (B) हिदा नो किछि जिवे आलभितु पजोहितविये
- 2 (C) नो पि चा समाजे कटविये (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा दखति (E) अथि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने
- 3 (F) पुले महानससि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पातसहसानि अलंभियिसु सुपठाये (G) से इदानि यदा इयं धम्मलिपि लेखिता तदा तिनि येवा पानानि अलभियंति
- 4 दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चू मिगे नो ध्रुवे (H) एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि नो अलाभियसंति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipi Devānaṃpiyenā Piyadas[i]nā [lekhit]ā (B) [h]idā no³ kichhi jive ālabhitu pajohitaviye
- 2 (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahuk[ā] hi dosā samājasā Devān[āṃ]piye Pi[ya]dasī lājā dakhati (E) athi pi ch[ā] e[katiyā] samājā⁴ sād[h]u-matā⁵ Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasis[ā] lājine
- 3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasi Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasisā lājini[e]⁶ anudivasam bahuni pāta-sahasāni⁷ alambhiyisu⁸ supathāy[e] (G) se i[d]āni ya[dā] iyaṃ dhamma-lipi lekhitā tadā timni yevā pānāni alabhi[yaṃ]ti⁹
- 4 duve majul[ā]¹⁰ eke mige se pi [chū]¹¹ mige no dhruve¹² (H) e[t]āni pi ch[u]¹³ tini pānā[n]i no alābhi[y]isa[m]ti¹⁴

¹ Cf. *sabbaseto* in Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *sabbo*.

² As stated by Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 44), Senart (*Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), the Gīrnār rock must have borne, like the Kālsī and Dhāuli rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgarh to Gīrnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

³ *nā* Bühler.

⁴ *sa[m]āja* Bühler.

⁵ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁶ *lajine* Bühler.

⁷ *sata-* Senart, *pāna-* Bühler; read *pāna-sata-*.

⁸ *ālābhi*^o Bühler.

⁹ *ālābhi*^o Senart, *ālābhi*^o Bühler.

¹⁰ *majali* Senart, *majulā* Bühler.

¹¹ *ye* Senart, *cha* Bühler.

¹² *dhare* Senart, *dhuve* Bühler.

¹³ *cha* Bühler.

¹⁴ *ālābhi*^o Senart, *ālābhi*^o Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

4 (A) सवता विजितसि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने ये च अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सातियपुतो केललपुतो तंबपंनि

5 अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो सवता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा चा पमुचिकिसा चा (B) ओसधीनि मनुसोपगानि चा पसोपगानि चा अतता नथि

6 सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता नथि सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मगेसु लुखानि लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पटिभोगाये पमुमुनिसानं

4 (A) sav[a]tā vijitasi Devānāmpiyas[ā] Piyadasis[ā] lājine ye cha aṁtā [a]thā Chodā Paṁ[di]yā Sātiyaputo Ke[lala]puto Tamba[pa]ṁni

5 Aṁtiyoge [n]āma Yona-lājā ye chā aṁne tas[ā] Aṁtiyogasā sā[ma]ṁtā lā[j]āno [sa]vatā Devānāmpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā kaṭā manusa-chikisā chā pasu-chikisā chā (B) osadhīn[i]¹ manusopagāni chā pasopagāni chā² a[ta]tā n[a]th[i]

6 [sa]vatā [h]ālāpitā chā lo[p]āpit[ā] chā (C) [e]vamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā a[ta]t[ā] nathi savatā hālāp[i]tā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni³ lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munis[ā]naṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Sātiyaputa**, the

¹ *osadhāni* Senart and Bühler.

² *cha* Senart and Bühler.

³ There is a fissure in the rock here.

Kēlalaputa,¹ **Tāmraparṇī**, the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoga**, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoga**,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: KALSĪ

- 6 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
 7 (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आनययिते (C) सवता विजितसि मम युता
 लजूके पादेसिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसंयानं निखमंतु एताये वा अढाये
 इमाय धंमनुसथिया यथा अनाये पि कंमाये (D) साधु
 8 मातपितिसु सुसुसा मितसंयुतनातिक्यानं चा बंभनसमनानं चा साधु दाने
 पानानं अनालंभे साधु अपवियाता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च
 युतानि गननसि अनपयिसंति हेतुवता चा वियंजने चा

- 6 (A) De[vā]nāmpiye Piyadasi lājā h[e]vam āhā
 7 (B) du[v]ādasa-v[a]sābhisitena me iyam ānapayite (C) savatā vijitasi [mama]
 yutā laj[ū]k[e]² pādesike pa[m]cha[s]u paṁchasu vasesu [a]nusa[m]yānam³
 nikham[am]tu etāye vā a[th]āye imāya⁴ dhammanusathiyā yathā am[nāye] pi
 kaṁmāye (D) sādhu
 8 mātā-pitisu sususā mita-samthuta-nātikyān[am] chā baṁbhana-sama[nā]nam [chā]
 sādhu d[ā]ne pānānam anālambh[e] sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā⁵ [a]pa-[bha]m[da]t[ā]
 sādhu (E) palisā pi cha yutāni [ga]ṇanasi anap[a]yisanti hetuvatā chā
 viyamjanat[e] chā⁶

TRANSLATION

(A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) **anointed twelve years**, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajūka*, (and) the *Prādēsika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

¹ As the Kālśī dialect replaces *r* by *l*, this form is the correct equivalent of *Kēralaputra* at Mānsehrā.

² *lajaki* Senart, *lajuke* Bühler.

³ *anusiyānam* Senart, *anus[a]yānam* Bühler.

⁴ *athāye imāy[e]* Bühler.

⁵ The other versions read **yatā* or **yata*. There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁶ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas*¹ to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons² and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 9 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि वधिते वा पानालंभे विहिसा चा भुतानं
नातिना असंपटिपति समनबंभनानं असंपटिपति (B) से अजा देवानंपियसा
पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेना भेलिघोसे अहो धंमघोसे विमनदसना
10 हथिनि अगिकंधानि अन्नानि चा दिव्यानि लुपानि दसयितु जनस (C) आदिसा
बहुहि वससतेहि ना हुतपुलुवे तादिसे अजा वढिते देवानंपियसा पियदसिने
लाजिने धंमनुसथिये अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भुतानं नातिनं
11 संपटिपति बंभनसमनानं संपटिपति मातापितिसु सुसुसा (D) एसे चा अंने चा
बहुविधे धंमचलने वधिते (E) वधियिसति चेवा देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
इमं धंमचलनं (F) पुता च कं नताले चा पनातिक्या चा देवानंपियसा
पियदसिने लाजिने
12 पवढयिसंति चेव धंमचलनं इमं आवकपं धंमसि सीलसि चा चिठितु धंमं
अनुसासिसंति (G) एसे हि सेठे कंमं अं धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचलने पि चा
नो होति असिलसा (I) से इमसा अथसा वधि अहिनि चा साधु (J) एताये
अथाये इयं लिखिते
13 इमसा अथसा वधि युजंतु हिनि च मा अलोचयिसु (K) दुवादसवशाभिसितेना
देवानंपियेना पियदशिना लाजिना लेखिता

- 9 (A) atika[m]taṁ a[m]ta[la]ṁ bahunī vasa-satāni v[adh]it[e] vā pā[nā]lāmbhe
vi[h]isā chā bhutānaṁ nātina³ asaṁ[pa]ṭip[a]ti samana-b[aṁ]bhanānaṁ
asampatipati (B) s[e] ajā Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasine lājine dhamm[a]-
chal[an]enā bheli-ghose aho dhamma-ghose vimana-dasan[ā]
10 [ha]thini agi-kandh[ā]ni annāni chā⁴ divyāni lupāni dasayitu jana[sa] (C) [ā]disā⁵
ba[h]u[hi] v[asa]-[sa]tehi nā huta-puluve tādise ajā vadhite Devānaṁpiyasā
Piyadasine [l]ājine dhammanusathiye a[n]ālāmbhe pānānaṁ avihisā bhutānaṁ
nāti[nam]⁶

¹ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 993 ff.) has been the first to remark that in the eastern dialect the accusative plural of masculines ends in -āni. Cf. *yutāni* in E with *yutā* in C, and *Kaligyāni* in XIII, D, with *Kaligyā* in A; also XII, A, and *pulīsāni* in the pillar-edict IV, G.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 108) explained *hetuvatā* by *hētumatā vākyaṇa*, i.e. 'by a syllogism'. The other versions read *hetuto* or *hetute*.

³ *nātinam* Bühler.

⁴ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁵ *adisam* Senart, *adis[e]* Bühler.

⁶ *nātisam* Senart, *nāti[su]* Bühler.

- 11 saṃpāṭipati bāmbha[na-sa]manānaṃ saṃpāṭipati mātā-pitisu sususā (D) ese¹ chā
amne chā ba[h]uvidhe dhamma-chalane vadh[i]te (E) vadhiyisati chevā
Devānāmpiy[e] Piyadasi lāja² ima[m] dha[m]ma-chalanaṃ (F) putā cha kaṃ
natāle chā panāṭikyā ch[ā] **Devānāmpiyasā Piyadasine lājine**
- 12 [pa]v[a]dhayisaṃti[i ch]ev[a] dhamma-chalanaṃ i[maṃ]³ āva-kapa[m] dhammasi
s[i]lasi⁴ chā chiṭhit[u] dhammaṃ anusāsisaṃti (G) ese hi seṭhe kaṃm[am] aṃ
dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-chalane pi chā no hoti asilasā (I) se im[a]s[ā]
a]thasā v[a]dhi ahini chā sādhu (J) etāye [a]thāye iyaṃ likhite
- 13 imas[ā] a[tha]s[ā] vadhi yujamtu hini ch[a] mā alochayisu (K) **duv[ā]das[a]-
vas[ā]bhisitenā Dev[ā]nāmp[i]yen[ā] Piyadaśinā lājina** lekhita⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas, and Śramaṇas, (and) obedience to mother and father.

(D) Both in this and in many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons,⁶ grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve⁷ the neglect (of it).

(K) (This rescript) was caused to be written by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

¹ *esha* Bühler.

² *lāja* Bühler.

³ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁴ *silasī* Senart, *silasi* Bühler.

⁵ *lekhitaṃ* Bühler.

⁶ The two syllables *cha kaṃ* seem to have the same meaning as the simple *cha*. They occur twice again at Kālsī (XI, E, and XIII, Z), once at Shāhbāzgarhī (IV, F), three times at Mānsehrā, and once at Brahmagiri (l. 11). Cf. *kaṃ* after *nū*, *sū*, *hī* in the *R̥gveda*.

⁷ See above, p. 8, n. 3. Here, and in three other versions, the augment *a-* is retained after the particle *mā*, while Shāhbāzgarhī has *lo[ch]e[sh]u* in accordance with Sanskrit grammar.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 13 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा अहा (B) कयाने दुकले। (C) ए आदिकले कयानसा से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया बहु कयाने कटे (E) ता ममा पुता चा नताले चा
- 14 पलं चा तेहि ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवटिसंति से सुकटं कळति (F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पापे हि नामा सुपदालये (H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धंममहामता नामा (I) तेदस-वसाभिसितेना ममया धंममहामाता कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु वियापटा
- 15 धंमाधियानाये चा धंमवढिया हिदसुखाये वा धंमयुतसा योनकंबोजगंधालानं ए वा पि अंने अपलंता (K) भटमयेसु बंभनिभेसु अनयेसु बुधेसु हिदसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा ते (L) बंधनबधसा पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये चा एयं अनुवधा पजाव ति वा
- 16 कटाभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापटा ते (M) हिदा बाहिलेसु चा नगलेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु भातिनं च ने भगिनिना ए वा पि अंने नातिके सवता वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति वा दानसुयुते ति वा सवता विजितसि ममा धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धंममहामता (O) एताये अठाये
- 17 इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता चिलथितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु
- 13 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā ahā (B) kayāne dukale.¹ (C) e ādikale kay[ā]nasā se dukalaṃ kaleti (D) se mamayā bahu kayāne kaṭ[e] (E) t[ā]ma[m]ā² putā ch[ā] nat[ā]le chā
- 14 palam [chā] tehi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvaṭisa[m]ti s[e] s[u]kaṭam kachham[t]i (F) e chu het[ā] desaṃ pi hāpa[y]i[sat]i³ s[e] dukaṭam kachhati (G) p[ā]pe hi nāmā⁴ supadālaye (H) se atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no huta-puluva⁵ dham[m]a-mahāmata⁶ nāmā⁷ (I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā mamayā dhamma-mahāmāt[ā] kaṭ[t]ā (J) [te] sav[a]-pāsaṃ[de]su viyā[pa]ṭā
- 15 dham[m]ādhithā[nāye ch]ā dhamma-vaḍhiyā hi[da]-sukhāye vā⁸ dhamm[a]-yuta[sā] Yona-Kaṃb[o]ja-Gaṃdhālānaṃ e vā [pi] aṃne apalaṃtā (K) bhaṭamayesu baṃbhanibhesu anathesu [v]udhesu hida-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye apalibodhāye viyapaṭā⁹ te (L) baṃdha[na-badha]sā paṭividhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]ye chā eyaṃ anubadh[ā]¹⁰ pajāva ti v[ā]
- 16 [kaṭābhikā]le ti vā m[ah]ā[la]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]paṭā te (M) hid[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā naga[l]esu s[a]ves[u] olodha[n]esu bhā[tina]m cha ne bh[agi]ni[nā] e vā [pi] aṃn[e] nātikye savatā viyā[pa]ṭā (N) e iyaṃ dhamma-nisite ti vā dāna-suyute¹¹

¹ Senart and Bühler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.

² mama Bühler.

³ samti Bühler.

⁴ nāma Senart and Bühler.

⁵ puluvā Senart and Bühler.

⁶ -mahāmātā Senart and Bühler.

⁷ nāma Bühler.

⁸ vi Senart, chā Bühler.

⁹ viyāpaṭā Bühler.

¹⁰ anubandha Senart, anubā[dham] Bühler.

¹¹ -sayute Senart, -saṃyute Bühler.

ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[i]jitas[i] mamā [dha]mma-yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhamma-
m[a]hām[a]tā¹ (O) etāye aṭhāye

17 [i]yaṁ dhamma-lipi lekhitā chi[la]-thitikyā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu²

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin indeed steps fast.³

(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.

(I) *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed** thirteen years.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness⁴ of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas**, **Kambōjas**, and **Gandhālas**,⁵ and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,⁶ with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,⁷ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).⁸

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.⁹

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here¹⁰ and in all the outlying towns, in the harems¹¹ of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

¹ *mātā* Senart and Bühler.

² *anuvataṁtu* Senart and Bühler.

³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 267) explained *supadālaye* (for which Mānsehrā reads *supadarave*) by *supradāryam*. Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhī read instead of it *sukaram*, 'easily committed'. Perhaps *padālaya* is formed from *pada*, 'a step', as *mahālaka* (l. 16) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* from *mahat*.

⁴ Here and in K the Dhauī version reads *hita*- instead of *hida*-.

⁵ Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.

⁶ i.e. Vaiśyas; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 269. The readings of the Dhauī and Mānsehrā versions, *ibhiya* and *ibhya*, show that *ibha* at Kalsī and Shāhbāzgarhī is meant for *ibbha*. The same follows from the *Fātaka*, No. 544, where, as noted by Bühler (VOJ, 12. 76), the compound *brāhmaṇ-ibbha* occurs several times.

⁷ The reading *dhamma-yutāye* seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Gīrnār version, *dhamma-yutānam*.

⁸ According to Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, *palibodha* means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Gīrnār (*parigodha*), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.

⁹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 269) took *eyam anubadhā* = Skt. *etam anubandham* in the sense of *etad-artham*. But *eyam* may stand for *e ayam* (cf. *e ayam* in section N = *yo ayam* at Gīrnār), and *anubadhā* for the ablative *anubandhāt*, 'in succession, respectively'.

¹⁰ Instead of 'here' the Gīrnār version reads 'both in Pāṭaliputra'.

¹¹ The Dhauī version inserts 'of myself'.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions¹ with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality² or properly devoted to charity.³

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants⁴ may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुवे
सवं कलं अठकमे वा पटिवेदना वा (C) से ममया हेवं कटे (D) सवं कालं
अदमानसा मे
- 18 ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता पटिवेदका अठं
जनसा वेदेतु मे (E) सवता चा जनसा अठं कछामि हकं (F) यं पि
चा किछि मुखते आनपयामि हकं दापकं वा सावकं वा ये वा पुना
महामतेहि
- 19 अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तायेठाये विवादे निरुति वा संतं पलिसाये
अनंतलियेना पटि विये मे सवता सवं कालं (G) हेवं आनपयिते
ममया (H) नथि हि मे दोसे उठानसा अठसंतिलनाये चा (I) कटवियमुते
हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तसा चा पुना एसे मुले उठाने
- 20 अठसंतिलना चा (K) नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेना (L) यं च किछि
पलकमामि हकं किति भुतानं अननियं येहं हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत
चा स्वगं आलाधयितु (M) से एतायेठाये इयं धमलिपि लेखिता चिल-
ठितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलकमातु सवलोकहिताये
- 21 (N) दुकले चु इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना

- 17 (A) Dev[ā]nāmpi[y]e Piyadas[i] lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no
huta-puluv[e] sav[a]ṃ kalam⁵ aṭha-k[am]me [v]ā [paṭ]i[veda]nā vā (C) s[e]
ma[may]ā hevaṃ kaṭe (D) s[a]vaṃ kalam⁵ adamānas[ā]⁶ me
- 18 olodhanasi gabhāgālas[i] va[chas]i vin[itasi u]y[ānasi sava]t[ā paṭive]dakā aṭha[m]
janasā vedetu⁷ [m]e (E) sa[va]tā [ch]ā⁸ ja[nas]ā aṭhaṃ kachhāmi hakaṃ
(F) yaṃ pi ch[ā] k[i]chhi m[u]kha[t]e ānapayā[mi] [ha]kaṃ dā[pakaṃ] v[ā]
sāvakaṃ] vā ye vā punā mahāmat[e]hi⁹

¹ The Dhauli version reads 'on the whole earth'.

² Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.

³ In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of *dāna-suyute* the Mānsehrā version reads *dana-saṃyute*, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras*; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD.

⁴ See Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 841 f.

⁵ *kalam* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *adam[a]nasā* Bühler.

⁷ Restore *paṭivedantu*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁸ Senart and Bühler omit *chā*.

⁹ *mātehi* Bühler.

- 19 a[tiyāyike ālopite¹ h]o[t]i tā[yeṭh]ā[ye] vivāde n[i]jhati v[ā] saṁtaṁ palis[ā]ye
 anam[ta]l[i]yenā paṭ[i] viye² me sav[a]t[ā] savaṁ kālāṁ (G) hevaṁ
 ānapayite m[a]mayā (H) nathi hi me dose³ uṭhān[a]sā aṭha-saṁtil[a]nāye chā
 (I) kaṭ[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hi[te] (J) t[asā] ch[ā]⁴ [p]u[n]ā es[e] mule
 uṭh[āne]
- 20 [a]ṭha-saṁtilanā chā (K) [na]thi hi kaṁ[ma]talā sava-lo[ka]-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha
 kichhi⁵ palakamāmi hakaṁ kiti bhutānaṁ [a]naniyaṁ ye[haṁ hi]da cha [kā]ni
 sukhāyāmi palata chā svagaṁ ālādhayitu⁶ (M) s[e] etā[y]eṭhāye iyaṁ dhama-lipi
 lekhitā chila-ṭhitikyā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitā[ye]
- 21 (N) dukale ch[u]⁷ iyaṁ anat[ā]⁸ agenā palakam[e]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvaṇaṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises,⁹ or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty¹⁰ (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.¹¹

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them¹² happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

¹ °pitam Bühler.

² Restore *paṭivedetaviye*.

³ Jaugaḍa reads *tose*; Bühler adds *va*.

⁴ Bühler omits *chā*.

⁵ *kichi* Bühler.

⁶ Read *ālādhayāntu*.

⁷ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

⁸ *anmata* Senart, *anata* Bühler.

⁹ The form *saṁtaṁ* corresponds to *saṁto* at Gīrnār, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kālsī edict VIII, C, and as *kalanītaṁ* in XII, H; see also *kala[nīta]*, XI, E, and *kalata*, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, X.

¹⁰ *mūta* for *mata* occurs also in the Kālsī edict XIII, E (*vedaniya-mute gulu-mute chā*). The change of *a* to *u* is due to the preceding labial, as in *uchāvucha* (Kālsī, VII, C, and IX, B) for *uchāvacha* (Gīrnār).

¹¹ For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3.

¹² As *kāni* corresponds to *nāni* at Gīrnār, and to *sha* or *she* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, H and M; V, C; VI, C; and VII, H. The singular *kaṁ* occurs in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I C, and II, C.

(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives¹ may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

21 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सवता इच्छति सवपासंड वसेवु (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इच्छति (C) जने चु उचावुचाछंदे उचावुचलागे (D) ते सवं एकदेसं पि कछति (E) विपुले पि चु दाने असा नथि

22 सयमे भावसुधि कितनाता दिढभतिता चा निचे बाढं

21 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā [savat]ā [i]chhati sava-[pāsa]ṃḍa vas[e]vu (B) [sa]ve hi te sayama[m] bhāva-sudhi chā ichhamti (C) jane [ch]u uchāvuchā-chh[a]ṃde uchāvucha-lā[g]e (D) te savaṃ eka-des[a]m pi k[a]chham[t]i (E) vipule pi chu dān[e]² asā nathi

22 sayame bhā[va]-sudh[i] kiṭanāt[ā³ d]iḍha-bhatitā chā ni[che] bāḍham

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

22 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) हिदा मिगविया अन्नानि चा हेडिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिथा संबोधि

23 (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) हेता इयं होति समनबंभनानं दसने चा दाने च बुधानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमनुससि चा धम-पल्लिपुछा चा ततोपया (F) एसे भुये लाति होति देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने भागे अंने

22 (A) atikaṃtaṃ a[m]talaṃ Devānaṃpiyā [vihāla-yātaṃ nāma] nikhamisu (B) hidā migaviyā amnāni chā heḍisānā⁴ abhilāmān[i] husu (C) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā das[a]-vasābhisite saṃtaṃ nikhamithā⁵ Saṃbodhi

23 (D) tenatā dhamma-yātā (E) [h]etā iyaṃ hoti samana-baṃbhanānaṃ dasane chā

¹ The other versions render it probable that -dāle is a clerical mistake for -natāle, 'grandsons'

² dān[am] Bühler.

³ Read 'natā.

⁴ Read 'sāni, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁵ 'mithā Senart and Bühler.

dāne cha vudh[ā]naṁ dasa[n]e ch[a] hilaṁna-paṭi[v]idhāne chā [jā]napadasā
[ja]n[a]sā das[a]ne dhammanusathi chā dhama-palipuchhā chā¹ tatopa[yā]
(F) [e]se bh[u]ye lāti² hoti Devānāmpiyasā Piyadas[i]sā lājine bh[ā]g[e] amne

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Devānāmpriyas*³ used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
(C) When king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years,⁴ he went out to *Sambōdhi*.
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.⁵
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
(F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 24 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा आहा (B) जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आवाधसि
अवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाने पवाससि एताये अनाये चा एदिसाये जने
बहु मंगलं कलेति (C) हेतुं अकज्जनियो बहु चा बहुविधं चा खुदा चा
निलयिया चा मंगलं कलंति
25 (D) से कटवि चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एसे (F) इयं चु खो महाफले
ये धम्ममंगले (G) हेता इयं दासभटकसि सम्पापटिपति गुलुना अपचिति
पानानं संयमे समनबंभनानं दाने एसे अने चा हेडिसे । धम्ममंगले नामा
(H) से वतविये पित्तिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि मित-
संयुतेना अव पटिवेसियेना पि
26 इयं साधु इयं कटविये मंगले आव तसा अथसा निवुत्तिया इमं कळामि ति
(I) ए हि इतले मंगले संसयिके से (J) सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना
नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से (L) इयं पुना धम्ममंगले अकालिके (M) हंचे
पि तं अठं नो निटेति हिद अठं पलत अनंतं पुना पवसति (N) हंचे पुन तं
अठं निवतेति हिदा ततो उभयेसं
27 लधे होति हिद चा से अठे पलत चा अनंतं पुना पवसति तेना धम्ममंगलेना

¹ cha Bühler.² Read *lati*.³ Instead of this title of Aśoka's predecessors the Gīrnār and Dhāuli versions have the word 'kings'.⁴ For the form *samtam* see above, p. 35, n. 9.⁵ viz. 'in my territory'; cf. above, p. 2, n. 3. The Gīrnār version reads *tenesā*, but Shāh-bāzgarhī and Mānsehrā read *tenada*, which seems to stand for *tenatra*. Therefore Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 426) was probably right in explaining *tenatā* at Kālsī and Dhāuli by *tena atā*.

- 24 (A) Devānāmpīye Piy[a]da[s]i lā[jā] āhā (B) jan[e] uch[āv]ucham maṅgalaṁ ka[l]eti ābādhasi av[āha]si vivāhasi pajopadāne¹ pavāsasi e[tā]ye amnāye chā edisāye jane bahu magala[m] k[a]leti (C) heta [ch]u abaka-jani[yo] bahu chā bahuvidham chā khudā [ch]ā nilathiyā² chā magalaṁ ka[la]ṁti
- 25 (D) se kaṭavi³ cheva kho maṅgale (E) apa-phale [ch]u⁴ kho [e]s[e] (F) [i]yaṁ chu kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le ye dhamma-magale (G) he[tā] iyaṁ dāsa-bhaṭakasi s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti⁵ gulunā apachiti [p]ā[n]ān[am] saṁyame⁶ s[a]man[a]-bambhanānaṁ dāne ese amne chā heḍise⁷ dhamma-magale nāmā (H) se vata[v]iye pitinā pi putena pi bh[ā]tinā pi suvāmiken[a]⁸ pi mita-saṁthuten[ā] ava⁹ paṭivesiyenā [p]i
- 26 iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye [ma]g[a]le āva [ta]sā athasā ni[v]utiyā imaṁ kachhāmi ti¹⁰ (I) e hi i[ta]le¹¹ magale sa[m]sayikye se¹² (J) siyā va taṁ aṭham nivaṭey[ā] siyā punā no (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se¹³ (L) iyaṁ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e] (M) haṁche pi taṁ aṭham¹⁴ no niṭeti¹⁵ hida aṭham¹⁶ palata anantaṁ punā pavasati¹⁷ (N) haṁche puna¹⁸ taṁ aṭham nivateti hidā¹⁹ tato ubhaye[sa]m
- 27 ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata²⁰ chā anantaṁ punā²¹ pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,²² (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives²³ are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This

¹ This word cannot be correct, because in the Kālsī dialect the locative of *upadāna* would end in *-asi*. Read therefore (with Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa) *°dāye*, which is the actual reading of Senart and Bühler.

² *nilathiyam* Senart, *nilathiyam* Bühler.

³ Read *kaṭaviye*. ⁴ *vu* Bühler. ⁵ *-paṭipāti* Bühler. ⁶ *sāyamme* Senart, *sayame* Bühler.

⁷ Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Bühler read *taṁ*.

⁸ *°keṇ[ā]* Bühler.

⁹ *āva* Bühler.

¹⁰ *ka[tha]ṁti* Bühler.

¹¹ *ivale* Bühler.

¹² Bühler adds [*hoti*].

¹³ *cha vase* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁴ *atham* Bühler.

¹⁵ Read, as at Mānsehrā, *nivaṭeti*.

¹⁶ Read (with Shāhbāzgarhī) *atha*.

¹⁷ Read *puṁnam pasavati*.

¹⁸ *sukā* Senart, *punā* Bühler.

¹⁹ *hida* Senart and Bühler.

²⁰ *°tā* Senart and Bühler.

²¹ Read *puṁnam*, which is Bühler's reading.

²² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 431 f.) derived the locative *upadāye* from a supposed Skt. feminine **utpad*. Shāhbāzgarhī reads *upadane*, which either corresponds to Skt. *utpādanē*, or is a mistake for the Mānsehrā reading, *upadaye*.

²³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 433) proposed translating 'nurses and mothers'. Cf. *ambika-mādukehiṁ* in the *Mṛichchhakatika*, act VIII, verse 19.

practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking):¹ I shall observe this'.

(I) For other² ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).³

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain⁴ of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSĪ

- 27 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषा लजा यषो वा किति वा नो महथावा मनति अनता
यं पि यसो वा किति वा इछति तदत्वाये अयतिये चा जने धंमसुसुषा सुसुषातु
मे ति धंमवतं वा अनुविधियंतु ति (B) धतकाये देवानंपिये पियदसि
28 लाजा यषो वा किति वा इछ (C) अं चा किछि लकमति देवनंपिये पियदषि
लजा त षव पालंतिक्वाये वा किति सकले अपपलाषवे षियाति ति
(D) एषे चु पलिसवे ए अपुने (E) दुकले चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेना उषुटेन
वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना षवं पलितिदितु (F) हेत चु खो

29 उषटेन वा दुकले

- 27 (A) Devā[nam]piye Piy[a]dashā⁵ lajā⁶ y[a]sho vā kiti vā no [ma]hathāwā⁷
manati an[a]tā [ya]m pi yaso vā ki[t]i vā ichh[at]i tadatvāye ayatiye chā jane
dhamma-susushā susushātu me ti dhamma-vataṁ vā anuvī[dh]iya[m]tu⁸ ti
(B) dhata[k]āye⁹ Devāna[m]piye Piyadasi
28 lājā yasho vā kiti vā ichha¹⁰ (C) am ch[ā] kichhi lakamati¹¹ Devanaṁpiye¹²
Piyadashi lajā ta [sha]va¹³ pālaṁtikeyāye¹⁴ vā kiti sakale apa-p[a]lāshave¹⁵
shiyāti ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune¹⁶ (E) dukale chu kho eshe
khudakena vā vagenā¹⁷ ushūṭena vā ana[ta] agen[ā pa]lakamenā shava[m]
palitiditu (F) [h]e[ta chu] kho
29 [u]shaṭe[na] vā dukale

¹ From this word to the end of the edict the Kālsī version differs completely from the Gīrnār one. Dhauli and Jaugaḍa agree with Gīrnār, but the two Kharoṣṭhī versions with Kālsī.

² *ī[ta]le* is the regular equivalent of *[ī]tare* at Mānsehrā. Shāhbāzgarhī reads however *etake*.

³ The words *palata anantaṁ punnaṁ pasavati* occur again in N, and in the Kālsī edict XI, E. In these two cases *pasavati* is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to *bhavati* in the Gīrnār version. Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 580) was therefore right in explaining it by *pasavati* = Sanskrit *prasāvyatē*.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 19, n. 16.

⁵ Read *Piyadashi*.

⁶ *lāja* Senart, *lājā* Bühler.

⁷ The Gīrnār version reads *mahāthāwah[ā]*.

⁸ *yāta* Senart, *yatu* Bühler.

⁹ Read *etake*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

¹⁰ Read *ichhati*.

¹¹ Read *palakamati*.

¹² *Devānaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

¹³ *savaṁ* Senart, *shavaṁ* Bühler.

¹⁴ *pāliti* Senart, *pāliti* Bühler.

¹⁵ Read *palishave*.

¹⁶ The syllable *ne* was entered subsequently; *apumne* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ *vagena* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) And whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.¹

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person² or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSĪ

- 29 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषि लाजा हेवं हा (B) नथि हेडिषे दाने अदिष धंमदाने ।
धमषविभगे । धंमषंबधे । (C) तत एषे दाषभटकषि । षम्यापटिपति माता-
पितिषु । षुषुषा । मितषंथुतनातिक्यानं समनाबंभनाना दाने
30 पानानं अनार्लभे (D) एषे वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि
षवामिक्येन पि मितशंथुताना अवा पटिवेषियेना इयं षाधु इयं कटविये
(E) शे तथा कलंत हिदलोकिक्ये च कं आलधे होति पलत चा अनत
पुना पशवति तेना धंमदानेना

- 29 (A) Devānaṃp[i]ye Piyadashi [l]ājā hevaṃ hā³ (B) nathi h[e]dishe dāne adisha⁴
dha[m]ma-dāne । dhama-shav[i]bhage⁵ । dhamma-shaṃbadh[e] । (C) ta[ta] eshe
dāsha-bhaṭakashi । shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu । shushushā । mita-shaṃthuta-
nātikyānaṃ samanā-[ba]ṃbhanānā⁶ [dā]ne
30 pānānaṃ anāl[am]bhe (D) eshe vatav[i]ye pi[t]inā pi pute[na]⁷ pi bhā[t]inā pi
sh[a]vām[i]kyena⁸ pi mita-śaṃthutānā⁹ avā p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā]¹⁰ iy[a]m shādhū¹¹
iyam kaṭaviye (E) [ś]e tathā kala[m]ta hidalokikye cha kaṃ āladhe hoti palata
ch[ā]¹² anata¹³ punā¹⁴ paśavati tenā dhamma-dānenā

¹ The form *shiyāti* occurs again in the Kālsī edict XII, B, where it is spelt *siyāti*. Cf. also *siyati* in the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XII, L, and in the Mānsehrā edict X, C.

² In Sanskrit the word *varga* means 'a class'; but here and in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions it corresponds to *jana*, 'a person', at Gīrnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhauli (K) reads *jane*, and Jaugaḍa (L) [*va*]ge. See also *hedisameva vagam*, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhauli.

³ Read *āhā*.

⁴ *yādisam* Senart, [*ā*]disham Bühler.

⁵ *dhamma-shaṃvibhage* Bühler.

⁶ *samana-* and *nānaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ *pute* Senart and Bühler; the syllable *na* seems to be entered below the line.

⁸ Read *shuvāmi*.

⁹ The *ta* of *mita-* stands below the line; read *tenā*.

¹⁰ *paṭivesi* Bühler.

¹¹ *sādhū* Bühler.

¹² *cha* Senart and Bühler.

¹³ *annataṃ* Senart, *ananta* Bühler.

¹⁴ *puṇnā* Bühler; read *anantaṃ puṇnā*.

(M) bahukā ch[ā] | etāyāthāye | viyāpatā | dha[n]ma-mahāmātā | ithidhiyakha-
mahāmātā | vacha-bh[u]mikyā | ane vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā]¹

35 (N) iyaṁ cha etishā | phale | yaṁ ata-pāshaṁḍa-vaḍhi chā | hoti dhammasha² chā
dipanā |

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is honouring all sects: ascetics or house-
holders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as
(this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.³

(C) This⁴ promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising
one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or
(that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus,⁵ he is promoting his own sect considerably and is
benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and
wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out
of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if
he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) But concord is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each
other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of *Dēvānāmpriya*, (viz.) that all sects should be both
full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to
(as follows).

(L) *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this),
(viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahānātras* of
morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, or other
classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect
takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

35 (A) अठवषा- । भिक्षित- । षा देवानंपियष पियदक्षिणे । लाजिने । कलिग्या
विजिता । (B) दियदमिते । पानषतषहसे । ये त फा अपवुडे । शतषहषमिते ।
तत हते । बहुतावतके । वा मटे (C) ततो पछा । अधुना लधष । कलिग्येषु ।
तिवे । धंमवाये

¹ *nikāye* Senart, *nikā*[yā] Bühler.

³ For *siyāti* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

⁵ For the form *kalamtam* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

² *dhammasha* Bühler.

⁴ For the pronoun *nā* see above, p. 13, n. 5.

- 36 धंमकामता । धंमानुषधि चा । देवानंपियषा । (D) षे अणि अनुषये । देवानं-
पियषा । विजिनिनु । कलिग्यानि । (E) अविजितं हि । विजिनमने । ए
तता । वध वा । मलने वा । अपवहे वा । जनषा । षे बाढ । वेदनियमुते ।
गुलुमुते चा । देवानंपियषा । (F) इयं पि चु । ततो । गलुमततले ।
देवानंपियषा
- 37 (G) य तता वषति वाभना व षम वा अने वा पाशंड गिहिथा वा येषु विहिता
एष अगभुतिषुषुषा मातापितिषुषुषा गलुषुषा मितषंथुतषहायनातिकेषु
दाअभटकषि षम्यापटिपति दिढभतिता तेषं तता होति उपघाते वा वधे वा
अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने
- 38 (H) येषं वा पि षुविहितानं षिनेहे अविपहिने ए तानं मितषंथुतषहायनातिकष
वियषनं पापुनात तता षे पि तानमेवा उपघाते होति (I) पटिभागे चा
एष षवमनुषानं गुलुमुते चा देवानंपियषा (J) नधि चा षे जनपदे यता
नधि इमे निकाया आनता योनेषु
- 39 बंझने चा षमने चा नधि चा कुवापि जनपदधि यता नधि मनुषान । एकतलधि
पि । पाषडधि । नो नाम पषादे । (K) षे अवतके जने । तदा कलिंगेषु ।
लधेषु हते चा मटे चा । अपवुढे चा । ततो षते भागे वा । षहषभागे वा ।
अज गुलुमुते वा । देवानंपियषा

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B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1
2
3 नेयु (O) इह
4 षवभु यम षमचलियं मदव ति (P) इयं वु मु
5 देवानंपियेषः ये धंमविजये (Q) षे च पुना लधे देवानंपि च
6 षवेषु च अते अ षषु पि योजनषतेषु अत अतियोगे नाम योनला .. पलं
चा तेना
- 7 अंतियोगेना चताले ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम अंतिकिने नाम मका ना-
8 म अलिकषुदले नाप निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंबपनिया हेवमेवा (R) हेवमेवा
9 हिदा लाजविशवधि योन्कंवोजेषु नाभकनाभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिक्केषु
10 अधपालदेषु षवता देवानपियषा धंमानुषधि अनुवतंति (S) यत पि दुता
11 देवानंपियसा नो यंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपिनंय धंमवुतं विधनं
12 धंमानुसधि धंमं अनुविधियंअ अनुविधियिसंअ चा (T) ये से लधे
13 एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिलसे से (U) गधा सा होति पिति पिति
धंमविजय-

- 14 षि (V) लहुका वु खो सा पिति (W) पालंतिक्कमेवे महफला मंनंति देवेमंजिमे
 15 (X) एताये चा अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता किति पुता पपोता मे अमु
 16 नवं विजय म विजयतविय मनिषु षयकषि नो विजयधि खंति चा ल । हु-
 17 दंडता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु ये धंमविजये (Y) वे हिदलोक्किक्क
 पललो-

- 18 किये (Z) षवा च क निलति होतु उयामलति (AA) षा हि हिदलोक्किक्क
 पललोक्किक्का

- 35 (A) aṭha-[va]shā-¹ | bhishita-² | shā [De]vānaṃpiyasha Piyadashine | lājine |
 Kaligyā vijitā | (B) diyaḍha-mite³ | pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e | ye [ta]phā apavudhe [i
 śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite⁴ | tata hate | bahu-tāvatake⁵ | vā maṭe (C) tat[o⁶ pa]chhā |
 adhunā ladheshu⁷ | Kaligyeshu | tive | dhamma[vāy]e
 36 dhamma-k[ā]matā | dhammānushathī chā | Devānaṃpiyashā | (D) sh[e] athi
 anushaye | Devānaṃpiya[sh]ā | vijin[i]tu⁸ | Kaligyāni | (E) avijitāni hi |
 vijinamane | e tatā | vadha⁹ vā | malane vā | apavahe [vā] | jan[a]shā | [sh]e
 bāḍha | vedaniya-mute | g[u]l[u]-mut[e] chā | Devāna[m]piyashā | (F) iyaṃ pi
 chu | tato | galu-matatale | D[e]vānaṃpiyashā⁹
 37 (G) [ya] tatā¹⁰ vashati b[ā]bhanā¹¹ va shama¹² vā ane vā pāsamḍa gih[i]thā vā
 yeśu vihitā [e]sh[a] a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā¹³ m[ā]tā-piti-shushushā¹⁴ galu-shushā¹⁵
 mita-shamthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu dāsa-bha[ṭa]kash[i]¹⁶ sha[m]y[ā]-paṭipati diḍha-
 bhatitā tesham tatā hoti [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abbilātānaṃ vā vinikhamane
 38 (H) yesham vā pi shuvihi[t]ānaṃ¹⁷ shinehe avipahine e tānaṃ mita-śamth[u]ta-
 sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya¹⁸ viyashanaṃ¹⁹ pāpunāta²⁰ tatā²¹ she [p]i t[ā]namev[ā]²²
 upaghāt[e] hoti (I) paṭibhāge chā esh[a] sh[a]va-manu[shāna]m gul[u]-m[a]te
 chā Devāna[m]piyashā (J) n[a]thi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nathi ime nikāyā
 ānatā²³ Y[o]nesh[u]²⁴
 39 bamhmane ch[ā] shamane chā nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[a]thi
 m[a]nushān[a]²⁵ | ekatalash[i] p[ā] | pāshaḍashi | no n[ā]ma pashāde | (K) she
 ava[ta]ke²⁶ jane | t[ā]dā Kali[m]geshu |²⁷ [ladheshu ha]te ch[ā]²⁸ maṭ[e] chā |
 [apavudhe chā i] tato²⁹ shat[e] bhāge vā | shah[a]sha-bhāge vā | aja gulu-mate
 vā | Devāna[m]piyashā

¹ bhisita- Bühler. ² -m[ā]te Bühler. ³ -māte Bühler. ⁴ -tāvatake Bühler.

⁵ tatā Senart and Bühler. ⁶ Read ladheshu, which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ This word may be read also vijinīti, as both an i and a u are affixed to the last consonant.

⁸ vadham Bühler. ⁹ Bühler adds i.

¹⁰ Read ye tatā in accordance with the Shāhbāzgarhi version, which reads ye tatra; savatā Senart and Bühler, who adds i.

¹¹ bamhhanā Senart and Bühler.

¹² Read shamanā.

¹³ ag[a]bh[uta]- Bühler.

¹⁴ matā- Bühler.

¹⁵ -shusha Bühler; read -shushushā.

¹⁶ -bha[ṭa]kashi Bühler.

¹⁷ [sha]mvihitānaṃ Bühler.

¹⁸ The syllable nā seems to be entered above the line.

¹⁹ viyashane Bühler.

²⁰ Read pāpunāti, which is Bühler's reading.

²¹ tata Bühler.

²² meva Bühler.

²³ ānatā Senart and Bühler.

²⁴ yenesha Bühler.

²⁵ shānaṃ Bühler.

²⁶ āvatake Bühler.

²⁷ Bühler omits

²⁸ cha | Bühler.

²⁹ tatā Senart and Bühler.

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1
 2
 3 [ney]u (O) ichha¹
 4 sha[va-bhu]² [shayama shamacha]liya[m] madava ti (P) iya[m] vu³
 mu
 5 Devāna[m]piyeshā⁴ ye dha[m]ma-vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[m]-
 p[i] cha⁵
 6 shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu⁶ at[a] Atiyoge nām[a] Yo[na-
 lā]...⁷ [pa]lām chā tenā
 7 A[m]tiyogenā chatāli 4 lajāne Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Amteki[ne nā]ma Makā nā-
 8 ma Alikyashudale nāma nicham Choda-Pamdiyā avam Tambapamniyā
 hevamev[ā]⁸ (R) hevamevā
 9 [hi]dā lā[ja]-viśavashi⁹ Yona-Kambojeshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapamti¹⁰ Bhoja-
 Pitinikyē[sh]u
 10 [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u [sha]vatā [D]evā[na]m[pi]ya[shā] dhammānu[sha]thi
 anuvataṃti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā
 11 Devāna[m]piyasā no yaṃti t[e] pi sutu Dev[āna]m[pi]naṃya¹¹ dh[aṃma]-vutaṃ
 v[i]dh[a]na[m]
 12 dhammānusa[th]i dha[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyaṃ¹² [a]nuvidhiyaṃ¹³ [ch]ā (T) ye
 se [la]dhe
 13 etakenā hoti savatā vi[ja]ye¹⁴ piti-lase se (U) gadhā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-
 vijaya-
 14 shi (V) lahu¹⁵ v[u] kho sā piti (W) pālaṃti kyameve maha-phalā maṃnam[ti]
 Dev[e]nām[pi]ne¹⁶
 15 (X) etāye chā aṭhāye iyaṃ dha[m]ma-lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā¹⁷ me a[su]
 16 nava[m] vijay[a] ma vijayataviya¹⁸ manishu shayakashī no¹⁹ vi[ja]yashi khaṃti²⁰
 chā la l hu-²¹
 17 daṃdatā [chā] lochetu tameva chā vijayaṃ manatu ye dhamma-vijaye (Y) she
 hidalokikya palalo-
 18 kiye²² (Z) shavā cha ka²³ nilati hot[u] uyāma-lati (AA) shā hi hi[da]lokika
 pa[la]lokikyā

¹ Restore *ichhati*.² Restore *-bhutānam*.³ Read *chu*.⁴ Read *°piyashā*.⁵ Restore *°piyasa hida cha*.⁶ There is a fissure in the rock between *yojana* and *shateshu*.⁷ Restore *-lājā*.⁸ *hevameva* Bühler.⁹ [*Hi*]da-lājā Viśa-Vaji- Bühler.¹⁰ *Nābhaku*- Senart, *Nābhake* Bühler.¹¹ *°piniya* Senart, *°piyaṃya* Bühler; read *°piyasa*.¹² Read *°yaṃti*, which is Bühler's reading.¹³ Read *°saṃti*, which is Bühler's reading.¹⁴ This word is entered above the line.¹⁵ Read *chu*.¹⁶ Read *pālaṃti kyameva mahā-phalam maṃnati Devāna[m]piye*.¹⁷ *pāpotā* Senart and Bühler.¹⁸ *vijayaṃtaviya* Bühler.¹⁹ Read perhaps *yo* (= Prākṛit *yeva*), as at Shāhbāzgarhi.²⁰ There is a fissure in the rock here.²¹ Cancel the sign of punctuation and join *lahu*.²² *ki . ye* Bühler.²³ Bühler omits *ka*; read *kaṃ* and see above, p. 31, n. 6.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).¹

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made; (that), if a conquest does please them,² they should take pleasure³ in mercy and light punishments; and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.⁴

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 19 (A) इयं धमलिपि देवानंप्रियेना पियदसिना लजिना लिखापिता अथि
येवा सुखि-
- 20 तेना अथि मज्झिमेना अथि विषटेना (B) नो हि सवता सवे घटिते (C) महालके
हि वि-
- 21 जिते बहु च लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निकयं (D) अथि चा हेता पुन पुना
लपि-
- 22 ते तष तषा अथषा, मधुलियाये येन जने तथा पटिपजेया (E) षे षाया अत
किञ्चि अ-
- 23 समति लिखिते दिषा वा षंखेये कालनं वा अलोचयितु लिपिकलपलाधेन वा
- 19 (A) *iyam dhama-lipi Dev[ānaṃp]riy[e]nā [P]iyadasinā⁵ lajinā likhāpitā athi*
yevā sukhi-
- 20 *tenā⁶ [a]thi majhimenā athi vithaṭenā (B) no hi savatā save [gha]ṭite⁷ (C) mahālake*
hi vi-
- 21 *jite bahu cha likhite lekhaṃpeshāmi cheva nikyaṃ (D) athi chā hetā puna pun[ā]⁸ la[p]i-*
22 *t[e] tasha tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā (E) she shāyā⁹*
ata k[i]chhi a-
- 23 *samati likhite diṣhā vā saṃkhēye¹⁰ kālanam vā alochayitu li[p]ikalapalādhena vā*

¹ *mahā-phala* is perhaps a Karmadhāraya, while it may be a Bahuvrīhi in the rock-edict IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where *mahā-apāye* (Dhauḷi, R) or *mahāpāy[e]* (Jaugada, S) must be a Karmadhāraya, as it forms the predicate of the feminine *asampatīpati*; the preceding word *mahā-phale* may be a Bahuvrīhi at Dhauḷi, but a Karmadhāraya at Jaugada.

² *shayaka* may be an adjective formed of *svayam*, and having the same meaning as *spa[kā]* (=Skt. *svaka*) at Shāhbāzgarhī, and as *sarasaka* at Gīrnār, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.

³ For *lochetu* see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁴ *uyāma* is synonymous with *utthāna* and *parākrama* in the rock-edicts VI and X.

⁵ *dashinā* Bühler.

⁶ Gīrnār reads *saṃkhītena*.

⁷ The syllable *te* was entered subsequently.

⁸ *punam puna* Bühler.

⁹ Read *shiyā*, which is Bühler's reading. The syllable *shā* is entered above the line.

¹⁰ Read probably *saṃkhāya* in accordance with the Gīrnār version (*sachhāya*) and the Shāhbāzgarhī one (*saṃkhay[a]*).

(A) These rescripts on *morāṇy* *priya Priyadarsin* either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly¹ cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,² or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE OF THE KALSI ROCK

गजतमे

gajatame

TRANSLATION

The best elephant.³

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock.

- 1 (A) अयं भ्रमदिपि देवनप्रिअस रजो लिखपितु (B) हिद नो किचि जिवे अरभितु
प्रयुहोतवे (C) नो पि च समज कठव (D) बहुक हि दोष समयसि देवणप्रिये
प्रिअद्रशि रय दखति
- 2 (E) अस्ति पि च एकतिअ समये ससुमते देवनपिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो (F) पु
महनससि देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो अनुदिवसो बहुनि प्रणशतसहसनि
अरभियिषु सुपठये (G) सो इदनि यद अय
- 3 भ्रमदिपि लिखित तद चयो वो प्रण हंजंति मजुर दुवि २ सुगो १ सो पि सुगो न
ध्रुवं (H) एत पि प्रण चयो पच न अरभिशंति

¹ Senart and Bühler consider *nikyam* a dialectical variant of *nityam*.

² *dis* is used in the sense of *dēśa*, unless *dishā* is simply a clerical mistake for the Gīrnār *desan*.

³ Cf. the similar labels at Gīrnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhāuli (at the end of edict VII), see above, p. 27, n. 2.

- 1 (A) [aya]¹ dhrama-dipi Devanapriasa raño likhapitu² (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[bhita p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[hu]ka [hi] dosha sa[maya]spi Devanapriy[e]³ Priadraśi ray[a da]khati
- 2 (E) [a]sti pi chu ekatia⁴ samaye sasu-mate⁵ Devanapiasa⁶ Priadraśisa raño (F) pura mahana[sas]i [Devana]pr[i]asa⁷ Priadraśisa raño anudivaso bahuni pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani⁸ [arabhi]yis[u] supathay[e] (G) s[o i]dani yada aya
- 3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo praṇa haṁṇānt[i] majura duv[i]⁹ 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[m] (H) eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhiśānti

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meetings must be held.

(D) For king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two—2—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

3 (A) सव्रच विजिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् ये च अंत यथ चोड
4 पंडिय सतियपुचो केरडपुचो तंबपंणि अंतियोको नम योनरज ये च अंजे तस
अंतियोक्स समंत रजनो सव्रच देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षिस् रजो दुवि २
चिकिस क्रिट मनुशचिकिस . . पशुचिकिस च

5 (B) ओषढनि मनुशेपकनि च पशेपकनि च यच यच नस्ति सव्रच हरपित च
वुत च (C) कुप च खनपित प्रतिभोगये पशुमनुशनं

3 (A) sav[r]atra vijite [De]va[nam]priyasa Priyadraśisa y[e] cha [a]nta yatha [Choda]

4 Paṁḍiya Satiyaputro Keraḍaputro⁹ Tambapaṁṇi¹⁰ Aṁtiyo[k]o nama Yona-
raja ye cha aṁṇe tasa Aṁtiyokasa samaṁta¹¹ rajano savratra Devanaṁ-
priyasa Priyadraśisa raño du[vi]¹² 2 chik[i]sa [kr][i]ṭa¹³ manuśa-chikisa . .
pa[śu-ch]ikisa [cha]

5 (B) [o]sha[dha]ni¹² manuśopakani cha paśopakani cha yat[r]a yatra nasti savatra
harapita¹³ cha vuta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]gaye paśu-manuśanaṁ

¹ [a]ya[m] Böhler.

² Read probably *likhapita*, as at Mānsehrā.

³ *dosham sama . . sa Devanapriy[o]* Böhler.

⁴ *cha ekatie* Böhler.

⁵ Read *sadhu-*; *sresta-mati* Böhler.

⁶ **priasa* Böhler.

⁷ *Devanampri*¹⁰ Böhler.

⁸ *-[sa]has[r]ani* Böhler.

⁹ *Satiyaputra Keralaputra* Böhler.

¹⁰ **paṁni* Böhler.

¹¹ *kṛ[tra]* Böhler.

¹² *[oshudh]ani* Böhler.

¹³ *har[o]pita* Böhler.

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the *Chōḍas*, the *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Satiyaputra*, the *Kēra aputra*, *Tāmraparṇi*, the *Yōna* king named *Antiyoka*, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*,—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

(C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

5 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज अहति (B) बदयवषभिसितेन अणपितं
(C) सवच मञ्ज

6 विजिते युत रजुको प्रदेशिक पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतिस वो
करण इमिस ध्रमनुशस्तिये थ अजये पि क्रमये (D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष
मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं ब्रमणश्चमणनं प्रणनं अनरंभो सधु

7 अपवयत अपभंडत सधु (E) परि पि युतनि गणनसि अणपेशंति हेतुतो च
वंजनतो च

5 (A) *Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśi raja ahati* (B) *badaya-vashabh[i]si[tena]*¹
[a]napi[tam]² (C) *savatra ma[a]*³

6 *vijite yuta rajuko pradeśi[ka⁴ pañcha]shu pañchashu 5 vasheshu anusaṁyanam
nik[r]amatu etisa vo karaṇa imisa dhraṁmanuśastiye [tha]⁵ añaye pi
krammaye⁶ (D) sadhu mata-pitushu suśrusha mitra-saṁst[u]ta-ñatikanam
braṁaṇa-[śra]maṇa[nam] [pra]ṇanam [anaram]bho sadhu⁷*

7 *apa-vayata apa-bhaṁdata sadhu (E) pari⁸ [pi] yutani [ga]ṇanasi⁹ aṇapeśamti hetuto
cha vaññanato¹⁰ cha*

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks¹¹ (thus).

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, [the following] was ordered [by me].

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rajuka*, (and) the *Prādēsika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

¹ With Bühler and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write *badāsa*-. On the Wardak vase the symbols for *y* and *ś* are often confused; see Pargiter's remarks in EI, II. 203 f., and ZDMG, 73. 227.

² Bühler omitted this word.

⁴ *pradeśik[e]* Bühler.

⁶ *kramaye* Bühler.

⁸ Read *parisha*.

⁹ There is a vacant space between *ga* and *ṇa*.

¹⁰ *vaññanato* Bühler.

¹¹ Bühler wrote *aha ti* in two words. But the barbarous form *ahati* or *hahati* is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by *evam*, and where consequently *ti* cannot have the meaning 'thus'.

for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas [is meritorious]. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 7 (A) अतिक्रतं अंतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वढितो वो प्रणरंभो विहिस च भुतनं
जतिन असंपटिपति अमणब्रमणनं असंपटिपति (B) सो अज देवनंप्रियस
प्रियद्रशिस रजो
- 8 ध्रमचरणेन भेरिघोष अहो ध्रमघोष विमननं द्रशनं अस्तिन जोतिकंधनि अजनि
च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयितु जनस (C) यदिशं बहुहि वषशतेहि न भुतप्रुवे
तदिशे अज वढिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो ध्रमनुशस्तिय अनरंभो
प्रणनं अविहिस भुतनं जतिनं संपटिपति ब्रमण-
- 9 ामणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु वुढनं सुश्रुष (D) एत अजं च बहुविधं ध्रमचरणं
वढितं (E) वढिशति च यो देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो ध्रमचरणं इमं
(F) पुत्र पि च कं नतरो च प्रनतिक च देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो
प्रवदेशंति यो ध्रमचरणं इमं अवकप ध्रमे शिले च
- 10 िठिति ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एत हि सेठं क्रमं यं ध्रमनुशशनं (H) ध्रमचरणं
पि च न भोति अशिलस (I) सो इमिस अथस वढि अहिनि च सधु
(J) ए.ये अठये इमं निपिस्तं इमिस अठस वढि युर्जंतु हिनि च म लोचेषु
(K) बदयवषभिसितेन देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिन रज जनं हिद निपेसितं

- 7 (A) atikrataṃ aintaraṃ bahuni vasha-śatani vaḍhito vo praṇarambho vihiṣa cha
bhuta[na]m ṇatina¹ asaṃpaṭipati śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m] a[sam]paṭipati²
(B) [so aja Devana]m priyasa Priyadraśisa [raño]
- 8 dhrama-charaṇena bheri-ghosha aho dhrama-ghosha vimanana[m] draśanaṃ
[a]stina³ joti-kamdhani añani cha divani rupani draśayitu janasa (C) yadiśaṃ
bahuhi vasha-śatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiśe aja vaḍhite Devanaṃ priyasa
Priyadraśisa raño dhraṃmanuśa[sti]ya anarambho praṇa[nam] avihisa
bhutanaṃ ṇatina[m] saṃpa[ṭi]pati⁴ [bra]maṇa-
- 9 śramaṇana⁵ saṃpaṭipati mata-pitushu vuḍhana[m] suśrūṣa (D) e[ta] añam cha
bahuvidhāṃ dhrama-charaṇaṃ vaḍhitaṃ (E) vaḍhiśati cha yo Devanaṃ priyasa
Priyadraśisa raño dhrama-charaṇaṃ⁶ ima[m] (F) putra pi cha kaṃ⁷ nataro

¹ ṇatinaṃ Bühler.⁴ sa[m]paṭi² Bühler.⁷ ku Bühler.² [asaṃpaṭi]² Bühler.⁵ śramaṇanaṃ Bühler.³ [ha]stino Bühler.⁶ -charaṇo Bühler.

cha pranatika cha **Devanāmpriya[sā] Priyadarśisa raño** pra[va]dh[e]śamti¹
 [yo]² dhrama-charaṇam ima[m̐] ava]-kapa³ dhrame śile cha
 10 tiṭṭhi⁴ dhramam anuśāśisamti (G) eta h[i] s]reṭham k[r̥]ama[m̐] yaṁ
 dhraman[u]śāśana[m̐] (H) dhrama-charaṇa[m̐] pi cha na bhoti aśilasa (I) so
 imisa athrasa vaḍhi ahini cha sadhu (J) etaye aṭhaye ima[m̐] nipistam⁵ imisa
 aṭhasa vaḍhi yujamtu hini cha ma lo[ch]e[sh]ju (K) badaya-vashabhisitena⁶
Devanāmpriyena Priyadarśina raña ṇanam hi[da] nipesitam⁷

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) And also the sons,⁸ grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written,⁹ (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve¹⁰ the neglect (of it).

(K) (This) conception (*jñāna*) was caused to be written here by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

¹ *ra[ño vadhe]śamti* Bühler. ² Bühler omitted *yo*. ³ *[-kapaṁ]* Bühler. ⁴ *tiṭṭhi* Bühler.

⁵ *dipista* Bühler.

⁶ Read *badāsa-*, and cf. above, p. 52, n. 1.

⁷ *raña [id]am . . nam dīpa[pi]tam* Bühler. The *da* of *hida* looks like *dam*, as it does frequently at Mānsehrā.

⁸ For *cha kam* see above, p. 31, n. 6. Mānsehrā has once *cha kam* (XI, 14) and twice *cha ka* (IV, 16; XIII, 13).

⁹ The participles *nipistam* and *nipesitam* in J and K, which correspond to *likhite* and *lekhitā* at Kālsī, must be derived from *ni-pish-*, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb نوشتن. Cf. the Russian писать 'to write'.

¹⁰ See above, p. 8, n. 3.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 11 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) यो अदिकरो कलणस सो दुकरं करोति (D) सो मय बहु कलं किट्रं (E) तं मअ पुच च नतरो च परं च तेन ये मे अपच व्रक्षंति अवकपं तथ ये अनुवटिशंति ते सुकिटं कषति (F) यो चु अतो . . कं पि हपेशदि सो दुकाटं कषति (G) पपं हि सुकरं (H) स अतिक्रतं अतर नो भुतप्रुव ध्रंममहमच नम (I) सो तोदशवषभिसितेन
- 12 मय ध्रममहमच किट्र (J) ते सवप्रषंडेषु वपट ध्रंमधिषनये च ध्रमवढिय हिदसुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकंबोयगंधरनं रठिकनं पितिनिकनं ये व पि अपरंत (K) भटमयेषु व्रमणिभेषु अनयेषु वुडेषु हितसुखये ध्रंमयुतस अपलिगोध वपट ते
- 13 (L) वधनवधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये अयि अनुव . . प्रजव किटभिकरो व महलके व वियपट ते (M) इअ बहिरेषु च नगरेषु सवेषु ओरोधनेषु भतुन च मे स्पसन च ये व पि अंजे जतिक सवच वियपुट (N) ये अयं ध्रमनिशिते ति व ध्रमधिषने ति व दनसयुते ति व सवत विजिते मअ ध्रमयुतसि वियपट ते ध्रममहमच (O) एतये अठये अयि ध्रमदिपि निपिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तथ च मे प्रज अनुवततु

11 (A) Devanapriyo Priyadraśi raya eva[m] hahati¹ (B) ka[la]ṇa[m] dukara[m] (C) [yo] a[dikaro kala]ṇasa so du[ka]raṁ karoti (D) so maya bahu kalaṁ² ki[t]raṁ (E) taṁ maa³ putra cha nataro cha para[m] cha [tena y]e⁴ me apacha vṛakṣaṁti⁵ ava-kapaṁ tatha⁶ ye an[u]vaṭiśaṁti⁷ te s[u]kiṭa[m]⁸ kashaṁti (F) yo chu ato . . kaṁ⁹ pi hapeśadi¹⁰ so dukataṁ kashati (G) papaṁ h[i] sukaraṁ (H) sa atikrataṁ atara no¹¹ bhuta-pruva dhrama-ma[ha]ma[tra]¹² nama (I) so todaśa-vashabhisitena¹³

12 maya dhrama-mahamatra kiṭa¹⁴ (J) te sava-praśaṁdesh[u] vapaṭa dhrammadhithanaye¹⁵ cha dhrama-vaḍhiya¹⁶ hida-sukhaye cha dhrama-yutasa Yona-Kamboya-Gaṁdharanaṁ¹⁷ Raṭhikanaṁ¹⁸ Pitinikanaṁ ye

¹ aha ti Bühler.

² Read kalaṇaṁ.

³ ma[ha] Bühler.

⁴ [ya] Bühler.

⁵ [a]chhaṁti Bühler. In JA (10), 17. 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharoṣṭhī uses a special form of *chh* in all those cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit *ksh*. In order to distinguish this sign from the real *chh*, I transcribe it by *ksh*, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.

⁶ tathaṁ Bühler; but what he took for an Anusvāra is probably the horizontal bottom-line which is frequent at Mānsehrā.

⁷ vaṭiśaṁti Bühler.

⁸ sukiṭ[r]aṁ Bühler.

⁹ Restore perhaps *ekaṁ*; the other versions read *desaṁ* or *deśa*.

¹⁰ [hapeśati] Bühler.

¹¹ so atik[raṁ]taṁ aṁtaraṁ na Bühler.

¹² dhrama- Bühler.

¹³ [todaśa]- Bühler.

¹⁴ kiṭ[r]a Bühler.

¹⁷ The rock has a hole here.

va pi aparaṃta (K) bhaṭamayeshu bramaṇibheshu anatheshu vuḍheshu [hita]-
sukhaye [dhraṃ]ma-yutasa¹ apaliḡ[o]dha² vap[a]ṭa te

- 13 (L) badhana-badhasa³ paṭividhanay[e] apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba...⁴
prajava kiṭabhikaro va mahalake⁵ va viyapaṭa⁶ [t]e⁷ (M) ia bahireshu cha
nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratuna⁸ cha me spasana⁹ cha ye va pi
amñe ñatika savatra viyapaṭa (N) y[e] ayaṃ¹⁰ dh[r]ama-niṣite¹¹ ti va
dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata¹² vijite maa¹³ dhrama-
yu[ta]si¹⁴ viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye aṭhaye [a]yi¹⁵ dhrama-dipi
nipista¹⁶ ch[i]ra-thitika bhot[u] ta[tha]¹⁷ cha [m]e¹⁸ p[r]aja anuvatatu.

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who
shall come¹⁹ after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will
conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
(F) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
(G) For sin is easily committed.
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.
(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been)
anointed thirteen years.
(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting
morality, and for the welfare and happiness²⁰ of those who are devoted to morality
(even) among the Yōnas, Kambōyas, and Gandhāras, among the Rāṭhikas, among
the Pitinikas,²¹ and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

¹ [dhra]ma- Bühler.

³ baṃdhana- Bühler.

⁵ mahalaka Bühler.

⁸ bhratunam Bühler.

¹⁰ y[am] i[ya]m Bühler.

¹³ ma[ha] Bühler.

¹⁵ ay[am] Bühler.

¹⁷ This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.

¹⁸ Bühler omitted me.

¹⁹ vrakshati is the future of vrachati which occurs twice at Shāhbāzgarhi (VI, L, and XIII, S).

For Prakṛit vachchāi = Skt. vrājati see Hēmachandra, IV, 225.

²¹ For Rāṭhika and Pitinika Girnār reads Ristika and Petenika. As Laṭhika at Dhaulī agrees with Rāṭhika at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā, Ristika at Girnār may be a clerical mistake for Rāṣṭhika, just as parikamate for parākamate in X, l. 3, Devinaṃ for Devānaṃ in XI, l. 1, and dūti for dūtā in XIII, l. 9. Conversely, astā is written for asti in IX, l. 7, pitarā for pitari in XI, l. 2, and vivādhāya for vividhāya in XII, l. 1. The Sanskrit original of Rāṣṭhika would be Rāṣṭrika. The identifications of this name with Surāshṭra (Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, p. 126) or Lāṭa (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces were included in Aśoka's empire; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects Rāṣṭrika with Mahārāshṭra, the Pāli form of which, Mahārāṭṭha, occurs in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*. Could the Rāṣṭrikas be identical with the Ārattas of the Panjāb (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 76) and with the Ἀρᾰττίοι who are mentioned in the *Periplus* (§ 47) together with the Ἀπαχόσιοι and Ταρδάσιοι?

² °b[odhe] Bühler; read °godhaye (= °godhāya at Girnār).

⁴ Restore anubadha; iyaṃ a[n]uba[dh]am Bühler.

⁶ viyapaṭra Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted te.

⁹ Read spasuna; spasunam Bühler.

¹¹ -niṣrite Bühler.

¹² savatra Bühler.

¹⁴ There is a vacant space here.

¹⁶ dipist[a] Bühler.

²⁰ Cf. above, p. 33, n. 4.

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).¹

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.²

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

14 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एव अहति (B) अतिक्रतं अंतर न भुतप्रुवं सवं कलं अठक्रमं व पटिवेदन व (C) तं मय एवं किटं (D) सवं कलं अशमनस मे ओरोधनस्मि यभगरस्मि व्रचस्मि विनितस्मि उयनंस्मि सवच पटिवेदक अठं जनस पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवच च जनस अठु करोमि (F) यं पि च किचि मुखतो अणपयमि अहं दपक व अवक व ये व पन महमचन अचयिक अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे निरुति व सतं परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे

15 (E) सवच च अठं जनस करोमि अहं (F) यं च किचि मुखतो अणपेमि अहं दपकं व अवक व ये व पन महमचनं अचयिकं अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे संतं निजति व परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे सवच सवं कलं (G) एव अणपितं मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषो उठनसि अठसंतरिणये च (I) कटवमतं हि मे सवलोकहितं (J) तस च मुलं एव उयनं अठसंतरिण च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतरं

6 सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किचि परक्रममि किति भुतनं अनणियं व्रचेयं इस च ष सुखयमि परच च स्पयं अरधेतु (M) एतये अठये अयि ध्रम निपिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तय च मे पुच नतरो परक्रमंतु सवलोकहितये (N) दुकर तु खो इमं अजच अये परक्रमेन

14 (A) *Devanam̐priyo Priyadraśi raya eva* ³ *ahati* (B) *atikratam̐ am̐tara* ⁴ *na bhuta-pruvar̐m sava[m̐]* ⁵ *kala[m̐] aṭha-kramam̐* ⁶ *va paṭivedana va* (C) *ta[m̐] maya eva[m̐] kiṭa[m̐]* (D) *savar̐m kala[m̐] aśamanasa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra paṭivedaka* ⁷ *aṭham̐ janasa paṭivedetu* ⁸

¹ *paligodha* is a Māgadha form of *parigodha*, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.

² See above, p. 34, n. 3.

³ *eva[m̐]* Bühler.

⁴ *am̐taram̐* Bühler.

⁵ *savar̐m* Bühler.

⁶ *aṭha-* Bühler.

⁷ *savratra paṭri* Bühler.

⁸ *paṭ[r̥]i* Bühler.

me (E) savatra cha ja[na]sa aṭh[r]a karomi (F) ya[m] pi cha ki[chi] mukhato aṇapayami a[haṃ] dapa[ka]¹ va śravaka² va ye³ va p[a]na mahamatrana⁴ a[cha]yika⁵ a[ro]pitaṃ bhoti taye aṭhaye viva[de]⁶ nijha[t]i va sataṃ⁷ parishaye anaṃtariyena paṭivedetavo me

15 (E)⁸ savatra cha aṭhaṃ⁹ janasa karomi a[haṃ] (F) yaṃ cha kichi¹⁰ mukhato aṇapemi ahaṃ dapaka[m] va śravaka va ye¹¹ va pana mahamatranaṃ achayi[k]aṃ aropita[m] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[m]taṃ nijati¹² va parishaye anaṃtariyena paṭivedetavo¹³ me savatra savaṃ¹⁴ kala[m] (G) eva¹⁵ aṇapita[m] maya (H) [na]sti hi me tosho uṭhanas[i] aṭha-sa[m]tiraṇaye [cha] (I) kaṭava-mataṃ¹⁶ hi me sava-loka-hitaṃ¹⁷ (J) ta[sa cha] mulaṃ etra uthanaṃ aṭha-saṃtiraṇa cha (K) na[sti] hi k[r]amatara[m]

16 sava-loka-hite[na]¹⁸ (L) yaṃ cha kichi parak[r]amami kiti bhutanaṃ anaṇiyaṃ v[r]acheyaṃ ia cha sha sukhayami paratra cha spagraṃ¹⁹ aradhetu (M) etaye aṭhaye ayi dhrama²⁰ nipista²¹ chira-thitika bhotu tatha cha me putra nataro parakramaṃtu sava-lo[ka-hita]ye (N) [du]kara²² tu [kh]o imaṃ aṇat[r]a²³ agre²⁴ parakramena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) And the root of that (consists) in this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge

¹ [da]pakaṃ Bühler.

² śravakaṃ Bühler.

³ yaṃ Bühler.

⁴ °tranaṃ Bühler, who added v[o].

⁵ There is a fissure between a and cha.

⁶ Bühler added va.

⁷ saṃtaṃ Bühler.

⁸ E and F (besides the last three words of the latter) were repeated by mistake.

⁹ There is a vacant space between a and ṭhaṃ.

¹⁰ There is a fissure between ki and chi.

¹¹ ya Bühler.

¹² Read nijhati, which is Bühler's reading.

¹³ paṭri Bühler.

¹⁴ sav[r]aṃ Bühler.

¹⁵ evaṃ Bühler.

¹⁶ There is a hole between ma and taṃ.

¹⁷ sav[r]a- Bühler.

¹⁸ s[r]ava- Bühler.

¹⁹ spagraṃ Bühler.

²⁰ Read dhrama-dipi.

²¹ dipista Bühler.

²² [d]ukara[m] Bühler.

²³ aṇātra Bühler.

²⁴ Read agrena.

the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them¹ happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this [rescript on] morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is indeed difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI²

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियशि रज सवच इच्छति सव-
- 2 प्रषंड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते सयमे भवशुधि च इच्छति
- 3 (C) जनो चु उचवुचछंदो उचवुचरगो (D) ते सव व एकदेशं व
- 4 पि कषंति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
- 5 शुधि किद्रजत द्रिढभतित निचे पढं

- 1 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyaśi³ raja savatra ichhati savra-⁴
- 2 [p]rashaṁḍa vaseyu (B) save⁴ hi te sayame⁵ bhava-śudhi cha ichhamti
- 3 (C) jano chu uchavucha-chhaṁdo uchavucha-rago (D) te savraṁ va eka-deśaṁ va
- 4 pi kashaṁti (E) vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-
- 5 śudhi kiṭṭraṇata dṛiḍha-bhatita⁶ niche paḍhaṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, (and) firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock (continued).

- 17 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनंप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) अच मुगय अजनि च एदिशनि अभिरमनि अभुवमु (C) सो देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज दशवषभिसितो सतं निक्रमि सबोधि (D) तेनद ध्रमयच (E) अच इयं होति अमणब्रमणनं द्रशने दनं बुढनं दशन हिरजप्रटिविधने च जनपदस जनस द्रशन ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमपरिपुछ च ततोपयं (F) एषे भुये रति भोति देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो भगो अंजि

¹ *sha* (*she* at Mānsēhrā) corresponds to, and must have the same meaning as, *nāni* at Gīrnār and *kāni* at Kālśī, Dhāuli, and Jaugaḍa. Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 149) derived it from Skt. *ēśhām*, and translated it by '(some) of them'.

² This edict is engraved on the left of the east face, at the top of the rock. The lines are therefore numbered separately.

³ Read *Priyadarśi*.

⁴ *savre* Bühler.

⁵ *sayama* Bühler.

⁶ *didha*- Bühler.

- 17 (A) atikratam ataram¹ Devanampriya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya añani cha ediśani² abhiramani abhuvasu³ (C) so Devanampriyo Priyadraśi raja daśa-vashabhisito sataṁ⁴ nikrami Sabodhi⁵ (D) tenada⁶ dhraṁma-yatra⁷ (E) atra iyaṁ hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇanam draśane danaṁ vuḍhana[m] daśana⁸ hiraṇa-p[r]aṭivīdhane⁹ cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana¹⁰ dhramaṇuśasti dhrama-pa[r]i[p]ru[ru]chha¹¹ cha tatopayaṁ (F) eshe¹² bhuy[e ra]ti bhoti¹³ Devanampriyasa Priyadraśisa raño bhago¹⁴ añni

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Dēvānāmpriyas* used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
 (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
 (C) But when king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.
 (D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.¹⁵
 (E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
 (F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 18 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं अहति (B) जनो उचवुचं मंगलं करोति अबधे अवहे विवहे पजुपदने प्रवसे अतये अजये च एदिशिये जनो व मंगलं करोति (C) अच तु स्त्रियक बहु च बहुविधं च पुतिक च निरठियं च मंगलं करोति (D) सो कटवो च व खो मंगल (E) अपफलं तु खो एत (F) इमं तु खो महफल ये ममंगल
- 19 (G) अच इम दसभटकस सम्मपटिपति गरुन अपचिति प्रणनं संयमो शमणब्रमणन दन एतं अजं च ध्रममंगलं नम (H) सो वतवो पितुन पि पुचेन पि भतन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसस्तुतेन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो मंगलं यव तस अठस निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन
- 20 इमं कषं (I) ये हि एतके मगले सशयिके तं (J) सिय वो तं अठं निवटेयति सिय पुन नो (K) इअलोक च वो तं (L) इद पुन ध्रममंगलं अकलिकं (M) यदि पुन तं अठं न निवटे इअ अथ परच अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति (N) हंचे पुन तं ठं निवटेति ततो उभयेस लधं भोति इअ च सो अठो परच च अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमंगलेन

¹ atikratnam antaram Bühler.² [h]ediśani Bühler.³ abhuvasu Bühler.⁴ sato Bühler.⁵ sabodhi[m] Bühler.⁶ tenada[a] Bühler.⁷ dhrama- Bühler.⁸ draśane Bühler.⁹ -paṭivīdha[ne] Bühler.¹⁰ draśanam Bühler.¹¹ -pa[r]i[p]ru[ru]chha Bühler.¹² esh[a] Bühler.¹³ hoti Bühler.¹⁴ bhag[i] Bühler.¹⁵ See above, p. 37, n. 5.

- 18 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadrasī r[a]ya evaṃ ahati (B) jano uchavucham maṅgalaṃ karoti abadhe avāhe vivahe pajupadane pravase ataye¹ añaye cha ediṣiy[e]² jano ba³ maṅgalaṃ karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidham cha putika⁴ cha nirāṭhiyaṃ⁵ cha maṅgalaṃ karo[ti]⁶ (D) so kaṭavo cha [va]⁷ kho maṅgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta⁸ (F) imaṃ [t]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṅgala⁹
- 19 (G) [a]tra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati¹⁰ garuna apachiti praṇaṇaṃ sa[m]jyamo¹¹ śamaṇa-bramaṇa¹² dana etaṃ añaṃ cha dhrama-maṅga[laṃ] nama (H) [s]o vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratana¹³ pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-sastutena¹⁴ ava prativēsiyena imaṃ sadhu [imaṃ]¹⁵ kaṭa[vo] maṅgala[m] yava tasa aṭhresa¹⁶ nivuṭiya nivuṭaspi va p[u]na¹⁷
- 20 imaṃ kashaṃ¹⁸ (I) ye hi etake¹⁹ magale saṣayike²⁰ taṃ (J) siya vo taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeyati siya puna²¹ no²² (K) ialoka cha²³ vo taṃ²⁴ (L) ida²⁵ puna dhrama-maṅgalaṃ akalikaṃ (M) yadi puna taṃ aṭhaṃ na nivaṭ[e]²⁶ ia²⁷ atha paratra anantaṃ puñaṃ prasavati (N) haṃche puna taṃ ṭhaṃ²⁸ nivaṭeti tato u[bha]y[e]sa²⁹ ladhaṃ bhoti ia³⁰ cha so aṭho paratra cha anantaṃ puñaṃ prasavati tena dhramaṅgalena³¹

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,³² (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive³³ and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again'.

¹ Read *etaye*, which is Bühler's reading.

² Read probably *ediṣaye*, as at Mānsehrā.

³ Read *bahu*.

⁴ *putika[m]* Bühler.

⁵ *nirāṭhiyaṃ* Bühler.

⁶ *ka[rotne]* Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted *va*.

⁸ *etaṃ* Bühler.

⁹ Read *dhrama*-; -*maṅgala[m]* Bühler.

¹⁰ -*paṭipati* Bühler.

¹¹ *saṃjyama* Bühler.

¹² *śramaṇa*- Bühler.

¹³ Read *bhratana*, which is Bühler's reading.

¹⁴ -*saṃstutena* Bühler.

¹⁵ There is a vacant space here.

¹⁶ *aṭhresa* Bühler.

¹⁷ *pana* Bühler.

¹⁸ *ke[sha]* Bühler.

¹⁹ *et[ra]ke* Bühler.

²⁰ *sa[m]ṣayike* Bühler.

²¹ *pana* Bühler.

²² Bühler omitted *no*.

²³ *ialokach[e]* Bühler.

²⁴ *tithe* Bühler.

²⁵ *iya* Bühler.

²⁶ Read *nivaṭeti*, as at Mānsehrā.

²⁷ *[h]ia* Bühler.

²⁸ Read *taṃ aṭhaṃ*; Bühler read *[a]ṭhaṃ* for *taṃ ṭhaṃ*.

²⁹ *ubhayasa* Bühler.

³⁰ *iha* Bühler.

³¹ Read *dhrama-maṅgalena*.

³² For *pajupadane* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

³³ Instead of *putika*, 'foul', all other versions read *kshudra*, 'vulgar'.

(I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) But if¹ one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

21 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो व किट्टि व नो महठवह मज्जति अज्जच यो पि
यशो किट्टि व इच्छति तदत्वये अयति य च जने धम्ममुश्रष सुश्रुषतु मे ति
धम्मवुतं च अनुविधियतु (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो किट्टि व
22 इच्छति (C) यं तु किचि परक्रमति देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय तं सवं परचिकये व
किति सकले अपरिस्रवे सियति (D) एषे तु परिस्रवे यं अपुजं (E) दुकरे तु
खो एषे खुद्रकेन वयेन उसटेन व अज्जच अयेन परक्रमेन सवं परितिजितु
(F) अज्ज च उसटे

21 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raya yaśo va kiṭṭi va no mahatthavaha maññati
aññatra yo pi yaśo kiṭṭi va ichhati tadatvaye² ayatiya cha jane dhrama-suśrasha³
suśrushatu me ti dhramma-vutaṃ cha anuvi[dhi]yatu (B) etakaye Devanapriye⁴
Priyadraśi raya yaśo⁵ kiṭṭi va
22 ichhati (C) ya[m] tu kichi parakramati Devanānpriyo Priyadraśi raya taṃ
sav[r]aṃ paratrikaye va kiti sakale aparisrave siyati (D) eshe tu parisrave yaṃ
apuññaṃ (E) dukare⁶ [tu] kho eshe khudrakena vagrena usaṭena va aññatra
agrena parakramena sava[m] paritijitu (F) at[r]a⁷ chu usaṭe

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may be free of danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

¹ Instead of 'but if', two other versions read 'even if', which is preferable.

² tadattaye Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 11, C.

³ Read -suśrushaṃ.

⁴ Devanānpriye Bühler.

⁵ Bühler added va.

⁶ dukaraṃ Bühler.

⁷ etaṃ (which is also possible) Bühler.

(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 23 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) नस्ति एदिशं दनं यदिशं धमदन धमसंस्तवे धमसंविभगो धमसंबंध (C) तच्च एतं दसभटकनं संम्मपटिपति मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं श्रमणब्रमण
24 दन प्रणन अनरंभो (D) एतं वतवो पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भृतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसंस्तुतन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो (E) सो तथ करतं इअलोक च अरथेति परच च अनतं पुज प्रसवति

25 तेन धमदनेन

- 23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadraśi raya evaṃ hahati¹ (B) nāsti ed[i]śaṃ danaṃ ya-diśaṃ dhrama-dana² dhrama-saṃstav[e] dh[r]ama-saṃvibhago dh[r]ama-samba[m]dha³ (C) tatra etaṃ dasa-bhaṭakanaṃ saṃmma-paṭipati⁴ mata-pitushu suśrūṣa mi[t]ra-saṃstuta-ñāṭikanaṃ śramaṇa-bramaṇa⁵
24 dana praṇaṇa⁶ anara[m]bho (D) etaṃ vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi [spa]mikenā⁷ pi 'mitra-saṃstutana⁸ ava prativeśiyena [i]ma[m]⁹ sadhu imaṃ kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[m] iāloka¹⁰ cha a[ra]dheti paratra cha anataṃ puṇa¹¹ prasavati
25 [te]na dhrama-danena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

¹ *aha ti* Bühler.

² *-danam* Bühler.

³ *-sambandho* Bühler.

⁴ *samma-pratipati* Bühler.

⁵ *-bramaṇanam* Bühler.

⁶ *danam praṇanam* Bühler.

⁷ *[sa]mikenā* Bühler.

⁸ Read *-saṃstutena*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁹ There is a fissure in the rock here.

¹⁰ *karamāṇā iāloka[m]* Bühler.

¹¹ *puṇam* Bühler.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

B.—On a separate boulder.

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सव्रप्रषंडनि प्रव्रजितनि ग्रहथनि च पुजेति दनेन
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मज्जति यथ किति सलवढि सिय सव्रप्रषंडनं (C) सलवढि तु बहुविध
(D) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषंडपुज व परपषंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि
तसि प्रकरणे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषं-
- 4 ड तेन तेन अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषंडंस पि च उपकरोति
(G) तद अज्जथ करमिनो अतप्रषंड
- 5 क्षणति परप्रषंडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कचि अतप्रषंडं पुजेति परप्रषंडं
गरहति सवे अतप्रषंडभतिय व किति
अतप्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं सो च पुन तथ करतं बढतरं
उपहंति अतप्रषंडं (I) सो सयमो वो सधु किति अजमजस धमो
- 7 श्रुण्येयु च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इह किति सव्रप्रषंडं बहुश्रुत च
कलणगम च सियसु (K) ये च तच्च तच्च
- 8 प्रसन तेषं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मज्जति यथ किति
सलवढि सियति सव्रप्रषंडनं (M) बहुक च एतये अठ . .
- 9 वपट धममहमच्च इस्त्रिधियक्षमहमच्च वचभुमिक अजे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस
फलं यं अतप्रषंडवढि भोति
- 10 धमस च दिपन

- 1 (A) Devanaṃpriyo Priyadraśi raya savra-praśaṃḍani pravrajita[ni]¹
grahathani² cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha
[da]na³ va puja va
- 2 Devanaṃpriyo mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vaḍhi siya savra-praśaṃḍanaṃ
(C) sala-vaḍhi tu bahuvidha (D) tasa tu iyo mula yaṃ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-praśaṃḍa-puja va pa[ra]-paśaṃḍa-garana va no siya [a]pakaraṇasi⁴
lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[n]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-praśa[m]-
- 4 [da] tena tena akarena (F) e[v]aṃ karataṃ⁵ ata-p[r]aśaṃḍaṃ vaḍheti
para-praśaṃḍaṃsa⁶ pi cha upakaroti (G) tada añatha⁷ ka[ra]min[o]⁸
ata-p[r]aśaṃḍa]⁹

¹ This word was entered above the line; *pravrajita* Bühler.

² *graha[tha]ni* Bühler.

⁴ *aprakaraṇasi* Bühler.

⁶ Read *dasa*, which is Bühler's reading.

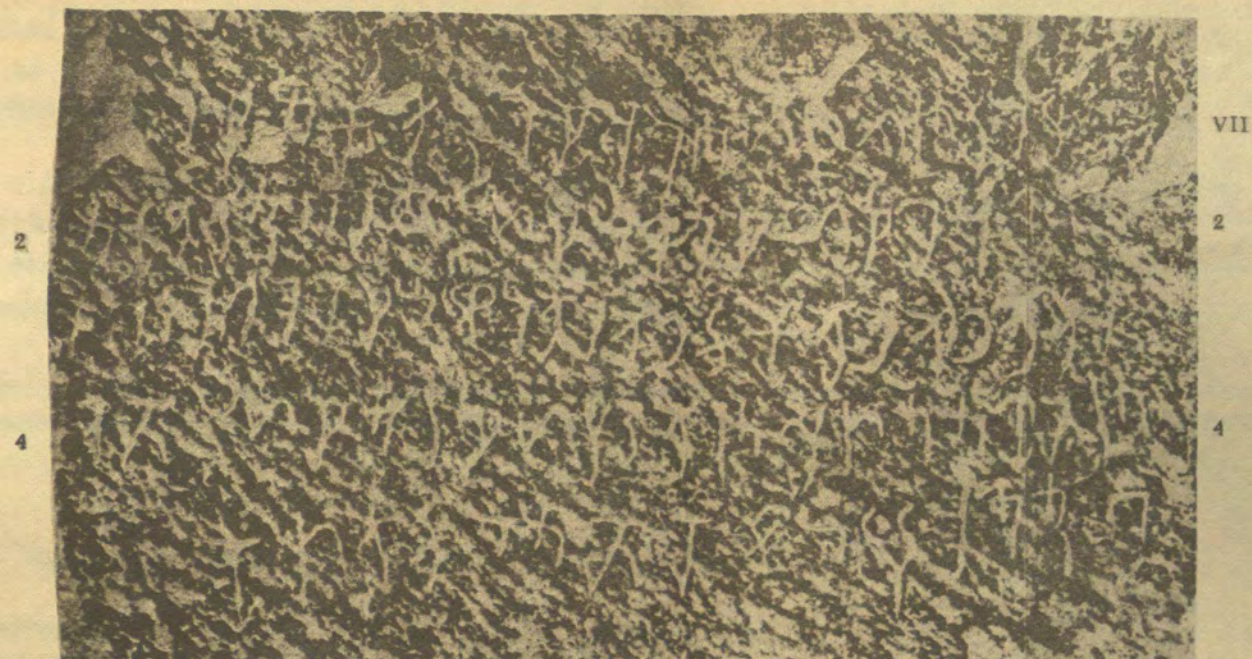
⁸ *ka[rata]cha* Bühler.

³ *dana[m]* Bühler.

⁵ *kara[m]taṃ* Bühler.

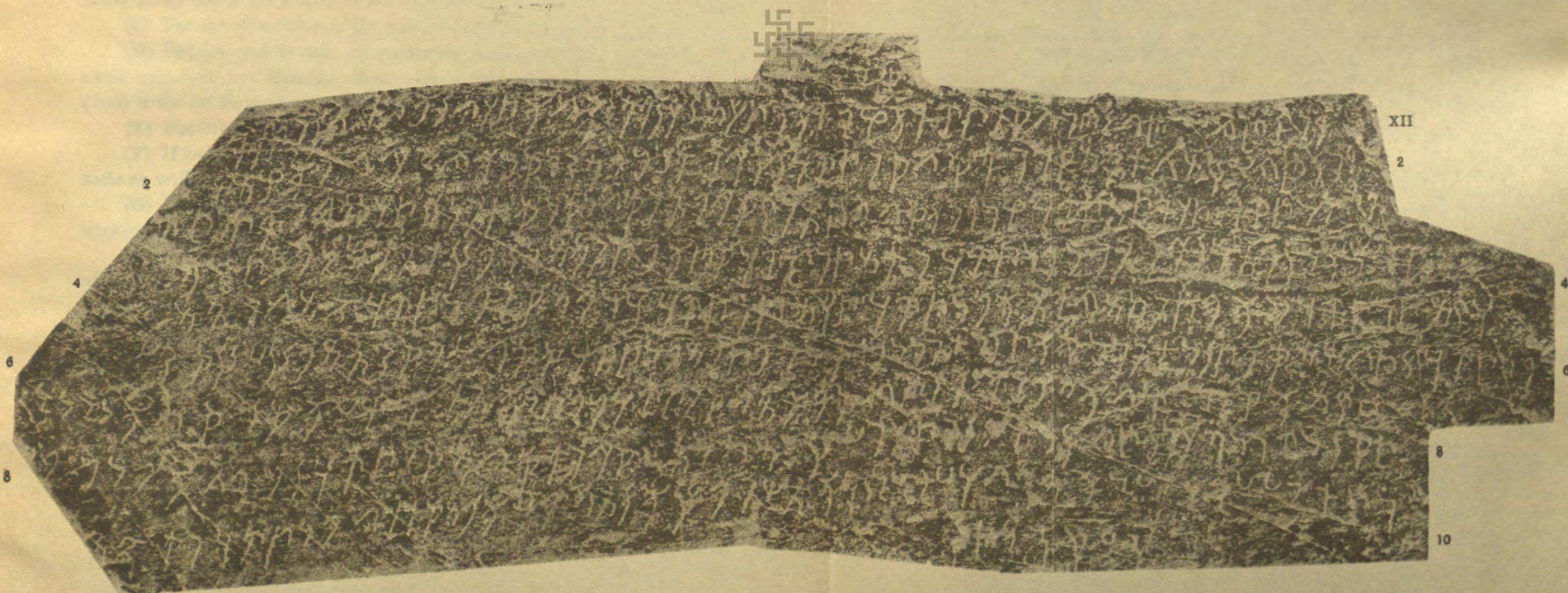
⁷ Read *tad-añatha*.

⁹ *-praśaṃḍaṃ* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

SEE PAGE 59



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

- 5 kṣhaṇati para-[pra]śhaḍasa¹ cha apakaroti (H) yo hi kachi² ata-prashaḍam puḇeti
[para]-p[r]ashaḍa[m]³ garahati savre ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti
- 6 ata-prashaḍam dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karamam so cha puna tatha
karatam⁴ ba[dhata]ram upahanti ata-prashaḍam (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti
añamañasa dhramo
- 7 śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti (J) evam hi Devanāmpriyasa ichha kiti savra-
prashaḍa bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[aṇa]gama cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra
- 8 prasana tesha[m] vatavo (L) Devanāmpriy[o] na [tatha da]na[m] va] p[u]ḷja va
mañati ya[tha] kiti sala-vaḍhi siyati savra-prashaḍanam (M) bahuka cha etaye
a[tha]...⁵
- 9 vap[a]ṭa dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[stidhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika⁶ añe
cha nikaye (N) imam cha etisa [pha]lam yam ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi⁷ [bh]o[ti]
- 10 dhramasa cha di[pana]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects: (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control⁸ alone is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāmpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.⁹

¹ -prashaḍasa Bühler.

² k[o]chi Bühler.

³ -prash[a]ḍa Bühler.

⁴ Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.

⁵ Restore *athaye*.

⁶ *vacha*- Bühler.

⁷ -prashaḍa- Bühler.

⁸ Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.

⁹ For *siyati* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBĀZGARHI

C.—West face of Shāhbāzgarhī rock.

- 1 (A) अठवषअभिसितस देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो कलिंग विजित (B) दिअढमचे
प्रणशतसहसे ये ततो अपवुडे शतसहस्रमचे तच हते बहुतवतके व मुटे
- 2 (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिंगेषु तिवे ध्रमशिलन ध्रमकमत ध्रमनुशस्ति च
देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रिअस विजिनिति कलिंगनि
- 3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तच वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं
वढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं
देवनप्रियस (G) ये तच
- 4 वसति ब्रमण व अमण व अंजे व प्रषंड यहथ व येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष
मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मिचसंस्तुतसहय-
- 5 जतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपति द्रिढभतित तेष तच भोति अपयथो व वधो व
अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (H) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिंहो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष
मिचसंस्तुतसहयजतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति तच तं पि तेष वो अपग्रथो भोति (I) प्रतिभगं च एतं सवमनुशनं
गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (J) नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्मि न नम प्रसदो
(K) सो यमचो जनो तद कलिंगे हतो च मुटो च अपवुड च ततो
- 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरेयति
क्षमितवियमते व देवनप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये (M) य पि च अटवि
देवनप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि
च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवचपेयु न च हंजेयसु (O) इछति हि देवनप्रियो
सवभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये (P) अयि च मुखमुत विजये
देवनप्रियस यो ध्रमविजयो (Q) सो च पुन लधो देवनप्रियस इह च सवेषु
च अंतेषु
- 9 अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु यच अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अतियोकेन
चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम
निच चोडपंड अव तंवपणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवस्मि योनकंबोयेषु
नभकनभितिन

- 10 भोजपित्तिनिकेषु अंघ्रपलिदेषु सवच देवनंप्रियस धमनुशस्ति अनुवदंति (S) यच पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न वचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस धमवुटं विधनं धमनुशस्ति धमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिंति च (T) यो स लधे एतकेन भोति सवच विजयो सवच पुन
- 11 विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (U) लध भोति प्रिति धमविजयस्सि (V) लहुक तु खो स प्रिति (W) परचिकमेव महफल मेजति देवनंप्रियो (X) एतये च अटये अयि धमदिपि निपिस्स किति पुच पपोच मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेतविस्स मज्झिषु स्पकस्सि यो विजये स्संति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मज्जतु
- 12 यो धमविजयो (Y) सो हिदल्लोकिको परल्लोकिको (Z) सवचतिरति भोतु य धमरति (AA) स हि हिदल्लोकिक परल्लोकिक

- 1 (A) [aṭṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa¹ Devana]pri[a]sa. Pri[a]drasisa ra[ñño] Ka[liga] vi[ji]ta (B) diḍḍha-mat[r]e² prañña-śata-[saha]sre y[e] tato apavudhe śata-sahasra-matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va]³ m[uṭṭe]
- 2 (C) tato [pa]cha⁴ a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu⁵ tivre dhrama-śilana]⁶ dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanuśasti cha Devanapriyasa (D) so [a]sti anusochana⁷ Devanap[ria]sa vijinīti Kaliga[ni]⁸
- 3 (E) avijitaṃ [hi vi]jīnamano yo⁹ tat[r]a vadha¹⁰ va maraṇaṃ va apavaho va janasa taṃ baḍḍhaṃ v[e]dani[ya]-ma[taṃ] guru-mata[m] cha Devanaṃpriyasa (F) idaṃ¹¹ pi chu [tato] guru-matataraṃ [Devanaṃ]priyasa (G) ye tatra¹²
- 4 vasati¹³ brahmaṇa va śrama[ṇa] va a[m]hā va prashamḍa gra[ha]tha va yesu vihita esha agrabhūti-sūsrusha mata-pitushu sūsrusha guruna¹⁴ sūsrusha mitra-saṃstuta-sahaya-
- 5 ṇātikeshu dasa-bhaṭṭakanaṃ samma-pratipa[ti] diḍḍha-bhatita¹⁵ tesha¹⁶ tatra bhoti [a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇaṃ (H) yesha va pi suvihitanaṃ¹⁷ [si]ho¹⁸ aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-saṃstuta-sahaya-ṇātika vasana
- 6 prapūṇati [ta]tra taṃ pi tesha vo apagratho¹⁹ bhoti (I) pratibhagaṃ cha [e]taṃ savra-manuśanaṃ²⁰ guru-mataṃ cha Devanaṃpriya[sa] (J) nasti cha ekatare²¹ pi prashaḍaspi²² na nama prasado (K) so yamatro [ja]no tada Kalige [ha]to cha muṭ[o] cha apav[ud]ha²³ cha tato
- 7 śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagaṃ va [a]jja guru-mataṃ v[o] Devanaṃpriyasa (L) yo pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va²⁴ Devanaṃp[r]iyasa yaṃ śako kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha aṭavi Devanaṃpriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunijapeti²⁵ (N) anutape pi cha prabhava

¹ a[sta]- Bühler.² [diyadha]- Bühler.³ Bühler omitted va.⁴ [pa]chha Bühler.⁵ [Kaligeshu] Bühler.⁶ [paṇanaṃ] Bühler.⁷ n[an] Bühler.⁸ priyasa vijinīti Ka[li]nga[ni] Bühler.⁹ man[i ye] Bühler.¹⁰ vadh[o] Bühler.¹¹ imaṃ Bühler.¹² tatra h[i] for ye tatra Bühler.¹³ vasaṃti Bühler.¹⁴ gurunam Bühler.¹⁵ diḍḍha- Bühler.¹⁶ teshaṃ Bühler.¹⁷ saṃvi¹⁸ Bühler.¹⁸ Read sineho; [ne]ho Bühler.¹⁹ Read apagratho, which is Bühler's reading.²⁰ savraṃ manu²⁰ Bühler.²¹ ekataraspi Bühler.²² prashamḍaspi Bühler.²³ apavudh[o] Bühler.²⁴ vo Bühler.²⁵ Read nijaḥpeti, which is Bühler's reading.

- 8 **Devanāṃpriyasa** vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mñeyasu (O) ichhati hi **D[e]vanāṃpriyo** savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamaṃ sama[cha]riyaṃ rabhasiye (P) ayi¹ cha mukha-mut[a]² vijaye **Devanāṃpriya[sa]** yo dhrama-vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladho **Devanāṃpriyasa** iha cha saveshu³ cha aṃteshu
- 9 [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra **Aṃtiyoko** nama **Y[o]na-raja** paraṃ cha tena **Atiyok[e]na**⁴ chature 4 rajani **Turamaye** nama **Aṃtikini** nama **Maka** nama **Alikasudaro** nama nicha **Choḍa-Paṃḍa** ava **Ta[m]bapaṃ[ni]ya**⁵ (R) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vishavaspi⁶ **Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu** **Nabhaka-Nabhitina**⁷
- 10 **Bhoja-Pitinikeshu** **Aṃdhra-Palideshu**⁸ savatra **Devanāṃpriyasa** dhramanuśasti anuvaṭaṃti (S) yatra pi **Devanāṃpriyasa** duta na vrachāṃti te pi śrutu **Devanāṃpriyasa** dhrama-vuṭaṃ vidh[a]naṃ⁹ dhramanuśasti dhramaṃ [a]nuvidhiyaṃti anuvidhiyāṃti[ti] cha (T) yo [sa]¹⁰ ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na]
- 11 vijayo priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meṇati **Devana[m]priyo** (X) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi¹¹ dhrama-dipi nipi[sta]¹² kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayaṃ ma vijetav[i]a¹³ mañishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[e kshaṃ]ti cha lahu-da[m]data¹⁴ cha rochetu taṃ cha yo¹⁵ vija¹⁶ maña[tu]
- 12 yo dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) sava-chati-rati¹⁷ bhotu ya [dh]raṃma-rati¹⁸ (AA) sa hi hidalokika paralokika

TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvanāṃpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, **Dēvanāṃpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality,¹⁹ to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvanāṃpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas**.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvanāṃpriya**, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvanāṃpriya**.

¹ *eshe* Bühler.

² *-mute* Bühler.

³ *sa[vre]shu* Bühler.

⁴ *Aṃtiyokena* Bühler.

⁵ *paṃniya* Bühler.

⁶ *Visha-Vajri-* Bühler.

⁷ *Nabhake Na[bhi]tina* Bühler.

⁸ *-Puli[de]shu* Bühler.

⁹ *vidhenam* Bühler.

¹⁰ *[cha]* Bühler.

¹¹ *ayo* Bühler.

¹² *[di]pista* Bühler.

¹³ **tavi[ya]m* Bühler.

¹⁴ *-dam[da]tam* Bühler.

¹⁵ *taṃ e[va]* Bühler.

¹⁶ Read *vijayaṃ*, as at Kālsī.

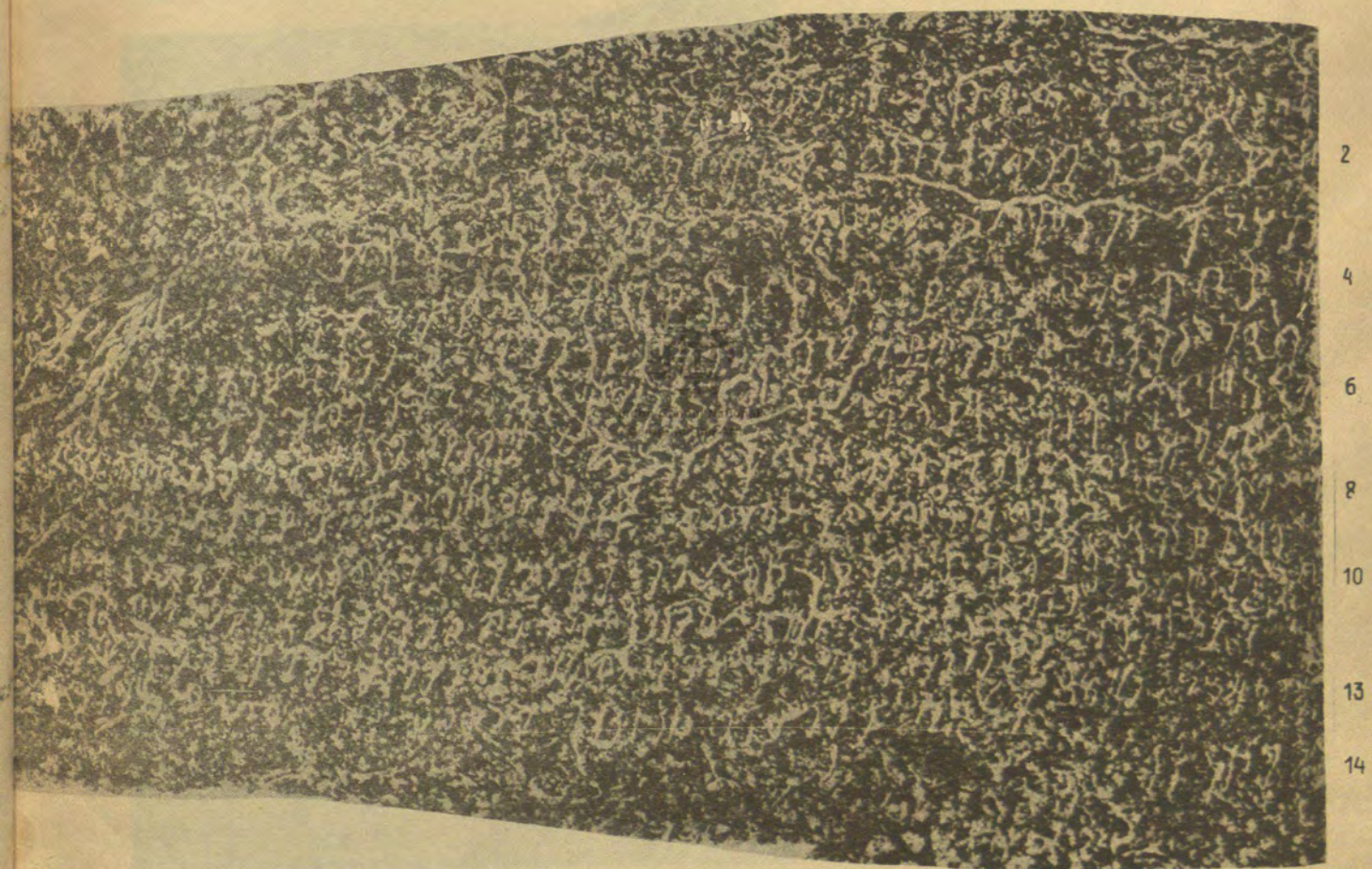
¹⁷ *savra cha nirati* Bühler.

¹⁸ *[s]rama-* Bühler.

¹⁹ *dhrama-śilana* (= Skt. *dharma-śilana*) is the equivalent of *dhanimavāyo* at Gīrnār; see above,

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

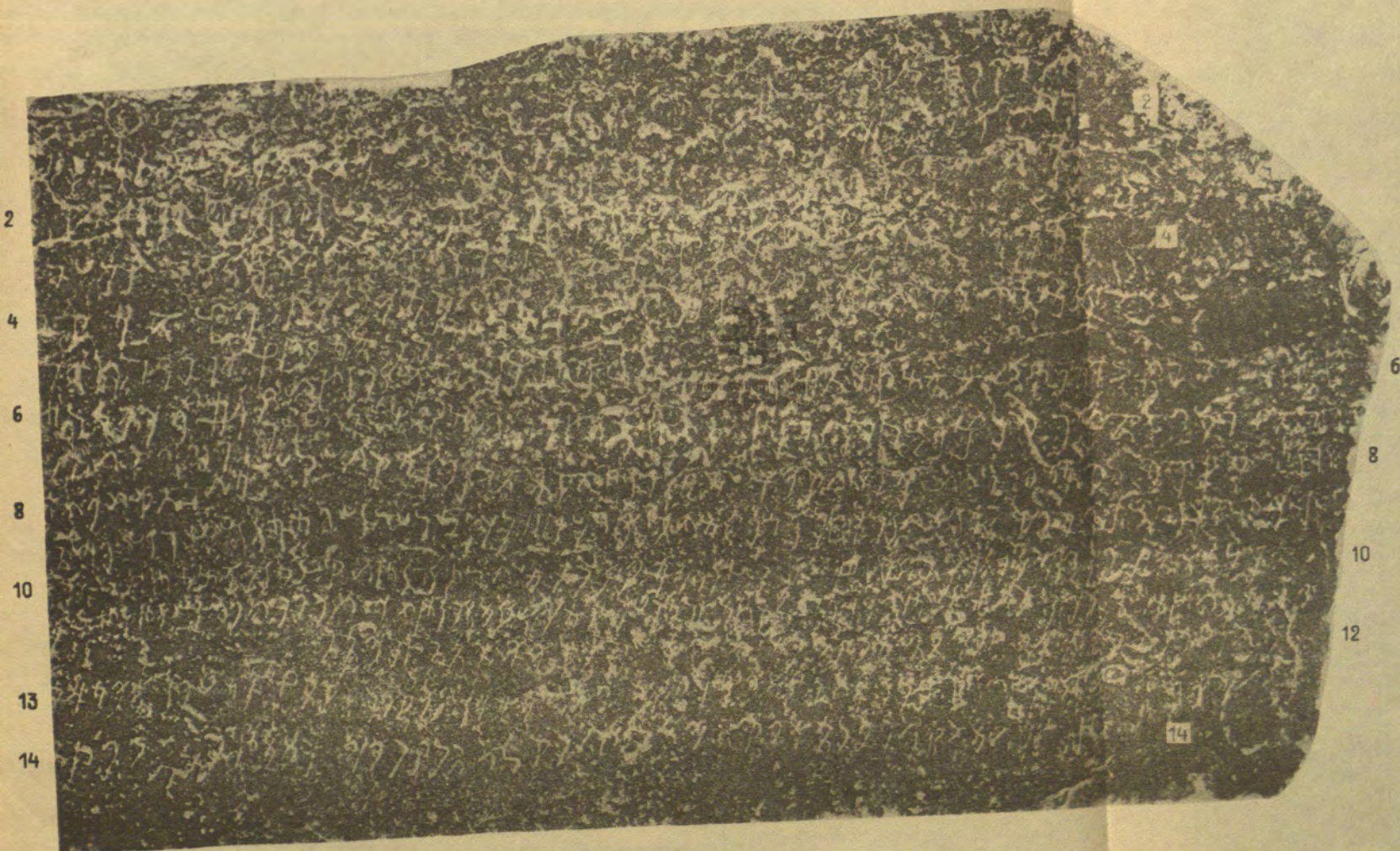
LEFT HALF



SCALE ONE-NINTH

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI
RIGHT HALF

BETWEEN PAGES 68 AND 69



SCALE ONE-NINTH

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury¹ or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.²

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in **Kaliṅga**, (would) now be considered very deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(L) And **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests³ which are (included) in the dominions of **Dēvānāmpriya**, even those he pacifies (and) converts.⁴

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which **Dēvānāmpriya** (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance,⁵ in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For **Dēvānāmpriya** desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.⁶

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one⁷ by **Dēvānāmpriya**, viz. the conquest by morality.

¹ 'The meaning of *apagratho* is fixed by the various readings *upaghāte* (Kālsī) and *upaghāto* (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Pischel draws my attention) that some Kōśas give for *grathita* the meaning *hata*, *himsita*; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. *granth*.'—Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 174.

² 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.

³ As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 174 f.), the nom. plur. *aṭavi* is used in the sense of *āṭavikāḥ*. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression *lakṣaṇā*. One of the examples given in the *Tarkasaṃgrahadīpikā*, § 59, is मञ्चाः क्रोशन्ति, 'the tribunes (i. e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'

⁴ Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. *nijhapayisanti* and *nijhapayitā* (or *nijhapayitave*) in the pillar-edict IV, M, *nijhap[e]ta[vī]ye* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, R, and *nijhati* in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where Aśoka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.

⁵ Bühler (EI, 2. 471) rendered *anutaṭe prabhavē* (i. e. *anutāpē prabhāvē*) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to *anutāpa* is unusual, and this word is a synonym of *anuśaya* or *anuśōchana* in section D of this edict. Thomas takes *prabhavē* = Skt. *prabhavēt*; see V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbāzgarhī the 3. sing. opt. ends in *-eyati*; cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.

⁶ I adopt Lüders' rendering of the last two words of this section; see SPAW, 1914. 851. The Girnār and Kālsī versions replace the locative *rabhasiye* (= Skt. *rābhasyē*) by the accusative *mādava* or *madava* (= Skt. *mārdavam*, 'kindness').

⁷ *mukha-muta* (also at Mānsehrā, XIII, l. 9) is the same as *mukhya-muta* in the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edicts, VI, F.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly¹ by **Dēvānāmpriya** both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoka** (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoka**, (where) **four—4—kings** (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Turamaya**, (the king) named **Antikini**, (the king) named **Maka**, (and the king) named **Alikasudara**, (and) towards the south, (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇi**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōyas**, among the **Nabhakas** and **Nabhitis**,¹ among the **Bhōjas** and **Pitinikas**, among the **Andhras** and **Palidas**,²—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,³ they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims), which is pleasure in morality.

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 13 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रिणिन रज निपेसपित अस्ति वो संक्षितेन
अस्ति यो विस्त्रितेन (B) न हि सवच ससवे गटिते (C) महलके हि विजिते
बहु च लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपितं तस
तस अठस मधुरियये येन जन तथ
- 14 पटिपजेयति (E) सो सिय व अच किचे असमतं लिखितं देशं व संखय करण
व अलोचेति दिपिकरम व अपरधेन

¹ The Kālsī version reads *Nābhapaṃti* for *Nabhiti*.

² See above, p. 48, n. 14.

³ Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kālsī and Mānsehrā differs here. Unless the Shāhbāzgarhi reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prākṛit substantive *chatti* = Skt. **tyakti* in the sense of *tvāga*.

- 13 (A) *ayi*¹ *dhrama-dipi*² *Devanāṃpriyena Priśi[na]*³ *raña nipesapita*⁴ *asti vo saṃkshitenā*⁵ *asti yo vistriṭena* (B) *na hi savatra*⁶ *sasavre*⁷ *gaṭite*⁸ (C) *mahalake hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]eśami cheva* (D) *asti chu*⁹ *atra puna puna [la]pitaṃ tasa tasa [a]ṭhasa madhuriyaye ye[na] jana tatha*
- 14 *paṭipajeyati*¹⁰ (E) *so siya va atra kiche*¹¹ *asamataṃ likhitaṃ deśaṃ va saṃkhay[a]*¹² *karaṇa va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena*

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written¹³ by king *Dēvanāṃpriya Priyadarśin* either in an abridged (form) or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.¹⁴

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,¹⁵ or by the fault of the writer.

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

Indira Gandhi National

A.—First Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिण रजिन लिखपित (B) हिद नो किछि जिवे अरभितु प्रजोहि-
- 2 तविये (C) नो पि च समजे कठविये (D) बहुक हि दोष समजस देवनंप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज दखति (E) अस्ति पि चु
- 3 एकतिय समज सधुमत देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने (F) पुर महनससि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस र-
- 4 जिने अनुदिवस बहुनि प्रणशतसहस्रनि अरभिसु सुपथ्रये (G) से द अयि ध्रमदिपि लिखित तद तिनि येव प्रणनि अरभियंति दुवे २ मजु-
- 5 र एके म्रिगे से पि चु म्रिगे नो ध्रुवं (H) एतनि पि चु तिनि प्रणनि पच नो अरभि

¹ *ayo* Bühler.² There is a vacant space between *ma* and *di*.³ Read *Priyadrasina*.⁴ *dipapito* Bühler.⁵ *saṃkshitenā* Bühler.⁶ *savatra* Bühler.⁷ Read *savre*; [*so*] *savre* Bühler.⁸ Read *ghaṭite*; *ghaṭiti* Bühler.⁹ *cha* Bühler.¹⁰ *praṭi* Bühler.¹¹ Read *kichi*, which is Bühler's reading.¹² *saṃkhaye* Bühler.¹³ With *nipesapita* cf. *nipesitaṃ* in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict IV, K.¹⁴ With the optative *paṭipajeyati* (= *°yāti* at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa) cf. *apakareyati* (XIII, l. 7), *nivapeyati* (IX, l. 20), and *siyati* (= *siyāti* or *shiyāti* at Kālsi); see above, p. 40, n. 1.¹⁵ See above, p. 8, n. 3.

- 1 (A) ayi dhra[ma]-dip[i] Devana[m]priye[na] ¹ Priya[draśina rajina li]khapita (B) hi[da] no kichhi ² ji[ve] ara[bhita] pra[johi]-
 2 taviye ³ (C) no pi [cha] samaj[e] kaṭaviye ⁴ (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha samajasa Devana[m]priye] Priyadraśi raja [da]kha[ti] (E) asti [pi chu]
 3 [eka]tiya samaja sa[dhu]-mata Devanapriyasa Priyadraśi[sa] ⁵ rajine (F) pura maha[nasa]si [Devana]pri[ya]sa Pri[yadra]śisa ra-
 4 jine anudiva[sa ba]huni praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani [arab]hiṣu supa[thra]ye (G) s[e].....[da] ayi dhrama-dipi likhi[ta] ta[da] ti[ni] y[eva] pra[ṇa]ni [ara]bh[iya]nti du[v]e [2] maju-
 5 ra [e]k[e] ⁶ m[r]ig[e] s[e] p[i] chu mrig[e] no dhruva[m] (H) [e]tani pi chu [tini] praṇani pacha no ara[bhi].....

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 5 (A) सवच विजितसि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षि रजिने ये च अत अथ
 6 चोड पंडिय सतियपुच केरलपुच तंबपणि अतियोगे नम योनरज ये च अ स
 गस समत रजने सवच प्रियस प्रियद्रक्षि रजिने
 7 दुवे २ चिकिस कट मनुशचिकिस च पशुचिकिस च (B) ओषढनि मनु कनि
 च प कनि च अच अच नस्ति सवच हरपित च रोपपित च
 8 (C) एवमेव मुलनि च फलनि च अच अच नस्ति सवच हरपित च रोपपित च
 (D) मगेषु रुहनि रोपपितनि पितनि पठिभोगये पशु-
 मुनिशनं

- 5 (A) sa[vatra vi]jitas Devanapriyasa Priyadraśisa rajine ye cha ata ⁷ atha
 6 [Choda] Pa[m̐di]ya Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] Keralaputra ⁸ [Tam]bapaṇi [A]tiyoge ⁹ nama Yona-[raja] ye cha [a].....sa.....[gasa] samata ¹⁰ ra[jane sa]vratra priyasa Priyadraśisa rajine
 7 [duve 2] chikisa [ka]ṭa manuśa-chik[isa cha] paśu-[chi]kisa 'cha (B) osha[dha]ni ¹¹ manu.....ka[ni cha] pa.....[kani cha atra atra ¹² nasti savra]tra [ha]rapi[ta cha] ropa[pita] cha
 8 (C) e[va]meva mulani [cha] phalani [cha] a[tra a]tra [na]sti [savra]tra harapita cha ro[pa]pita cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani ¹³ [ropa]pi[tani] ¹⁴ [pi]tani paṭibhogaye paśu-m[uni]śana[m] ¹⁵

¹ [De]vana[pri]yena Bühler.² kichi Bühler.³ pra[yuko]taviye Bühler.⁴ sama[ja] kaṭaviya Bühler.⁵ [Pri]yadraśi[ne] Bühler.⁶ Bühler inserted the figure '1'.⁷ amta Bühler.⁸ °putr[e] Bühler.⁹ . tiyo[ke] Bühler.¹⁰ samanta Bühler.¹¹ osha[dhi]ni Bühler.¹² [ya]tra yatra Bühler.¹³ ru[chha] Bühler.¹⁴ The next symbol (read [ku] by Bühler) may be the first letter (u) of udupanani.¹⁵ -m[a]nuśana Bühler.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एव अह (B) दुवडशवषभिसेतेन मे इयं अणपयिते
(C) सव्रच विजितसि त रजु . . प्रदेशिके पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु
10 अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतये व अथये इमये ध्रमनुशस्तिये यथ अजये पि क्रमणे
(D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मिचसंस्तुत-
11 जतिकनं च ब्रमणश्मरणं सधु दने प्रणन अनरभे सधु अपवयत अपभडत सधु
(E) परिष पि च युतनि गणनसि अणपयिशति हेतुते च वियंज-
12 नते च

- 9 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja eva a[ha] (B) duva[.a]śa-vashabhisetena¹
me iyañ² [aṇapayit]e (C) savrat[r]a vijitasi ta³ [ra]ju . . pradeśike
[pañ]chashu pañ[chashu] 5 vashesh[u]
10 antusa[m]yana[m] nikramatu⁴ etaye va⁵ athraye imaye dhramanuśastiye ya[tha]⁶
añaye⁷ pi krama[ṇe]⁸ (D) [sadhu mata]-pi[tu]shu [s]u[śrusha mitra]-sa[m]stuta-
11 ñatikanam cha bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇa[nam]⁹ sadhu dane praṇana [anara]bhe sadhu
apa-[va]yata apa-bha[ḍata] sadhu (E) parisha pi cha yutani ga[ṇa]nasi
[aṇapa]yīśa[ti] he[tute] cha vi[yamja]-
12 nate cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वधिते वो प्रणरंभे विहिस च भुतनं जतिन
असपटिपति अमणब्रमणन असंपटिपति
13 (B) से अज देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने ध्रमचरणेन भेरिघोषे अहो धमघोषे
विमनद्रशन अस्तिने अगिकंधनि अजनि च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशेति जनस
14 (C) अदिशे बहुहि वषशतेहि न हुतप्रुवे तदिशे अज वढिते देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने
रजिने ध्रमनुशस्तिय अनरभे प्रणन अविहिस भुतन जतिन
15 संपटिपति वमणश्मरणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु सुश्रुष वुध्न सुश्रुष (D) एषे अजे
च बहुविधे ध्रमचरणे वधिते (E) वधयिशति येव देवनप्रिये
16 प्रियद्रशि रज धमचरण इमं (F) पुत्र पि च क नतरे चं पणतिक देवनप्रियस
प्रियद्रशिने रजिने पवढयिशति यो ध्रमचरण इमं अवकपं धमे शिले च

¹ Read °bhisitena. ² ayañ Bühler. ³ [me] . . ta Bühler. ⁴ nikrama[m]tu Bühler.

⁵ vañ Bühler. What he took for an Anusvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved) bottom-line which he has noted in *ja* (ZDMG, 43, 275), and which the Mānsehrā version uses also in *ḍa* (XIII, 10), *ḍha* (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), *ta* of *mata* (I, 3; IV, 15; XIII, 4), *tha* (II, 5; V, 20, 26; XII, 4; cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and *pa* (XII, 5).

⁶ ya . añ Bühler.

⁷ añaye Bühler.

⁸ kramane Bühler.

⁹ -śramaṇanam Bühler.

- 17 चिठितु ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एषे हि सेठे अं ध्रमनुशशन (H) ध्रमचरणे पि च
न होति अशिलस (I) से इमस अयूस वध्रि अहिनि च सधु (J) एतये
- 18 अयूये इयं लिखिते एतस अयूस वध्र युजंतु हिनि च म अलोचयिसु (K)
दुवदशवषभिसितेन देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रजिन इयं लिखपिते
- 12 (A) atikratam ata[ram]¹ bahuni vasha-śa[ta]ni vadhite vo² prañaram[bh]e vihi[sa]
cha bhutanam ñatina asapa[t]ipati śrama[ṇa]-bramaṇana³ asa[m]paṭipati
- 13 (B) se aja [De]vanapriyasa Priyadrasīne rajine dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]na bheri-
ghoshe aho dhama-ghoshe⁴ vimana-draśana asti[ne]⁵ agi-kamdhana[i] añā[ni
cha] di[vani] rupani draśeti janasa
- 14 (C) [a]diśe bahuhi vasha-śa[tehi] na [hu]ta-pr[u]ve tadiśe [a]ja vadhite [De]vana-
priyasa Priyadrasīne rajine dhramanuśastiya anarabhe prañana⁶ avihisa
bhutana ñatina
- 15 sampaṭipati bamaṇa-śramaṇana⁷ sa[m]paṭipati mata-pitushu⁸ suśru[sha] vudhrana
[su]śrusa (D) eshe añ[e] cha bahuvidhe dhrama-charaṇe vadhrite (E)
vadhrayiśati yeva Devanapriye
- 16 Priyadrasī raja dhama-[cha]raṇa⁹ ima[m]¹⁰ (F) [putra] pi cha ka¹¹ natore cha
paṇatika De[va]napriyasa Priyadaśīne¹² rajine pavaḍhayiśanti yo¹³ dhrama-
charaṇa imam [a]va-kapaṁ dhrame śile cha
- 17 [chi]ñhitu¹⁴ dhra[maṁ] anu[śa]śiśanti (G) eshe hi sreṭhe a[m] dhramanuśaśana
(H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe] pi [cha] na hoti aśi[la]sa (I) se imasa athrasa vadhri
ahi[ni cha] sadhu (J) etaye
- 18 athraye i[yaṁ]¹⁵ li[khi]te e[ta]śa [athra]sa vadhra¹⁶ yu[jaṁ]tu hini cha ma
[alo]chay[i]su¹⁷ (K) duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena Devanapriyena Priya-
draśīna rajina iya[m] likhapite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 19 (A) देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) ये अदिकरे कयणस
से दुकरं करोति (D) तं मय बहु कयणे कटे (E) तं मअ पुच च
- 20 नतरे च पर च तेन ये अपतिये मे अवकपं तथ अनुवदितति से सुकट कषति
(F) ये चु अच देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कषति
- 21 (G) पपे हि नम सुपदरवे (H) से अतिक्रतं अंतरं न भुतप्रुव ध्रममहमच नम (I)
से चेदशवषभिसितेन मय ध्रममहमच कट (J) ते सवपषडेष
- 22 वपुट ध्रमधियनये च ध्रमवध्रिय हिदमुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकंबोजगधरन
रठिकपितिनिकन ये व पि अजे अपरत (K) भटमये-

¹ a[m]ta[ram] Bühler.² vadhite vaṁ Bühler.³ -bramaṇanam Bühler.⁴ dhrama-goshe Bühler.⁵ hastine Bühler.⁶ prañanam Bühler.⁷ -śramaṇana[m] Bühler.⁸ matu- Bühler.⁹ dhrama- Bühler.¹⁰ ima Bühler.¹¹ ku Bühler.¹² Devanāmpriyasa Priyadrasīne Bühler.¹³ Bühler omitted yo.¹⁴ [ti]stitu Bühler.¹⁵ i[maṁ] Bühler.¹⁶ Read vadhri.¹⁷ anu[lo]chayisu Bühler.

- 23 षु ब्रमणिभ्येषु अनथेषु वुधेषु हिदसुखये ध्रमयुतअपलिबोधये वियपुट ते (L)
बधनबधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये च इयं
- 24 अनुबध प्रज ति व कट्टभिकर ति व महलके ति व वियप्रट ते (M) हिद बहिरेषु
च नगरेषु सव्वेषु ओरोधनेषु भतन च स्पसुन च
- 25 ये व पि अजे जतिके सव्वच वियपट (N) ए इयं ध्रमनिशितो तो व ध्रमधिपने
ति व दनसंयुते ति व सव्वच विजितसि मअ ध्रमयुतसि वपुट ते
- 26 ध्रममहमच (O) एतये अण्ये अयि ध्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तथ च मे
प्रज अनुवटतु

- 19 (A) De[vanam]priyena¹ Priyadraśi raja eva[m] aha (B) kalaṇa[m] dukara[m]
(C) ye adikare kayāṇasa se dukaraṇ karoti (D) taṁ maya bahu [ka]jyaṇe
[ka]ṭe (E) [ta]m ma[a] putra [cha]
- 20 natar[e] cha² para³ cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]paṁ tatha anuvaṭṭisati⁴ se
sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa pi hapeṣati se dukaṭa kashati
- 21 (G) pape hi nama supadarave⁵ (H) s[e] atikrata[m] a[m]tara[m] na bhuta-pruva
dhrama-[ma]hamatra nama (I) se treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya dhrama-
mahamatra kaṭa (J) te savra-pa[sha]ḍeśa⁶
- 22 vapuṭa dhramadhitha[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yutasa
Yona-Kaṁboja-Gadharana⁷ Raṭhika-Pitinikana⁸ ye va pi aṇe aparata (K)
bha[ṭa]maye-
- 23 shu bramaṇibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-su[khaye]⁹ dhrama-yuta-
apalibodhaye viya[p]uṭa te (L) badhana-badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanay]e apalibodhaye
mokshay[e cha iyaṁ]
- 24 anubadha p[r]aja¹⁰ t[i] va kaṭṭabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapraṭa te (M)
hida¹¹ bahreshu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu bhatana¹² cha
spas[u]na [cha]
- 25 ye va pi aṇe ṇatike savratra viyapaṭa (N) [e] iyaṁ dhrama-niṣito to¹³ va
dhramadhithane ti va dana-saṁyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhrama-yutasi
vaputa [te]
- 26 dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika hotu
tatha¹⁴ cha me praja anuvaṭatu

¹ Read °priye, which is Bühler's reading.

² Bühler omitted cha.

³ param Bühler.

⁴ tatham anuva[ṭ]isati Bühler.

⁵ supadare v[a] Bühler.

⁶ Read °deshu, which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ -Ga[m]dharanam Bühler.

⁸ Raṭrakra- Bühler. The second symbol (ṭhi) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhbāz-garhi, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. The third symbol looks like kaṁ; but the apparent Anusvāra is the optional bottom-line of the letter. Cf. the ka of chira-ṭhitika, VI, 31, and above, p. 73, n. 5.

⁹ hidam- Bühler.

¹⁰ paja Bühler; ja looks like ju.

¹¹ hidam Bühler.

¹² Read bhatuna.

¹³ -niṣiti ti Bühler; read ti for to.

¹⁴ tatham Bühler.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 26 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अञ्ज (B) अतिक्रतं अतरं
 27 न हुतप्रुवे सव्रं कल अथूक्रम व पटिवेदन व (C) त मय एवं किटं (D) सव
 कलं अशतस मे ओरोधने यभगरसि वचस्पि विनितस्पि उयनस्पि सवच
 पटिवेदक अथू जनस
 28 पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवच च जनस अथू करोमि अहं (F) यं पि च किछि मुखतो
 अणपेमि अहं दपकं व अचकं व ये व पुन महमचेहि अचयिके अरोपिते
 होति
 29 तये अथूये विवदे निजति व संत परिषये अनतलियेन पटिवेदेतविये मे
 सवच सव कल (G) एवं अणपित मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषे उठनसि
 अथसंतिरणये च
 30 (I) कटावियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस चु पुन एवे मुले उठने अथूसतिरण
 च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतर सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किछि परक्रममि अञ्ज
 किति भुतनं
 31 अणणियं येहं इञ्ज च वे मुखयमि परच च स्पय अरधेतु ति (M) से एतये अथूये
 इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरटितिक होतु तथ च मे पुच नतरे परक्रमते सव-
 32 लोकहितये (N) दुकरे च खो अजच अयेन परक्रमेन

- 26 (A) Devanapriye¹ Priyadraśi raja [e]va[m] aa² (B) atikratam ataram³
 27 na⁴ huta-pruve [sa]vram kala athra-[krama] va [pa]ṭivedana va (C) ta maya eva[m]
 kiṭam (D) savra kalam aśatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi vinitaspi
 uyanaspi savratra pa[t]i[ve]da[ka] athra janasa
 28 paṭivedetu me (E) savratra cha janasa athra kar[o]mi aham (F) ya[m] pi cha⁵
 kichhi⁶ mukhato⁷ aṇapemi aham dapakam va śravakam va ye⁸ va puna
 mahamatrehi achayike aropite⁹ hoti
 29 taye athraye vivade nijati¹⁰ va samta par[i]sha[ye] a[na]taliyena paṭivedetaviye¹¹
 me savratra savra kala (G) eva[m] aṇapita maya (H) nasti hi me toshe
 [uṭhanasi] ath[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇaye cha
 30 (I) kaṭaviya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]te (J) [ta]sa chu puna eshe mule uṭhane
 athra-satiraṇa cha (K) nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena (L) ya[m] cha
 [kichhi]¹² pa[rakra]mami aam¹³ k[i]t[i] bh[u]tanam
 31 aṇaṇiyam¹⁴ ye[ham] ia cha she¹⁵ sukhayami paratra cha spagra¹⁶ a[ra]dhetu ti

¹ Devana[m]priye Bühler.² aha Bühler.³ atikratam ataram Bühler.⁴ n[o] Bühler.⁵ Bühler omitted cha.⁶ kichi Bühler.⁷ mukhato looks almost like mukhati, which is Bühler's reading.⁸ ya[m] Bühler.⁹ aropita Bühler.¹⁰ Read nijhati, which is Bühler's reading.¹¹ a[na]taliyena paṭivedetaviye Bühler.¹² [ki]chi Bühler.¹³ aham Bühler.¹⁴ aṇaṇiyam Bühler.¹⁵ sha Bühler.¹⁶ spagram Bühler.

(M) se etaye athraye iyaṁ dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika¹ hotu ta[tha² cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate³ sa[vra]-

32 [lo]ka-hitaye (N) dukare cha⁴ kho [a]ñātra a[g]rena para[kra]mena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

32 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज सव्रच इच्छति सव्रपषड वसेयु (B) सव्रे हि ते सयम
भवशुधि च

33 इच्छंति (C) जने चु उचवुचछदे उचवुचरगे (D) ते सव्रं एकेदेशं व पि कषति (E)
विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयेमे भवशुति किटनत द्रिढभतित च

34 निचे बटं

32 (A) Devanapriyo⁵ Priyadraśi raja savratra ichhati savra-pashaḍa vaseyu (B)
savre hi te sa[ya]ma [bha]va-śu[dh]i [cha]

33 [ichham]ti (C) jane chu uchavucha-chhade⁶ uchavucha-rage (D) te savraṁ eka-deśaṁ
va pi kashati (E) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme⁷ bhava-śūti⁸
kiṭanata driḍha-bhatita⁹ cha

34 niche baḍham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

Centre for the Arts

34 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) इच्छ म्रिगविय अजनि
च एदिशनि अभिरमनि हुसु (C) से देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि

35 रज दशवषभिसिते संतं निक्रमि सवोधि (D) तेनद धमयद (E) अच इय होति
शमणव्रमणन द्रशने दने च वुध्नन द्रशने च हिजपटिविधने च

36 जनपदस जनस द्रशने धमनुशस्ति च धमपरिपुछ च ततोपय (F) एषे भुये रति
होति देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस

37 रजिने भगे असे

34 (A) a[ti]krataṁ ataraṁ¹⁰ Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) ia¹¹
mrigaviya añani cha eḍiśani abhiramani husu (C) s[e] Devanap[r]iy[e] [P[r]iyadraśi

35 raja daśa-vashabhisite saṁta[m] nikrami Sabodhi¹² (D) tenada dhrama-yada¹³

¹ -ṭhitikaṁ Bühler.

² tathāṁ Bühler.

³ °maṁte Bühler.

⁴ chu Bühler.

⁵ °[priye] Bühler.

⁶ -chade Bühler.

⁷ sayame Bühler.

⁸ Read -śudhi.

⁹ driḍhra- Bühler.

¹⁰ aṁtaraṁ Bühler.

¹¹ i[ha] Bühler.

¹² sambodhi Bühler.

¹³ tenad[am] dhrama-yadra Bühler. What looks like an Anusvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of *da*, which occurs also in V, 23, 24; VIII, 36; IX, 8 (twice); X, 9; XIII, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n. 7.

(E) atra iya hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇana¹ dra[śa]ne dane cha vudhrana² dra[śa]ne
[cha hi]ñā-paṭivi[dhane³ cha]

- 36 janapadasa janasa draśane dhramanuśasti cha dhrama-[pa]r[i]puṭha cha tatopaya
(F) eshe bhuye rati hoti Devanapriyasa Priyadrasīsa
37 rajine bhage aṇe

NINTH ROCK-EDICT : MANSEHRA

B.—North Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) जने उचवुचं मगलं करोति
2 अबधसि अवहसि विवहसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्मि एतये अजये च एदिश्ये जने
3 बहु मंगलं करोति (C) अत्र तु अबकजनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरथ्रिय
च मगलं करोति (D) से कटविये चेव खो
4 मगले (E) अपफले चु खो एपे (F) इयं चु खो महफले ये ध्रममगले (G) अत्र
इयं दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति गुरुन अपचिति
5 प्रणन सयमे अमणब्रमणन दने एषे अणे च एदिशे ध्रममगले नम (H) से
वतविये पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
6 मित्रसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अथूस
निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम कषमि ति (I) ए हि इतरे मगले
7 शशयिके से (J) सिय व तं अथं निवटेय सिय पन नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से
(L) इयं पुन ध्रममगले अकलिके (M) हचे पि तं अथं नो निवटेति हिद
अथ परच
8 अनत पुण प्रसवति (N) हचे पुन तं अथं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयेसं अरधे होति
हिद च से अथे परच च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमगलेन

- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadrasī raja evaṃ aha (B) jane uchavucha[m ma]gala[m]
karoti
2 abadhasi a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi prajopadaye pravasaspi etaye añaye [cha ed]iśa[ye
jane]
3 bahu maṅga[laṃ ka]ro[t]i (C) atra tu abaka-janika⁴ bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuda
cha nirathriya cha magalaṃ karoti (D) se ka[ṭaviye ch]eva⁵ kho
4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]she (F) iyaṃ chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-
magale⁶ (G) atra iyaṃ dasa-bhaṭakasi samya-paṭipati guruna a[pachit]i
5 pra[ṇa]na [sa]yame śramaṇa-bramaṇana [dane] eshe aṇe cha eḍiśe dhrama-magale
nama (H) se vataviye pi[tu]na pi putrena pi bhratuna⁷ pi spamikena pi
6 mitra-sa[m]stutena [a]va paṭiveśiyena pi iyaṃ sadhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye magale ava tasa
athrasa nivuṭiya nivuṭasi va puna ima [ka]shami ti⁸ (I) e hi [i]tare⁹ maga[le]

¹ śramaṇa- Bühler.

⁴ balika for abaka- Bühler.

⁷ bhatuna Bühler.

² vadhrana Bühler.

⁵ cha for [ch]eva Bühler.

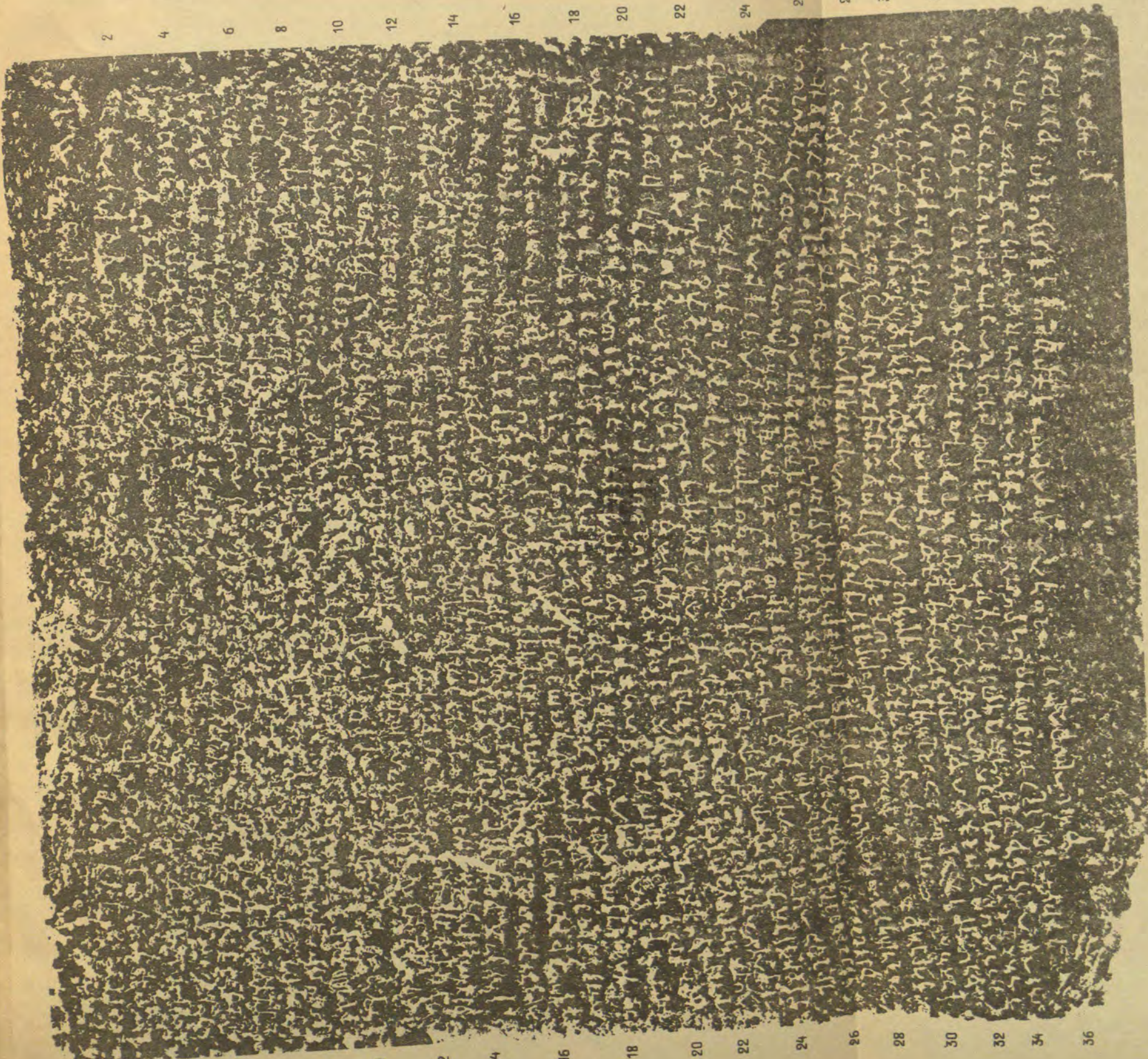
⁸ k[e]sh[a]miti Bühler.

³ Read hirañā.

⁶ -maṅgale Bühler.

⁹ [a]trake Bühler.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36

- 7 śa[śa]yike se (J) s[i]ya va taṁ athraṁ nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no (K) hidal[o]kike
cheva se¹ (L) iyaṁ puna dhrama-magale akalike (M) [ha]che pi taṁ athraṁ
no² nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra
- 8 anata puṇa³ prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athraṁ⁴ nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato⁵
ubhayesaṁ [ara]dhe⁶ hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata⁷ puṇaṁ
prasavati tena dhramagalena⁸

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि व नो महथ्रवहं मज्जति अणच यं पि
यशो व किटि व इछति तदत्वये अयतिय च जने ध्रमसुश्रुष सश्रुषतु मे ति
- 10 ध्रमवुतं च अनुविधियतु ति (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि
व इछति (C) किछि परक्रमति देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज तं सव्रं
परचिकये व किति
- 11 सकले अपपरिसवे सियति ति (D) एषे चु परिसवे ए अपुणे (E) दुकरे चु खो
एषे खुदकेन व वयेन उसटेन व अनच अयेन परक्रमेन सव्रं परितिजितु (F)
अच तु खो उसटेनेव दुकरे

- 9 (A) [Devana]priye Priyadraśi raja yaśo va kiṭi va no⁹ mahathravaham mañati
aṇatra yaṁ pi ya[śo va] kiṭi va ichhati tadatvaye¹⁰ ayatiya cha jane
[dhra]ma-suśrūsha suśrūshatu¹¹ me ti
- 10 dhrama-[vutaṁ cha]¹² anuvīdhiyatu ti (B) etakaye Devanapriye Priya[dra]śi
raja yaśo va kiṭi va i[chha]ti (C) [k]ichhi¹³ parak[r]ama[ti] Devanapriye
Priyadraśi raja taṁ savraṁ parat[r]ikay[e va k]i[ti]
- 11 sa[kale apa]-pa[r]isav[e] siyati ti (D) eshe chu¹⁴ pa[r]isave e apu[ṇe]¹⁵ (E) dukare¹⁶
chu kho eshe khudakena¹⁷ [va va]gr[e]na [u]saṭena va ana[tra]¹⁸ a[gre]na
para[krame]na sav[raṁ] pariti[ji]tu (F) atra¹⁹ tu [kho] usaṭeneva du[ka]re²⁰

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) नस्ति एदिशे दने अदिशे ध्रमदने
ध्रमसंथवे ध्रमसंविभग ध्रमसंबंधे (C) तच एषे दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति
मतपितुषु सुश्रुष

¹ i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha] vase Bühler.² na Bühler.³ an[am]taṁ puṇaṁ Bühler.⁴ [a] . ra Bühler.⁵ tato looks almost like tati.⁶ ubhayasa [va la]dhe Bühler.⁷ ana[m]ta[m] Bühler.⁸ Read dhrama-magalena. The same mistake is found in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.⁹ n[a] Bühler.¹⁰ tadattaye Bühler; but see above, p. 62, n. 2.¹¹ The syllable śru is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at the time of the inscription.¹² Bühler omitted cha.¹³ [e tu] kichi Bühler.¹⁴ tu Bühler.¹⁵ [apu]ṇa[m] Bühler.¹⁶ dukaram Bühler.¹⁷ khudrakena Bühler.¹⁸ a[ṇa]tra Bühler.¹⁹ e . . Bühler.²⁰ usaṭena va duka[ra] Bühler.

- 13 मिचसंस्तुतजतिकन अमणवमणन दने प्रणन अनरभे (D) एषे वतविये पितुन
पि पुवेन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन
- 14 इयं सधु इयं कटविये (E) से तथ करतं हिदलोके च कं अरधे होति परच च
अनंतं पुणं प्रसवति तेन धमदनेन
- 12 (A) Devanapri[y]e Priyadraśi raja evaṃ aha (B) nasti ediṣe dane [a]diṣe
dhrama-dane dhrama-saṃtha[v]e dhrama-saṃvibhaga¹ dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e]
(C) tatra eshe dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si samya-paṭipati² mata-[pitu]shu su[śru]sha
13 mitra-saṃ[stuta]-ñatikana śramaṇa-bramaṇana dan[e] praṇana [ana]rabhe³ (D)
[e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna⁴ pi spamike[na] pi mitra-
saṃ[stu]t[e]na ava paṭiveśiyena
14 iyaṃ sa[dhu] iyaṃ kaṭaviye⁵ (E) se tatha karata[m] hi[dalo]ke⁶ [cha] kaṃ⁷ aradhe
ho[ti]⁸ pa[ra]tra cha ana[m]taṃ puṇaṃ p[r]asavati te[na dhra]ma-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

C.—South Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज सत्रपषडनि प्रवजितनि गेहयनि च पुजेति दनेन
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनप्रिये मज्जति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सत्रपषडन ति (C) सलवढि तु
बहुविध (D) तस चु इयं मुले अं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषडपुज व परपषडगरह व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि
तसि पकरणसि (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषड तेन तेन
- 4 अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अत्वपषड बढं वढयति परपषडस पि च उपकरोति (G)
तदंजय करतं अतपषड च छणति परपषडस पि च
- 5 अपकरोति (H) ये हि केछि अत्वपषड पुजेति परपषड व गरहति सवे अत्व-
पषडभतिय व किति अत्वपषड दिपयम ति . . . पुन तथ करतं
- 6 बढतरं उपहंति अत्वपषड (I) से समवये वो सधु किति अणमणस धमं श्रुणेषु
च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनप्रियस इछ किति सत्रपषड बहुश्रुत च
- 7 कयणगम च हुवेयु ति (K) ए च तच तच प्रसन तेहि वतविये (L) देवनप्रिये नो
तथ दनं व पुज व मणति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सत्रपषडन
- 8 (M) बहुक च एतये अणये वपुट धममहमच इस्त्रिजस्समहमच वचभुमिक अजे च
निकये (N) इयं च एतिस फले
- 9 यं अत्वपषडवढि च भोति धमस च दिपन

¹ *bhage* Bühler.

² *anarambhe* Bühler.

³ *karamtaṃ hida . . ka* Bühler.

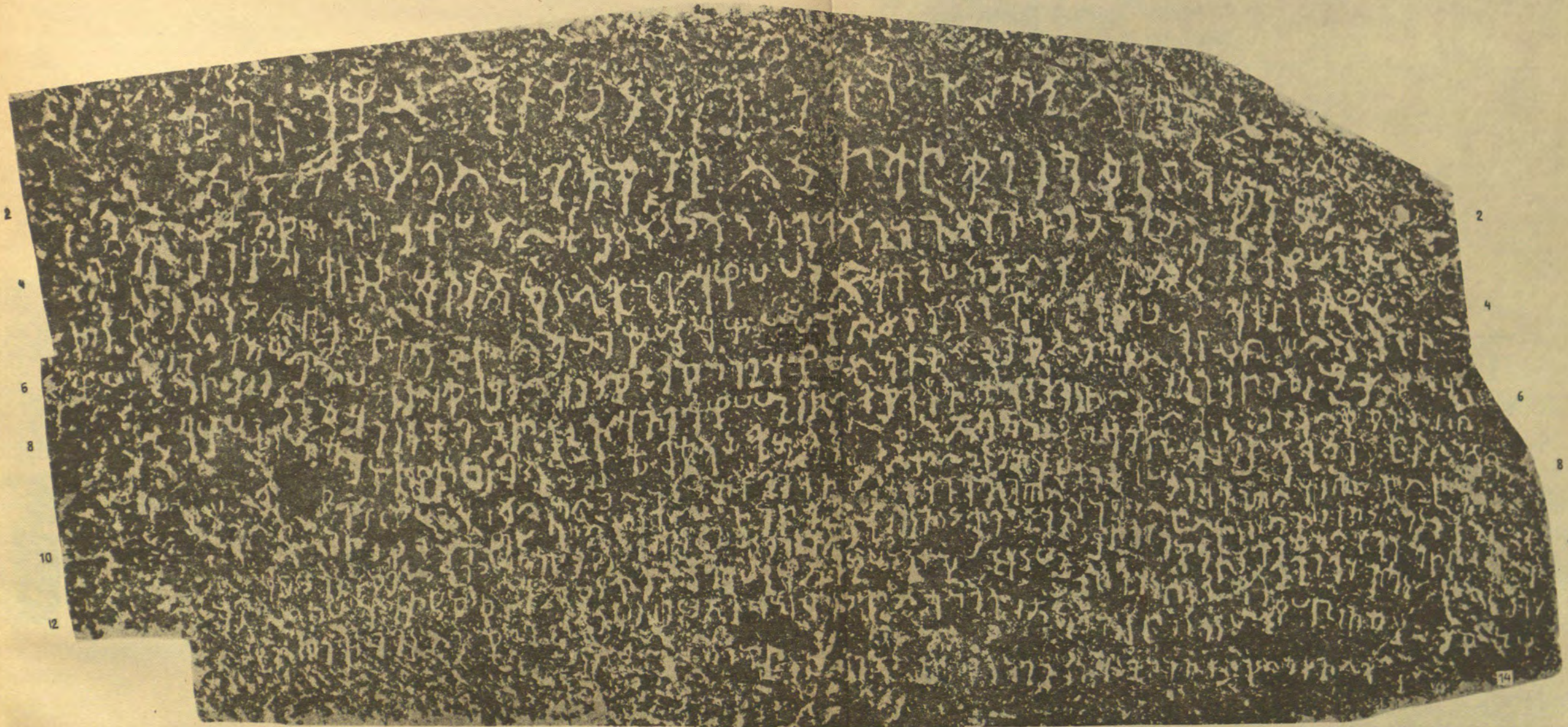
⁴ *[-bha]ta . . sa sa[mya]-saṃpaṭipati* Bühler.

⁵ *bhātuma* Bühler.

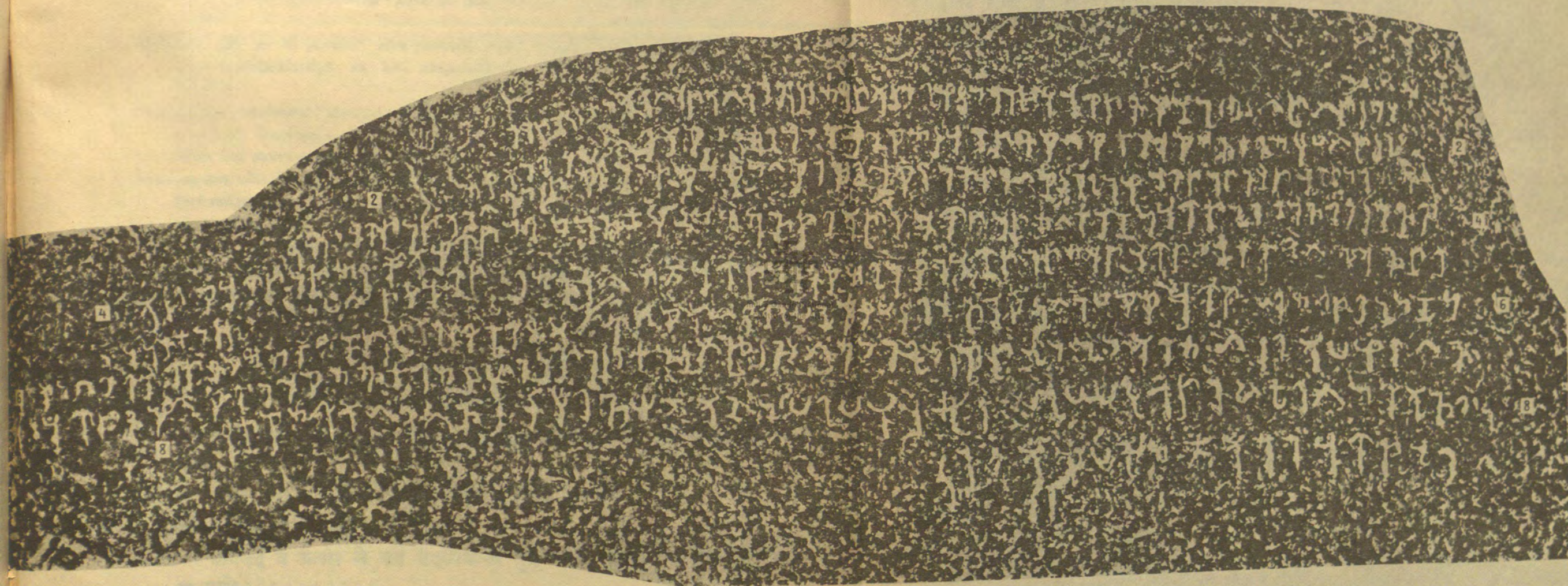
⁶ *[ku?]* Bühler in foot-note 10.

⁷ *kraṭaviye* Bühler.

⁸ *aradhe . . i* Bühler.



TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA



- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja savra-pashaḍani [p]rava[ji]tani gehathani¹ cha
pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye² (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va
- 2 [De]vana[m]priye mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya savra-pashaḍana ti (C) sala-
vrudhi t[u] bahuvidha (D) tasa chu iyañ mule añ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-prashaḍa-puja va para-pashaḍa-garaha va no siya apakarañasi lahuka va
siya tasi tasi pakarañasi (E) pujeṭaviya va chu para-p[r]ashaḍa tena tena
- 4 akarena (F) evañ karatañ atva-pashaḍa³ baḍhañ vaḍhayati para-pashaḍasa pi cha
upakaroti (G) tad-aññatha⁴ karatañ ata-pashaḍa⁵ cha chhañati para-pashaḍasa
pi cha
- 5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi⁶ atva-pashaḍa pujeti para-pashaḍa va garahati savre
atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti atva-pashaḍa dipayama ti puna tatha
karatañ
- 6 baḍhatarañ⁷ upahañti⁸ atva-pasha[ḍa] (I) se samavaye vo⁹ sadhu ki[ti] añaṃaṃasa
dhramañ śruñ[e]y[u] cha suśrushe[yu] cha ti (J) evañ hi Devanapriyasa¹⁰
ichha kiti savra-pashaḍa bahu-śruta cha
- 7 kayañagama cha [hu]veyu¹¹ ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tehi vataviye (L)
Devanapriye no tatha danañ va puja[m] va mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya
savra-pashaḍa[na]
- 8 (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vapuṭa dhrama-mahamatra istriyaksha-mahamatra¹²
vracha-bh[u]mika añe cha nikay[e]¹³ (N) iyañ cha etisa phale
- 9 yañ atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi cha bh[o]t[i] dhramasa cha [di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT : MANSEHRA

D.—Third Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अठवषभिसित्तस देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने कलिग विजित (B) दियढमचे
प्रणशतस
- 2 मटे (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिन्ने भ्रमवये
भ्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रि (D)
- 3 मरणे व अपवहे व जनस से बढं वेदनियमते गुरुमते च देवनप्रियस (F) इयं पि
चु ततो
- 4 येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुसुश्रुष मिचसंस्तु

¹ -prashaḍani pravrajitani gahathani Bühler.² pujaya Bühler.³ Here, and in five other places of the same edict, Bühler read *atma-* for *atva-*. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the *tva* of *tadatvaye* in edict X, l. 9. I therefore read *atva-*, following Konow (SPAW, 1916, 804, n. 7), who quotes in support Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 277.⁴ *tadaññatham* Bühler. The wavy line at the bottom of *da* need not be an Anusvāra, but may be a portion of *da* itself; see above, p. 77, n. 13.⁵ *atma-* Bühler.⁶ *kechi* Bühler.⁷ *badhamtaram* Bühler.⁸ *hañti* looks like *añti*; *ha[na]ti* Bühler.⁹ *v[a]* Bühler.¹⁰ *Devana[m]priyasa* Bühler.¹¹ *haveyu* Bühler.¹² Read *istriyahaksha-*.¹³ *nikaya* Bühler.

- 5 वधे व अभिरतनं व विनिक्रमणि (H) येषं व पि सुविहितनं सिनेहे अविपहिने ए
तनं मिचसं
- 6 (I) एष सव्रमनुशनं गुरुमते च देवनंप्रियस (J) नस्ति च से
जनपदे यच नस्ति इमे निकय अजच योनेषु व्रमणे च अमणे
पि जनपदसि यच
- 7 न नम प्रसदे (K) से यवतके जने तद कलिंगेषु हते च अपवुढे च
ततो शतभगे व सहस्रभगे व अज गुरुमते व देवनंप्रियस (L)
पक मितवि
- 8 (M) .. पि च अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजितसि होति त पि अनुनयति
अनुनिष्पयति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेष कि
..... (O) .. छ वनप्रिय
- 9 (P) मुखमुते विजये देवनंप्रियस ये ध्रमविजये (Q) से च पुन लधे
देवनंप्रियस हिद च सव्रेषु च अंतेषु अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु
तियोगे नम योनरज
- 10 अंते नम मक नम अलिकसुदरे नम निच चोडपंडिय अ तंबपणिय (R)
एवमेव हिद रजविषवसि योनकंबोजेषु नभकनभपंतिषु भोजपित्तिनिकेषु
अधप
- 11 (S) यच पि दुत देवनंप्रियस न यंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस ध्रमवुत विधनं
ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिशंति च (T) ये से लधे एतकेन
होति सव्रच विजये
- 12 (W) परचिकमेव महफल मणति देवनंप्रिये (X) एतये च अथूये इयं ध्रमदिपि
लिखित किति पुच प्रपोच मे असु नवं वि तवियं मणिषु
सय
- 13 (Y) .. हिदलोके परलोकिके (Z) सव च क निरति होतु य ध्रमरति (AA) स
हि इअलोकिक परलोकिक

- 1 (A) [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa] De[va]na[priyasa] Priyadrasīne rajīne [Ka]liga
[v]i[jita] (B) [di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e prāṇa-śata-sa]
- 2 [ma]ṭe (C) [tato] pacha¹ adhuna la[dhe]shu Kaligeshu ti[vr]e dhrama[va]jye
..... [dhra]manu[śa]sti [cha De]vana[pri] (D)
- 3 [maraṇe va apavahe va janasa] se [badham] vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha
Devanapriyasa] (F) [i]yaṁ [pi] chu tato
- 4 [ye]su [vihi]ta esha [a]grabhu[ti]-suśrūsha mata-pi[tu]sh[u] su[śru]sha guru-suśrūsha
mit[r]a-sa[m]stu

¹ *pachha* Bühler. In this edict I am noting only verbal differences from Bühler's text, but not the numerous passages which he omitted because he was unable to make them out from the materials at his disposal.

- b [va]dh[e] va abh[iratanam] va vini[k]ramaṇi¹ (H) yesha[m] va pi s[u]vih[itanam]² si[ne]he avipahin[e³ e] ta[nam] mitra-[sam]
- 6 (I) [esha] savra-manuśanaṁ⁴ guru-mate cha Devanaṁpriyasa (J) nasti cha se janapade yatra nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[ña]tra Yoneshu [bramaṇe⁵ cha] śra[maṇe] pi [janapada]si ya[t]ra
- 7 na⁶ nama prasade (K) se yavatake jane tada Kaligesh[u] hate⁷ cha apavudhe cha ta[to]⁸ śata-bhage va sahasra-bhage va⁹ aja guru-ma[te va] Devanapriya[sa] (L) pa[ka] [mi]tavi
- 8 (M) . . [pi cha] aṭavi Devanapriyasa¹⁰ vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[ti a]nu[nijha]paya[ti]¹¹ (N) [anu]tape pi cha prabhava Devanapriyasa¹² vuchati [te]sha¹³ [ki] (O) . . chha vanapri[ya]
- 9 (P) [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye D[e]vanapriyasa¹⁶ ye dhrama-vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dh]e [Deva]napri[ya]sa¹⁵ hida cha sa[vr]eshu cha amteshu a shashu pi y[o]ja[na-śa][e]shu tiyo[ge]¹⁶ nama Yo[na]-[raja]
- 10 Aṁt[e] [nama Ma]ka na[ma] Alikasudare nama nicha¹⁷ Choḍa-Paṁḍiya a Taṁbapa[m]niya¹⁸ (R) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si]¹⁹ Y[o]na-Kaṁ[bojeshu] Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu²⁰ [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu Adha-[Pa]²¹
- 11 (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa na²² yaṁti te pi śrutu Devanapriyasa²³ dhrama-vuta²⁴ vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyaṁti [a]nuvidhiy[iśaṁti]²⁵ cha (T) [ye se] ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra]²⁶ vi[jaye]
- 12 (W) paratrikameva maha-phala [ma]nati De va[napri]ye (X) e[ta]ye cha²⁷ [a]thray[e] iyaṁ dhrama-dipi²⁸ li[khi]ta kiti putra prap[ot]ra me a[su] nava[m]²⁹ v[i] [tavi]yaṁ man[ishu saya]
- 13 (Y) . . hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava³⁰ cha [ka]³¹ nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati³² (AA) sa hi [i]aloki[ka]³³ paraloki[ka]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 13 (A) इयं भ्रमदिपि देवनप्रियेन प्रिय जिन लिखपित
- 14 लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव नि . . (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपिते तस तस अथस मधुरियये येन जने तथ पटिपजेयति (E) से सिय अच किछि ति लिखित व संखय

¹ °maṇe Bühler.² samiv^o Bühler.³ aviprahi[ne] Bühler.⁴ savraṁ manu^o Bühler.⁵ yenesha [bramaṇa] Bühler.⁶ no Bühler.⁷ hate looks like ante.⁸ [tata] Bühler.⁹ Bühler omitted va.¹⁰ Devanaṁpri^o Bühler.¹¹ °paye ti Bühler.¹² Deva[nam]pri^o Bühler.¹³ [teshaṁ] Bühler.¹⁴ vanaṁpri[ye] Bühler.¹⁵ [De]vanapri^o Bühler.¹⁶ yok . Bühler.¹⁷ [ni]chaṁ cha Bühler.¹⁸ °paṁniya Bühler.¹⁹ Visha-Vaj[ri]- Bühler.²⁰ [Nabha]ke [Na]bha^o Bühler.²¹ Amdha- Bühler.²² no Bühler.²³ Devanaṁpri^o Bühler.²⁴ -vutaṁ Bühler.²⁵ °[saṁti] Bühler.²⁶ Bühler omitted this word.²⁷ Bühler omitted cha.²⁸ dhrama- Bühler.²⁹ nava Bühler.³⁰ savra Bühler.³¹ Bühler omitted ka.³² [s]rama- Bühler.³³ [hida]lo^o Bühler.

- 13 (A) [i]yain dhrama-dipi De[va]napriyena Pri[ya] ¹ [jina likhapita]

 14 [likhite likha]pe[śa]mi che[va] ni . . ² (D) [asti chu a]tra puna puna la[pite] tasa
 ta[sa] a[thra]sa [madhu]riyaye [ye]na jane ta[tha] paṭipaje[ya]ti (E) se [si]ya
 atra ki[chhi] [t]i likhi[t .] va [saṁkha]ya

V. THE DHAULI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) सि पवतसि देवानंपिय ना लाजिना
 लिखा ीवं आलभितु पजोह
 2 (C) नो पि च समाजे समाज . . द (E)
 पि चु तिया समाजा साधुमता देव
 3 पियदसिने लाजिने (F) मह पिब नि
 पानसत आलभियसु सूपठाये
 4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिता ति आलभिय
 तिंनि पानानि पछा नो आलंभियसंति

- 1 (A) [si³ pava]tasi [D]e[v]ā[na]mp[iy] [nā lājina] l[i][khā]
 [i]vañ ālabhitu pajo[h]
 2 (C) [no pi cha sam]ā[je] [samā]ja . . [d] (E) [pi
 chu] [t]i[y]ā [sam]ā[jā] s[ā]dhu-matā Dev
 3 [Piyadasine lā]j[inē] (F) [mah] Piy[a] [n]i
 [p]āna-[sa]ta [ā]labhiyisu sūpaṭhāy[e]
 4 (G) se a[ja] adā [iyañ dha]m[ma]-lipī likhitā tim [āla]bh[iy]
 [t]imni pānāni pachhā n[o] ā[am]bhiyisa[m]t[i]⁴

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

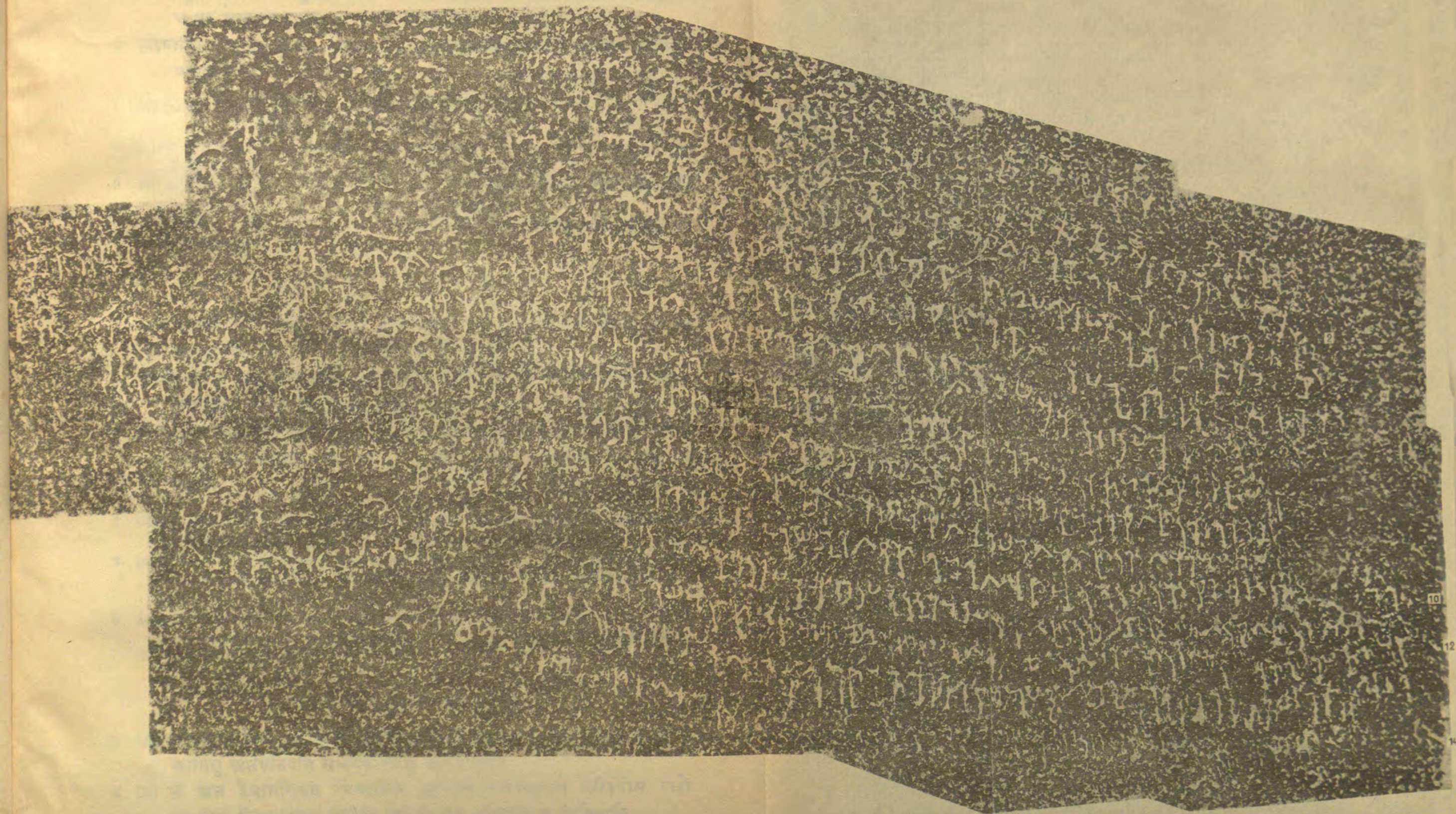
- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने ल अथा
 तियोके नाम योनलाजा
 2 ए वा पि तस अंतियोक्स सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना
 सा च पसुचिकिसा च (B) धानि

¹ Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [*Devanañpriyena Priyadraśina*]; see ZDMG, 44. 704.

² The actual reading was perhaps *nikan*, which would correspond to *nikyañ* at Kālsī.

³ The name of the hill on which the Dhauli record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been *Khepiṅgala* as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugaḍa rock; see the Jaugaḍa edict I, A.

⁴ *ālābhi*° Senart, *ālabhi*° Bühler.



- 3 आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नषि सवत हालापिता च लोपापिता
च (C) मूल वत हालापिता च
- 4 लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च लोपापितानि
पटिभोगाये नं

- 1 (A) [sa]vata [v]i[ji]tasi [D]e[v]ānaṃpiyasa Piyadasi[ne l] [atha]
..... [t]iyoke nāma Yo[na]-lājā
- 2 [e] vā [p]i [ta]sa Aṃtiyo[ka]sa sāmāntā lājāne savat[a D]evā[naṃp]i[yo]na
P[i]yadasi[nā] [s]ā cha p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā] cha (B) dhāni
- 3 ān[i m]u[nisopa]gāni pasu-opagān[i] cha atata na[thi savata hā]lāpit[ā] cha [lo]pāp[i]ta
[cha] (C) mū[l] v[a]t[a] hālāpitā [cha]
- 4 lo[p]āpitā cha (D) ma[g]e[su] udu[pānāni] khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopā[p]itāni
p[a]ṭibhogāye [na]m

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
आनापयि .. (C) त विजितसि मे युता लजुके
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अनाये पि कंमने हेवं इमाये
धंमानुसयिये (D) साधु मातापितिसु सुसूसा म
- 3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेषु अनालंभे साधु अपवियता अपभंडता
साधु (E) पलिसा पि च नसि युतानि आनपयिसति हेतुते च
वियंज

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me
iy[a]m ānāp[ay]i¹ (C) [ta v]i[j]it[a]si m[e] yut[ā] la[j]u[k]e
- 2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamāvū athā aṇṇaye pi [ka]m[ma]ne
hevaṃ imā[y]e [dha]m[mānu]s[ath]iy[e] (D) [s]ādh[u] māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su su[s]ās[ā
m]
- 3 nātisu cha bāmbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālambhe sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā]²
apa-bh[ā]m[ma]nā sādhu (E) p[a]lisā pi cha [nas]i y[u]t[ā]ni ā[na]p[ay]is[ā]ti
[he]tut[e] ch[a] vi[yam]ja

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वढिते व पानालंभे विहिसा च भूतानं
नातिसु असंपटिपति समनबाभनेसु असंपटिपति
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेलिघोसं अहो
धंमघोसं विमानदसनं हयीनि अगिकंधानि अनानि च दिवियानि

- 3 लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससतेहि नो हूतपुलुवे तादिसे
अज वढिते देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमानुसथिया
- 4 अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संपटिपति समनबाभनेसु संपटिपति
मातिपितुसुसूसा वुढसुसूसा (D) एस अने च बहुविधे
- 5 धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा धंमचलनं इमं
(F) पुता पि चु नति पनति . . च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने
- 6 पवढयिसंति येव धंमचलनं इमं आकपं धंमसि सीलसि च चिठितु धंमं
अनुसासिसंति (G) एस हि सेठे कंमे या धंमानुसासना (H) धंमचलने
पि चु
- 7 नो होति असीलस (I) से इमस अठस वढी अहीनि च साधू (J) एताये अठाये
इयं लिखिते इमस अठस वढी युजंतू हीनि च मा अलोचयिसू
- 8 (K) दुवादस वसानि अभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने यं इध लिखिते

- 1 (A) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānā[la]mbhe vihisā cha
bhūtānaṃ nātisū asaṃpaṭipati samana-bābha[ne]su asaṃpaṭipati
- 2 (B) se aja Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine lājine dhamma-chalanena bheli-ghosaṃ
a[h]o dhamma-[gho]saṃ vimāna-dasaṃ hathīni [a]gi-kaṃdhāni aṃnāni cha
[di]vi[y]āni
- 3 lūpān[i] dasayitu munisānaṃ (C) ād[i]se b[a]hūhi vasa-sa[t]ehi no hūta-puluve tādisē
aja va[ḍ]hite De[v]ānaṃpiyasa Piy[a]dasine lājini[ḥ] dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā
- 4 an[āla]mbhe pānānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ nātisū saṃpaṭipat[i] sama[na-bā]bhanesu¹
saṃpaṭipati m[ā]t[i]pitu-susūsā vu[ḍ]ha-susūsā (D) esa aṃne cha ba[h]juvidhe
- 5 dh[a]mma-chalane vaḍhite (E) vaḍhayis[a]ti cheva Devānaṃpiye Piyada[s]i l[ā]jā
dhamma-chalanaṃ imaṃ (F) putā pi chu² nati [panati] . .³ [cha] Devānaṃ-
piyasa Piyadasine lājine
- 6 pavadhayisaṃti yeva dhamma-chalanaṃ imaṃ ā-k[a]paṃ dhammasi [s]ilasi ch[a]
ch[i]t[th]itu [dhammaṃ a]nus[ā]sisaṃ[t]i (G) esa h[i] se[ṭ]he kaṃme yā
dhammānusāsana (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu
- 7 no hoti asilasa (I) se imasa aṭhasa v[a]dhī⁴ ahīni ch[a] sā[dhū]⁵ (J) et[āy]e [aṭhāy]e
iyaṃ likhite imasa aṭhasa vadhi yujantū hīni cha mā alochayisū⁶
- 8 (K) dūvādasa vasāni abhisitasa Devānaṃpi[ya]sa Piyadasine lājine yaṃ⁷ [idha]
likhite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयाने दुकले (C)
कयानस से दुकलं कलेति (D) से मे बहुके कयाने कटे (E) तं ये मे पुता व

¹ -bambhanesu Bühler.² The Kālsī version reads *panātikyā*.³ *iyisū* Senart and Bühler.⁴ *cha* Senart and Bühler.⁵ *vuḍhī* Bühler.⁶ *sādhū* Senart and Bühler.⁷ Read perhaps *iyam*.

- 2 नती व . . . च तेन ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवतिसंति से सुकटं कछति
(F) ए हेत देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कछति (G) पापे हि नाम
3. सुपदालये (H) से अतिवंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवा धंममहामाता नाम (I) से
तेदसवसाभिसितेन मे धंममहामाता नाम कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु
- 4 वियापटा धंमाधिथानाये धंमवढिये हितसुखाये च धंमयुतस योनकंबोचगंधालेसु
लठिकपितेनिकेसु ए वा पि अने आपलंता (K) भटिमयेसु
- 5 बाभनिभियेसु अनाथेसु महालकेसु च हितसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये
वियापटा से (L) बंधनबधस पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये च
- 6 इयं अनुबंध पजा ति व कटाभीकाले ति व महालके ति व वियापटा से (M)
हिद च बाहिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु मे ए वा पि भातीनं
मे भगिनीनं व
- 7 अनेसु वा नातिसु सवत वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति व धंमाधिथाने ति
व दानसयुते व सवपुठवियं धंमयुतसि वियापटा इमे धंममहामाता (O)
इमाये अठाये
- 8 इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलटितीका होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु
- 1 (A) [Dev]ānāmpiye Piyadasī lājā h[eva]m āhā (B) kayāne dukale (C)
k[a]y[ā]n[a]sa s[e] dukalaṁ ka[e]ti (D) se me b[ah]uke kayāne kaṭe (E) taṁ ye
me [p]ut[ā] va
- 2 n[a]t[ī] va m cha t[ē]na ye apatiye me āva-kapaṁ tathā anuvatisaṁti s[e]
sukaṭaṁ kachh[am]ti (F) e heta d[esa]m pi hāpayisa[i] se dukaṭaṁ kachhati (G)
pā[p]e hi [nāma]
- 3 supadālaye (H) s[e] at[ikaṁ]taṁ aṁtalaṁ no hūta-puluvā dhamma-mahāmātā nāma
(I) se **tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena** me dhamma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā (J) te
sava-pāsaṁde[su]
- 4 v[i]y[āpaṭā] dhammādhithān[ā]ye dhamma-[va]dhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhamma-
yuta[s]a **Yona-Kambocha-Gaṁdhālesu Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu** e vā pi aṁne
āpalaṁtā² (K) bhaṭi[mayesu]
- 5 bābha[n]ibhi[yes]u anāthesu ma[hāla]kesu cha h[i]t[a]-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye
a[p]alibodhāye viyā[p]aṭā se³ (L) baṁdhana-[ba]dhas[a] p[a]ṭi[vidhānā]ye
apalib[o]dhāye mokhāye cha
- 6 iya[m] anubamdh[a] p[aj]ā⁴ [t]i [va ka]ṭābhikā[le] ti va mahālake ti va viyāpaṭā
se (M) hida cha bāhilesu cha nagalesu savesu s[a]vesu olodhanes[u me] e vā pi
bhāt[i]naṁ⁵ me bhaginīnaṁ va

¹ nat[i] Bühler.² āpalaṁta Bühler.³ Here, and at the end of section L, Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) joins *viyāpaṭāse* into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in *-āsaḥ*. In the pillar-edict VII, Y (twice) and CC, *viyāpaṭāse* actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP, 32. 442 f.), the case may after all be different at Dhauli, because the other versions have *te* in the place of *se*.⁴ pa[ja] Bühler.⁵ bhātinam Bühler.

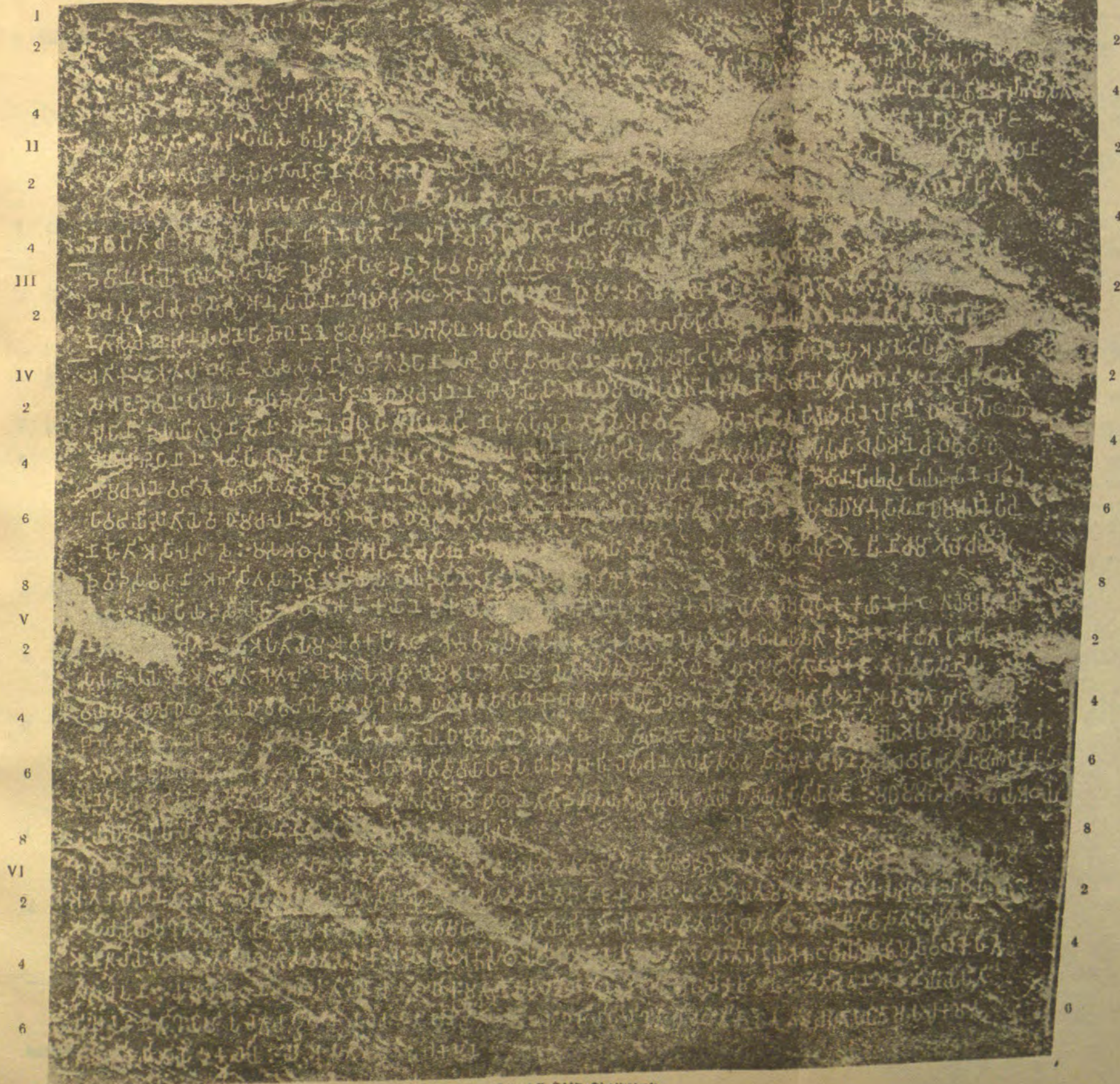
- 7 amnesu vā [nāt]i[su sava]t[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (N) e iyaṃ dhamm[a-n]isite ti va
dhammādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyaṃ dha[m]ma-yutasi
viyāpaṭā ime dhamma-mahām[ā]tā (O) [i]m[ā]ye aṭhāye
8 iyaṃ dhamma-lip[i] li[kh]i[tā] chila-ṭhitik[ā] ho]tu t[athā] cha me pa[jā] anu]vatatu

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे
सवं कालं अठकंमे व पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
..... मानस मे
2 अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च सवत पटिवेदका
जनस अठं पटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस अठं कलामि हकं
3 (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि
अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि विवादे व निहूती वा संतं
पलिसाया
4 आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि
हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते
5 (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमत ..
सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि पलकमामि हकं किंति भूतानं आननियं
येहं ति
6 हिद च कानि मुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतु ति (M) एताये अठाये
इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च पुता पपोता मे
पलकमंतू
7 सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन पलकमेन

- 1 (A) Dev[ānaṃp]iye Pi[yada]sī lājā [he]vaṃ [ā]hā (B) atikaṃ[taṃ a]m[ta]lāṃ no
[h]ū[ta]-puluve s[a]vaṃ kālāṃ aṭha-ka[m]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va (C) se mamayā
kaṭe (D) sa[va]m [kālaṃ] [māna]sa¹ me
2 ante olodh[a]nasi ga[bhā]g[ā]si v[achas]i [v]inītasi [u]y[ā]n[asi] cha sa[vata]
paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṃ [pa]ṭived[a]yaṃtu m[e] ti (E) sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]nasa
aṭhaṃ kalāmi h[aka]m
3 (F) aṃ pi cha ki[m]chhi mukh[a]te ānapay[ā]mi dāpakāṃ v[ā] sāv[a]kāṃ vā e vā
mahām[āte]h[i] atiyāyike ālopīte hoti tasi aṭhasi v[i]vāde va [n]ijhatī vā saṃtaṃ
palisāyā²
4 āna[m]taliyaṃ paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] me ti savata savaṃ kālāṃ (G) heva[m] me
anusathe (H) nath[i] hi m[e] [tos]e u[ṭhāna]si aṭha-saṃtilanāya cha (I) kaṭaviya-
m[at]e hi me sava-loka-hite

¹ [mī]nasa Bühler.² palisāya Bühler.



- 5 (J) tasa cha pana iyaṁ mūle [u]thān[e cha a]tha-saṁtī[a]n[ā] cha (K) nathi hi kaṁmata . . [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena (L) [aṁ] ch[a kichhi] p[a]lakamāmi hakaṁ kiṁti bhūtānaṁ ā[na]niyaṁ yeha[m] ti
- 6 [h]i[da] cha [k]ān[i] sukhayāmi pal[a]ta cha svag[aṁ ā]ādhayaṁtū ti (M) et[ā]y[e a]thāye i]yaṁ dhamma-lipī likhitā ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā hotu ta[th]ā cha putā papotā me palakama[m]t[ū]¹
- 7 [sava-loka]-hitāye (N) dukale chu iyaṁ aṁnat[a] a[g]en[a pa]lakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा सवत इच्छति सवपासंडा वसेवू ति (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधी च इच्छति (C) मुनिसा च
- 2 उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा (D) ते सवं वा एकदेसं व कच्छति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने अस नथि सयमे भावसुधी च नीचे बाढं

- 1 (A) [D]evānaṁ[p]iye Piy[a]dasī lājā savata ichhat[i sava-p]āsaṁ[dā va]sevū ti (B) save h[i] t[e sa]yamaṁ [bh]āv[a]-sudhī cha ichhamti (C) mun[i]sā ch[a]
- 2 [u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā uchāvucha-lāgā (D) te savaṁ vā ek[a]-de[sam va kachham]ti (E) vipul[e] pi chā² dāne asa n[athi sa]yame [bh]āva-sudhī cha nīche bādham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं लाजाने विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) . . त मिगविया अन्नानि च एदिसानि अभिलामानि हुवंति नं (C) से देवानंपिये
- 2 पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते निखमि संबोधि (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) ततेस होति समनबाभनानं दसने च दाने च वुढानं दसने च
- 3 हिलंनपटिविधाने च जानपदस जनस दसने च धंमानुसथी च पुछा च तदोपया (F) एसा भुये अभिलामे होति देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अंने

- 1 (A) [atika]m[ta]m aṁt[ala]m lāj[ā]n[e] v[i]h[ā]la-yātaṁ nāma [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u] (B) . . [ta miga]viy[ā] a[m]nāni ch[a] edisāni a[bh]i[l]āmāni huvaṁti naṁ (C) se Devānaṁpiye
- 2 P[i]y[a]dasī lājā d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e [n]ikhami Saṁbodb[i]³ (D) [t]e[na]tā dha[m]ma-yātā (E) [tat]esa [ho]ti samana-bābhanānaṁ d[a]s[a]n[e] ch[a] d[āne] cha v[u]dhānaṁ dasane cha

¹ °mātu Senart, °maritu Bühler.

² cha Bühler; the reading chu is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugada version has chā.

³ sambodhi Bühler.

- 3 h[i]lamna-p[a]tividhā[ne¹ cha jāna]padasa janasa [dasa]ne cha dhammānu[sath]i
[cha] [p]u[chh]ā cha [ta]d[o]payā (F) e[sā bhuy]e² abhilāme hoti
Devānampiyasa Piyada[s]ine lājine bhāge [am]ne

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अथि जने उचावुचं मंगलं
कलेति आबाध वीवाह जुपदाये पवाससि
2 एताये अनाये च हेदिसाये जने बहुकं मंगलं क (C) चु इथी बहुकं
च बहुविधं च खुदं च निलठियं च मंगलं कलेति
3 (D) से कटविये चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे मंग . . (F) . . यं
चु खो महाफले ए धंममंगले (G) ततेस दासभटकसि संम्यापटिपति
4 गुलूनं अप मे समनबाभनानं दाने एस अंने च
धंममंगले नाम (H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि
5 सुवामिकेन पि ले आव तस अठस निफतिया (I) अथि च हेवं
वुते दाने साधू ति (J) से नथि अनुगहे वा
6 आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे . . (K) मि तिकेन सहायेन
पि वियोवदित ि तसि पकलनसि इयं
7 लाधयितवे (L) टव स्वगस
आलधी

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) [athī ja]ne uchāvuchaṃ maṃgalaṃ
kal[e]ti [āb]ādha³ [v]i[vāha] [ju]padāye⁴ pavās[a]si
2 etāye amnāye ch[a] hedisāye j[a]n[e] bahukaṃ maṃgalaṃ k[a] (C) . . .
[chu]⁵ ithī b[ahuka]ṃ cha [ba]hu[v]idh[am] ch[a kh]ud[am]⁶ cha nilaṭṭhiyaṃ cha
maṃgalaṃ kaleti
3 (D) se kaṭ[a]viye che[va kh]o m[a]ṃgale (E) [a]pa-phale chu kho esa h[e]dise
maṃ[ga] . . (F) . . [ya]ṃ [ch]u⁷ kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le e [dha]mma-maṃgale (G)
[ta]te[sa d]ā[sa-bhaṭakas]i saṃmyā-paṭipat[i]
4 [gulū]naṃ a[pa] [me] samana-bābhan[ā]naṃ dāne esa amne ch[a]
 [dhamma]-maṃga[le nāma] (H) [se]⁸ vata[viye p]it[inā pi pute]na
pi bhātina pi
5 suvāmike[na p]i [l]e [ā]va tasa aṭhas[a] niphatiy[ā] (I) [a]thi [cha]⁹
hevaṃ v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (J) [s]e [na]thi [anu]ga[h]e v[ā]
6 [ād]i[se dha]mma-dāne dham[mānugahe]¹⁰ . . (K) [m]i [t]i[k]ena
sahāye[na p]i viyovadita¹¹ i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ṃ
7 [l]ādhayitave (L) ta[v] [svagasa] āl[adh]i

¹ hīlamna- Senart and Bühler; -paṭi^o looks like -peṭi^o, and may be meant for -prati^o.

² esa bhūye Bühler. For the nom. sing. masc. eṣā see above, p. 15, n. 7.

³ ābādhe Senart and Bühler.

⁴ [j]opadāye Bühler.

⁵ [eta] tu Bühler.

⁶ khuda[kam] Bühler. ⁷ [cha] Bühler. ⁸ tā Senart, [ta] Bühler. ⁹ pa Senart, p[i] Bühler.

¹⁰ dhammanu^o Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ Restore viyovaditaviye.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा यसो वा किटी वा न हं मंनते
 ि यसो वा किटी वा इच्छति तदत्वाये आ जने
 2 सूसं सुसुसतु मे धंम मे (B) एतकाये यसो वा किटी
 वा इ ि पलकमति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये ..
 3 किंति सकले अपपलिसवे हुवेया ति (D) पलिस (E) दुकले
 त अगेन न सवं च पलितिजितु
 4 खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले

- 1 (A) [Devānaṃ]piye Piyad[a]s[i] lājā yaso v[ā] [k]iṭi vā n [ha]m
 maṃn[ate] i [yaso] vā k[i]ṭi [v]ā ichhati tadatvāye [ā]
 [ja]ne
 2 [sūsa]m [susū]s[at]u [m]e dhamma [me] (B) etakāye [yaso vā
 kiṭi v]ā i i [pa]lakama[t]i Devānaṃpiye pāl[atik]ā[y]e ..
 3 kiṃti saka[le] apa-pal[isave] [hu]v[eyā] t[i] (D) pa[l]isa (E) [du]ka[le]
 t[a] agena] [na sa]vaṃ cha palit[i]j[itu]
 4 khudakena v[ā] usaṭena vā (F) u[saṭena] chu [dukalatale]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखा
 अथि मभिमेन हि सवे सवत घटिते
 2 (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियिस (D) अथि
 वुत्ते तस याये
 3 किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमति लिखिते स सं
 .. लोचयितु कला ति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipī De[v]ānaṃpiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā] likhā
 athi ma[jhimena] [h]i save sav[a]ta ghaṭite
 2 (C) mahante hi vijaye bahu[k]e cha likhite likhiyis¹ (D) [a]thi
 [vu]te ta[sa] [y]āy[e]
 3 [k]iṃti cha j[a]ne tathā paṭipajeyā ti² (E) e pi chu heta asamati likhi[e s]³
 saṃ .. [lochay]itu k[a][ā] [t]i

AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHAULI ROCK-EDICT

सेतो

seto

¹ Restore *likhiyisāmi*.² Or *paṭipajeyāti* may be *one* word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14.³ *saṃ* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

The white one.¹

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका
- 2 वतविय (B) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कमन पटिपादयेहं
- 3 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु
- 4 अनुसथि (D) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं (E) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (F) अथा पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितमुखेन
हिदलोकिक-
- 6 पाललोकिकेन यूजेवू ति तथा मुनिसेसु पि इछामि हकं (G) नो च
पापुनाथ आवग-
- 7 मुके इयं अठे (H) केछ व एकपुलिसे नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं (I)
देखत हि तुफे एतं
- 8 सुविहिता पि (J) नितियं एकपुलिसे पि अथि ये बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा
पापुनाति (K) तत होति
- 9 अकस्मा तेन बधनंतिक अंने च Indira Gandhi National
Centre for the Arts . . . हु जने दविये दुखीयति (L) तत
इछितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मभं पटिपादयेमा ति (M) इमेहि चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति
इसाय आसुलोपेन
- 11 तिटूलियेन तूलनाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन किलमथेन (N) से इछितविये
किंति एते
- 12 जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति (O) एतस च सवस मूले अनासुलोपे अतूलना च
(P) नितियं ए किलंते सिया
- 13 न ते उगछ संचलितविये तु वटितविये एतविये वा (Q) हेवंमेव ए दखेय तुफाक
तेन वतविये
- 14 आनंने देखत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि (R) से महाफले ए तस
संपटिपाद
- 15 महाअपाये असंपटिपति (S) विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं नथि स्वगस आलधि नो
लाजालधि

¹ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauili rock. Cf. the similar labels at Gīrnār and Kālsī, above, pp. 26 f. and 50.

- 16 (T) दुआहले हि इमस कंसस मे कुते मनोअतिलेके (U) संपटिपजमीने चु
एतं स्वगं
- 17 आलाधयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (V) इयं च लिपि तिसनखतेन सोतविद्या
- 18 (W) अंतला पि च तिसेन खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सोतविद्य (X) हेवं च
कलंतं तुफे
- 19 चघथ संपटिपादयितवे (Y) एताये अठाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिद एन
- 20 नगलवियोहालका सस्वतं समयं यूजेवू ति नस अकस्मा पलिवोधे व
- 21 अकस्मा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति (Z) एताये च अठाये हकं मते
पंचसु पंचसु वसे-
- 22 सु निखामयिसामि ए अखखसे अचंडे सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु
..... तथा
- 23 कलंति अथ मम अनुसयी ति (AA) उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये
निखामयिस
- 24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि (BB) हेमेव तखसिल्लाते
पि (CC) अदा अ
- 25 ते महामाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंसं एतं पि
जानिसंति
- 26 तं पि तथा कलंति अथ लाजिने अनुसयी ति
- 1 (A) [Devāna]m[pi]y[asa vacha]nena Tosaliya[m] ma[hā]māta [naga]la-
[v]i[yo]hālak[ā]
- 2 [va]taviya (B) [aṁ kichhi dakhā]mi hakaṁ taṁ ichhāmi k[i]m[t]i ka[m]mana
pa]ṭi[pāday]ehaṁ ¹
- 3 duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la etasi aṭha]si aṁ
tuph[esu]
- 4 anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasesaṁ ² ā[yata] ³ p[a]na[yaṁ ga]chh[e]ma
su munisānaṁ (E) save
- 5 munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m] kiṁti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena
hidalo[kika]-
- 6 pālalokike[na] ⁴ y[ūjev]ū [t]i [tathā . . . muni]sesu ⁵ pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no
cha pāpunātha āv[a]-ga-
- 7 [m]u[k]e ⁶ [iyaṁ aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-puli[se] . . . nāti ⁷ e[ta]m se pi
desaṁ no savaṁ (I) de[kha]t[a hi t]u[phe] etaṁ
- 8 suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyaṁ ⁸ eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e] baṁdhanam vā p[a]likilesaṁ vā
pāpunāti (K) tata hoti

¹ *paṭiveda*° Senart and Bühler.

² *āyatā* Senart and Bühler.

³ Restore *sava-munisesa*.

⁴ Read *pāpunāti*, as at Jaugaḍa.

⁵ *sesu* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *lokikāye* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ *āvā-gamake* Senart and Bühler.

⁸ *niti iyaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

- 9 akasmā tena badhana[m]tik[a]¹ amne cha hu jane da[v]iye dukhīyati (L)
tata ichhitaviye
- 10 tuphehi kiṃti m[a]jham paṭipādayemā ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṃpaṭipajati
isāya āsulopena
- 11 ni[tū]liyena² tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena (N) se ichhitaviye
kitim³ ete
- 12 [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū][a]nā cha
(P) niti[ya]m e kilaṃte siyā
- 13 [na] te uga[chha]⁴ saṃchalitaviy[e] tu va[t]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevaṃmeva e
da[kheya]⁵ t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye
- 14 ānaṃne⁶ dekhata hevaṃ cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānaṃpiyasa anusathi (R) se
mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [saṃpa]ṭipāda
- 15 mahā-apāye asaṃpaṭipati (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamine hi⁷ etaṃ nathi svagasa [ā]l[a]dhi
no lāj[ā]la[dh]i
- 16 (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṃm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke⁸ (U) sa[m]paṭi-
pajam[i]n[e] chu [etaṃ] svaga[m]
- 17 ālādha[yi]sa[tha] mama cha⁹ ānaniyaṃ ehatha (V) iyaṃ cha l[i]p[i]¹⁰ t[i]sa-
na[kha]tena so[ta]viy[ā]¹¹
- 18 (W) aṃta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na]¹² kha[nasi] kha[nas]i ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṃ
cha kalaṃtaṃ tuphe
- 19 chaghatha saṃpa[ti]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye¹³ iya[m] l[i]p[i] likhit[a]
h]ida ena
- 20 nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṃ samayaṃ yūjevū¹⁴ t[i] [na]sa¹⁵ akasmā
[pa]libodhe va
- 21 [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] mate¹⁶
p[a]mchasa paṃchasa [va]se-
- 22 su [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[cha]m[d]e s[a]khinālaṃbhe hosati etaṃ
aṭhaṃ jānitu [ta]thā
- 23 kala[m]ti atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[u] aṭhāye
[ni]khāma[yisa]
- 24 hedisaṃmeva¹⁷ vagaṃ no cha atikāmayisati tiṃni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāto
pi (CC) [a]dā a
- 25 te mahāmātā nikhamisaṃti anusayānaṃ tadā ahāpayitu atane kaṃmaṃ etaṃ pi
jānisaṃti
- 26 taṃ pi ta[th]ā kalaṃti a[tha] lājine anusathī ti

¹ *baṇḍha*° Senart and Bühler.

² *nithūli*° Senart and Bühler.

³ Read *kiṃti*, which is Senart's reading; *kiti* Bühler.

⁴ Read *ugachhe*.

⁵ *dakhiye* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *aṃnaṃ ne* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1013, n. 1) has shown that *hi* must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugada separate edict I, T. Senart and Bühler read °*mīnehi*.

⁸ *mana-* Senart, *mane-* Bühler.

⁹ *t* for *mama cha* Senart, [*ta*] Bühler.

¹⁰ *lipi* Bühler.

¹¹ °*viyaṃ* Senart, °*viya* Bühler.

¹² [*iis*]e Bühler.

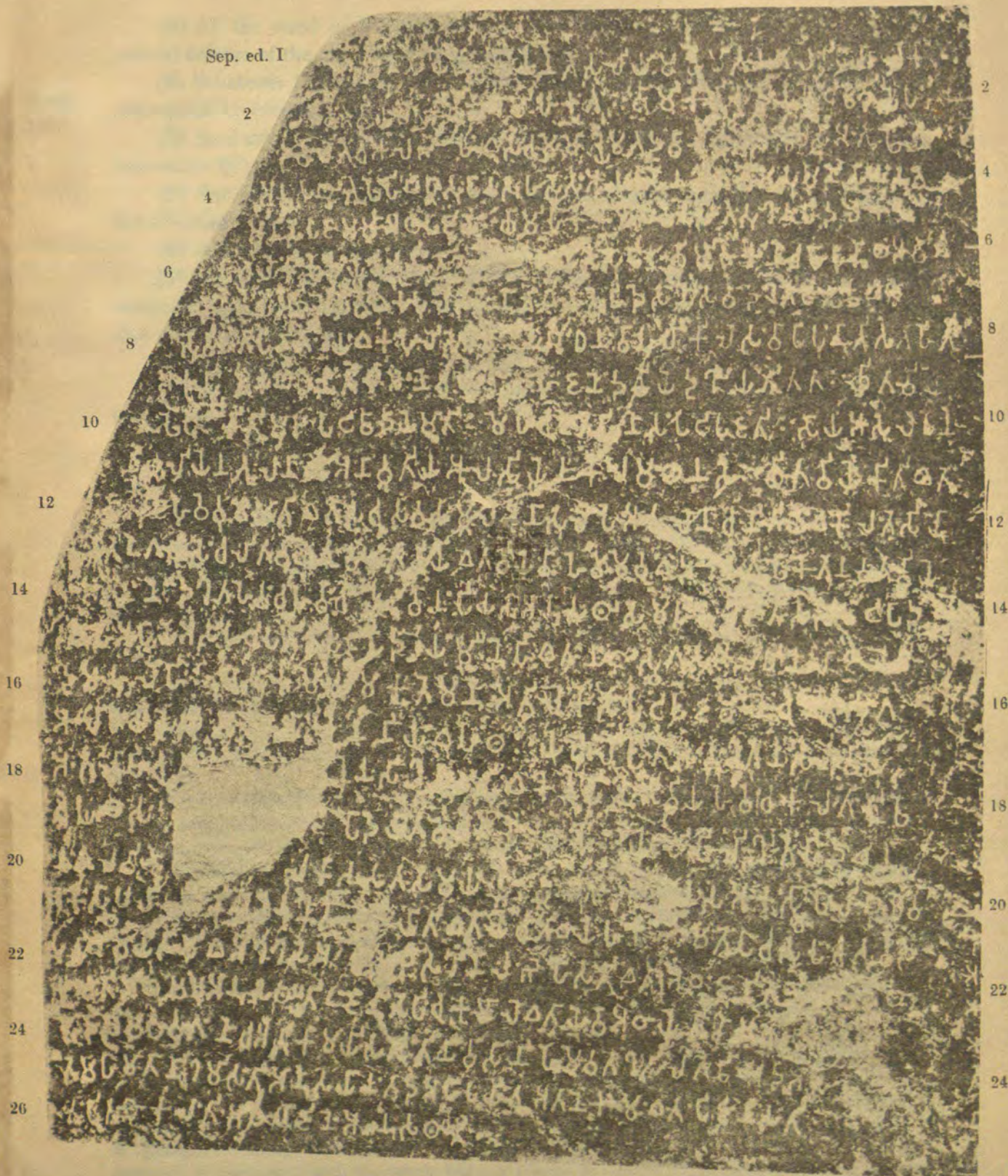
¹³ *aṭhāye* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁴ *yūjevū* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁵ Restore *ena janasa*; *nagala-janasa* Senart and Bühler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my materials.

¹⁶ Read *mahāmātā*; *dhanimate* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ *hedisaṃmeva* Senart and Bühler.



Sep. ed. I

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of *Dēvānāmpriya*, the *Mahāmātras* at *Tōsali*,¹ (who are) the judicial officers of the city,² have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.³

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men,⁴ with the object of gaining the affection of men.⁵

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.⁶

(G) And you do not learn⁷ how far this (my) object reaches.⁸

(H) Some single person⁹ only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion,¹⁰ (but) not the whole.

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.¹¹

¹ Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsali; see EI, 9. 286, and 15. 1. Prinsep (JASB, 7. 449) identified Tōsali with the *Τωσαλει μητρόπολις* of Ptolemy; but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 252, n. 2; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 673; Kern, JRAS, 1880. 384 f.; IA, 13. 382.

² With *nagala-vijohālaka* cf. *paura-vyāvahārika* in the *Kauṭīliya*, p. 20, l. 13; see SPAW, 1914. 855.

³ The correct translation of this section is due to Senart; see Franke, GN, 1895. 537, and of a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, E.

⁴ Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, C; VII, M, N), the participle *āyata* (= Skt. *āyatta*) seems to be used in the sense of *vyāpṛita*. Cf. the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII, Y to AA.

⁵ Previous translators took *sumunisānaṁ* to be one word: 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men', Lüders is no doubt right in explaining *su* = Skt. *svit*; see SPAW, 1914. 856, and cf. *su* in the Dhauli separate edict II, F.

⁶ Cf. Āsvaghōsha's *Buddhacharita*, II, 35: स्वाभ्यः प्रजाभ्यो हि यथा तथैव सर्वप्रजाभ्यः शिवमाशंसि; 'as for his own children, even so (king Śuddhōdana) desired welfare for all (his) subjects.'

⁷ Bühler rendered *pāpūnātha* by 'understand', and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 857) more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section J of the first edict it means 'to suffer'; see my note on the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, K.

⁸ Bühler translated *āva-gamuke iyaṁ aṭhe* by '(all) that the sense (of these words) implies', and Lüders by 'how far this matter reaches', i.e. 'how far this matter is attended to'. Cf. *ava ite pi cha me āvuti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, l. 15.

⁹ This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide an individual case. Senart compared *eka-pulise* (= *eka-munise* at Jaugaḍa) with the Buddhist term *prithagjana* (see Childers, s.v. *puṭhujjano*), and Bühler rendered it by 'a private person'; see ZDMG, 41. 15. The expression *eka-pulise* or *eka-munise*, 'a single person', occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugaḍa), where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section K (= L at Jaugaḍa). In section W 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V; see also the second separate edict, N and O.

¹⁰ Cf. the rock-edict V, F, and VII, D.

¹¹ See above, p. 47, n. 6.

(J) It happens in the administration (of justice)¹ that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.²

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment³ is (obtained) by him⁴ accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions:⁵ envy, a. yer,⁶ cruelty, hurry, want of practice,⁷ laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you:⁸ 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king);⁹ such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil.¹⁰

(S) For if one fails to observe this,¹¹ there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.¹²

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?¹³

¹ As recognized by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 859), *nīti* is here = *daṇḍa-nīti*. I connect the locative *nītyām* with *asti*; at Jaugaḍa it is replaced by *bahuka*, 'frequently'.

² Bühler translated *palikileśa* by 'trouble'. Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the *Kauṭīliya* the technical term for 'torture' is *karman*, and *pariklēśayataḥ*, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as *karma kārayataḥ* in the next preceding line.

³ The correct explanation of *ba[m*]dhanāmtika* and *daviye* is due to Lüders; see SPAW, 1914. 861 f.

⁴ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16), one would expect *tasa* for *tena*. He proposed to supply *prāptam*.

⁵ As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of *jātāni* is justified by etymology; see IA, 19. 89.

⁶ For *āsulopa*, 'anger' (literally: 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 60 f.

⁷ With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take *āvūti* (Dhauḷi) or *āvuti* (Jaugaḍa) = Skt. *āvṛitti*, 'repetition'. In the pillar-edict IV, L, *āvuti* corresponds to Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order'.

⁸ Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative *e* corresponds to the demonstrative *tena*, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

⁹ Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read *aṁnamne*, which they divided into *aṁnam ne* = Skt. *ājñām naḥ* (Senart and Bühler) or *anyat + naḥ* (Lüders).

¹⁰ Both at Dhauḷi and at Jaugaḍa, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

¹¹ As *vipatipādayamīne* corresponds to *vipatipātayamītam* at Jaugaḍa, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to *sampatipajamīne* in section U, below, to *anuvekhamāne* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, and to *vijīnamane* in the Kālsī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3; and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1011 ff.

¹² For *āladhi* (= **ārāddhi*) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

¹³ In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895. 537 f., but explain *duāhale* as a nominative absolute, because in the Māgadha dialect the locative would end in *-asi*.

(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.¹

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.²

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus,³ you will be able⁴ to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times⁵ (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering⁶ nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men].

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years⁷ [a *Mahāmātra*] who will be neither harsh⁸ nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers),⁹ paying attention to this object, are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

(AA) But from Ujjayinī also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose a person of the same description,¹⁰ and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from Takshaśilā also.

(CC) When these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

Centre for the Arts

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं कुमाले महामाता च वतविय (B) अं किद्धि
दस्सामि हकं तं इ
- 2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाला एतसि अठसि अं
तुफेसु मम

¹ Cf. the Dhauri separate edict II, L.

² i.e. three times per year; see the Dhauri separate edict II, N.

³ The forms *kalamātaṃ* (here and in II, L and P), *°pātayamātaṃ* (Jaugada separate edict I, S and T), *saṃtam* (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), *nāsaṃtam* (pillar-edict IV, M), and *°pajamātaṃ* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, PP) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.

⁴ Franke (VOJ, 9. 340 ff.) has shown that *chaghati* is the future of *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*. Cf. *chakiye* in the Dhauri separate edict II, l. 5, in the Sahasrām rock-inscription, l. 3, and in the Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 5; also *chakye*, *ibid.*, l. 6.

⁵ In the translation of *sasvatam samayam* I follow Kern (JRAS, 1880. 391) and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 864).

⁶ See above, p. 33, n. 8.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict III, C.

⁸ Cf. Dhammapada, verse 408:

akakkasaṃ viññāpaniṃ giriṃ sachchaṃ udiraye |

yāya nābhisaṃ kañchi tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ ||

⁹ The context shows that these are meant here, and that the *Mahāmātras* were directed by the king to control them; see SPAW, 1914. 865 f.

¹⁰ See above, p. 40, n. 2.

- 3 (E) अथ पजाये इहामि हकं किंति सवेन हितमुखेन हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये युजेवू ति हेवं
- 4 (F) सिया अंतानं अविजितानं किछंदे सु लाज अफेसु . . (G) मव इह मम अंतेसु . . ि पापुनेवु ते इति देवानंपिय अनुविगिन ममाये हुवेवू ति अस्वसेवु च सुखमेव लहेवु ममते नो दुखं हेवं . . पुनेवू इति खमिसति ने देवानंपिये अफाका ति ए चकिये खमितवे मम निमितं व च धमं चलेवू
- 6 हिदलोक पललोकं च आलाधयेवू (H) एतसि अठसि हकं अनुसासामि तुफे अनने एतकेन हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ हि धिति पटिंजा च ममा
- 7 अजला (I) से हेवं कटु कंमे चलितविये अस्वास ि च तानि एन पापुनेवू इति अथ पिता तथ देवानंपिये अफाक अथा च अतानं हेवं देवानंपिये अनुकंपति अफे
- 8 अथा च पजा हेवं मये देवानंपियस (J) से हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु तुफाक देसावुतिके होसामि एताये अठाये (K) पटिबला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितमुखाये च तेस
- 9 हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये (L) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं आलाधयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (M) एताये च अठाये इयं लिपि लिखिता हिद एन महामाता स्वसतं सम
- 10 युजिसंति अस्वासनाये धमचलनाये च तेस अंतानं (N) इयं च लिपि अनुचातुंमासं तिसेन नखतेन सोतविया (O) कामं चु खणसि खनसि अंतला पि तिसेन एकेन पि
- 11 सोतविय (P) हेवं कलंतं तुफे चघथ संपटिपादयितवे

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B) aṃ kichhi dakhāṃ[i] h[akam tam i]
- 2 duvālate cha ālabhehaṃ (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi aṃ tuphe[s]u mama
- 3 (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṃ ki[m]ti savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-pālalokikāye¹ yujevū ti h[e]v[aṃ]
- 4 (F) siyā aṃtānaṃ avijitānaṃ ki-chha[mde] su lāja [aphesu] . . (G) m[a]va² ichha mama aṃtesu . . . i³ [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānaṃp[iy] [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
- 5 huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhaṃmeva lahevu mamaṭ[e] no dukha[m] h[e]va[m]

¹ Read *pālalokikena*, as in the first separate edict, F.

² *mave* Bühler; read perhaps *hevameva*.

³ Restore *kiṃti*.

- ... un[e]vū¹ iti khamisati² ne Devānāmpīye [aph]ākā³ ti e chakiye
 khamitave mama nimitam [va]⁴ cha dhammam chalevū
 6 hidaloka palaloka[m] cha ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe
 ana[n]e [e]takena haka[m] anusāsitu cchamdam cha veditu ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭimā⁵
 cha mamā
 7 [a]jalā (I) s[e] heva[m] kaṭu kaṁme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] i⁶ [cha] tāni
 ena pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha Devānāmpiy[e] aphāka athā cha atānam⁶
 heva[m] Devānāmpīye [a]nukampati aphe
 8 athā cha pajā⁷ heva[m] may[e] D[e]vānāmpiyasa (J) se haka[m] anusāsitu
 [chha]mda[m] ch[a] veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike hosāmi etāye aṭhāye⁸ (K)
 paṭibalā hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-sukhāye cha [tesa]
 9 hidalokika-pālalo[ki]kāye (L) heva[m] cha kalamtam tuphe svagam ālādha[yi]satha
 mama ch[a] ānaniyam ehatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iya[m] lipi likhitā hida e[na
 ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa]ma⁹
 10 yujisamti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amtanam (N) iya[m] cha lipi
 [anu]chāturmāsam tisenā nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmam chu¹⁰ [kha]ṇas[i]¹¹
 khanasi amtalā pi tisenā ekena [p]i
 11 [so]taviya (P) heva[m] kala[m]tam [t]uphe chaghatha sampatipādayitave

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Dēvānāmpriya, the prince (governor) and the Mahāmātras at Tōsali have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that and to accomplish by (various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. to you.

(D) my

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus

(F) It might occur¹² to (my) unconquered borderers¹³ (to ask): 'What does the king desire¹⁴ with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that Dēvānāmpriya that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

¹ Restore pāpunevū.

³ aphākam Senart and Bühler.

⁶ The syllable nam is entered above the line.

⁸ aṭhāye Senart and Bühler.

¹⁰ cha Senart and Bühler.

¹² Lüders showed that *siyā* is not the last word of section E, as previous translators thought,

but opens section F, and is used in the same way as *huthā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, D and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 866 ff.

¹³ Cf. the Kālsī rock-edict II, A; V, J; XIII, Q.

¹⁴ Kern (JRAS, 1880. 381) explained *su* by Skt. *svit*. Cf. *gachhema su* in the Dhauḷi separate edict I, D, and *kinasu* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.

confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me,¹ not misery; that they may [learn] this, that **Dēvānāmpriya** will forgive them² what can be forgiven;³ that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

(H) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them)⁴ by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. my unshakable⁵ resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them,⁶ in order that they may learn that **Dēvānāmpriya** is to them like a father, that **Dēvānāmpriya** loves them like himself, and that they are to **Dēvānāmpriya** like (his own) children.

(J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces⁷ for this object.

(K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months⁸ on (the day of) the constellation Tishya.⁹

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person)¹⁰ also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

¹ Here and at Jaugaḍa, Senart and Bühler wrongly read *mama te* (in two words) instead of *mamate*, which, as Kern recognized, corresponds to the Prākṛit ablative *mamatto*. See JRAS, 1880. 380, 382, 383; SPAW, 1914. 868; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 415 f.

² As Bühler (ASSI, I. 128, n. 24) remarked, either *ne* or *aphākā* is superfluous.

³ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, L. For *chakiye* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

⁴ Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.

⁵ *ajala* corresponds to *achala* at Jaugaḍa, as *loga* (Jaugaḍa separate edict II, ll. 7 and 13) to *loka*, *libi* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to *lipi*, *hida* (Kālsī, V, J and K) to *hita*, and *dose* (Kālsī, VI, H) to *tose*.

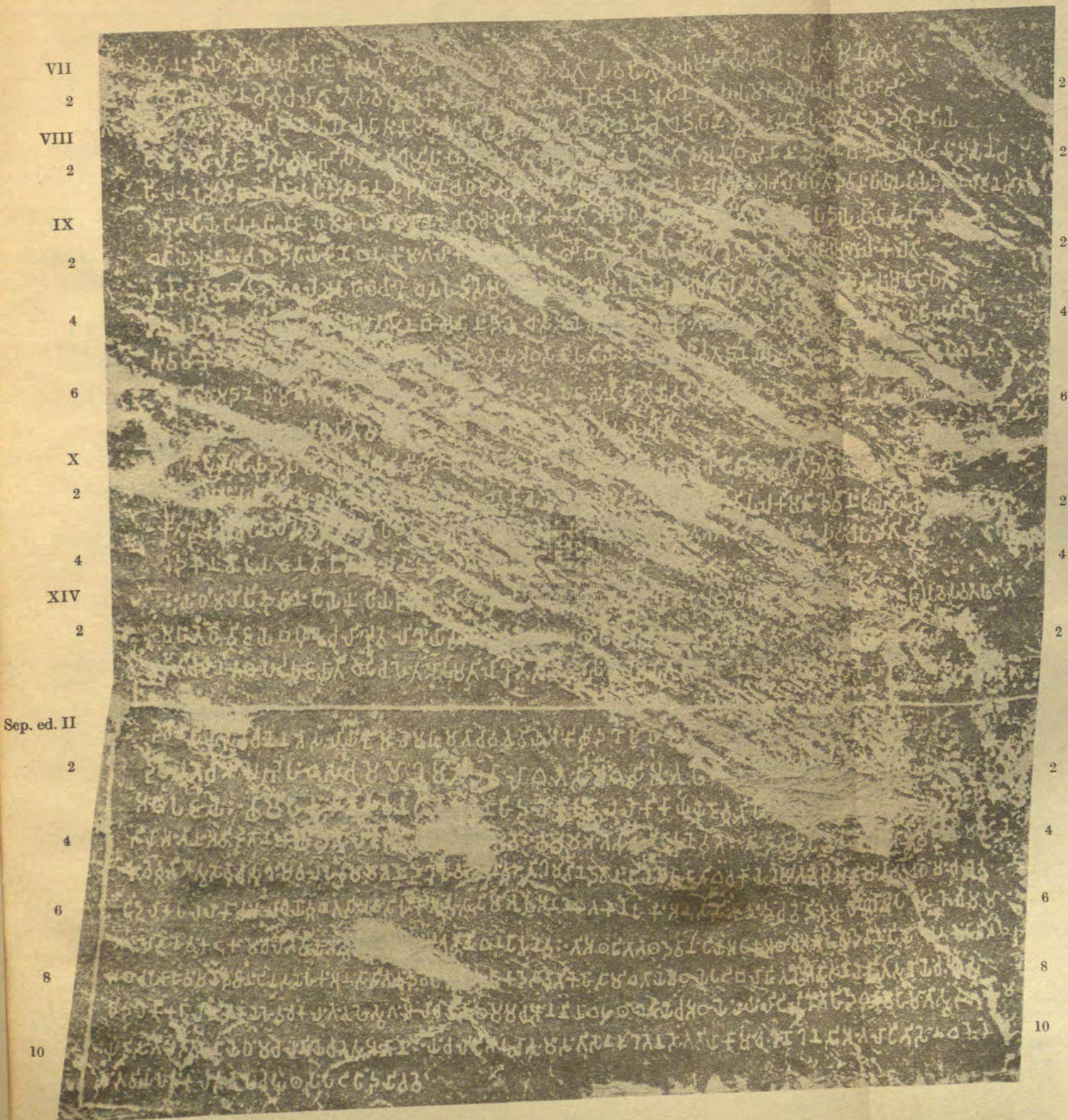
⁶ The neuter *tāni* is improperly used for the masculine *te*, which is the reading of the Jaugaḍa version.

⁷ Kern (JRAS, 1880. 384) translated: 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term *desāvutika* (Dhauli) or [*saka*]/*la-desā-āy[ut]ika* (Jaugaḍa) see Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 28), who took *āyuti* = Skt. *āyuktin*, 'an official'. Cf. *āvuti* = Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order', in the pillar-edict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the *Mahāmātras* whom Aśoka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayini, and Takshaṣilā; see the four last sections of the Dhauli separate edict I.

⁸ Cf. *chātummāsī* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict V, ll. 11, 16, 18.

⁹ Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, V.

¹⁰ See above, p. 95, n. 9.



VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी खेपिंगलसि पवतसि देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना
लिखापिता (B) हिद नो किछि जीवं आलभितु पजोहितविये
- 2 (C) नो पि च समाजे कटविये (D) बहुकं हि दोसं समाजस द्रखति देवानंपिये
पियदसी लाजा (E) अथि पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियस
- 3 पियदसिने लाजिने (F) पुलुवं महानससि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने
अनुदिवसं बहूनि पानसतसहसानि आलभियिसु सूपठाये
- 4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता तिंनि येव पानानि आलंभियंति
दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चु मिगे नो धुवं (H) एतानि पि चु तिंनि
पानानि
- 5 पछा नो आलभियिसंति

- 1 (A) *iyam dhamma-lipī Khēpi[m]galasi¹ pavatasi Devānāmpiyena Piyadasinā*
lājinā likhāpitā (B) *hida no kichhi jivam ālabhi[t]u pajohitaviye*
- 2 (C) *no pi cha samāje kaṭaviye* (D) *bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ samājasa² drakhati³*
Devānāmpīye Piyasā lājā (E) *athi pi chu ekatiyā samājā sādhu-matā*
Devānāmpiyasa
- 3 *Piyadrasine⁴ lājine* (F) *puluvaṃ mahā[nasa]si Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasine*
lājine anudivasam bah[ū]ni pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni ālabhiyisu sūpa[th]āye
- 4 (G) *se aja adā iyam dhamma-lipī likhitā timni yeva pānāni āla[m]bhiyaṃti⁵* *duve*
majūlā eke mige se pi chu mige no dhuvam (H) *etāni pi chu timni pānāni*
- 5 *pachhā no āla[bh]ijisaṃti*

TRANSLATION

- (A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the **Khēpiṅgala⁶** mountain by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.
 (B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.
 (C) And also no festival meeting must be held.
 (D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.
 (E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

¹ *Khapiṅgalasi* Bühler, but the *e* of *khe* is perfectly distinct.

² *samājasi* Bühler.

³ A horizontal stroke, which may be meant for *r*, seems to be attached both at the top and at the bottom of *da*; *dakhati* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ *Piyadasine* Senart and Bühler. The curve at the bottom of *da* is probably intended for *r*.

⁵ *ālabhiyaṃti* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ The etymological meaning of this name is: '(which appears) brown in the air'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 92.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने ए वा पि अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सतियपुते १ अंतियोके नाम
- 2 योनलाजा ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजि चिकिसा च
- 3 पसुचिकिसा च (B) ओसधानि आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नथि सवत च अतत नथि
- 4 सवच हालापिता च लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च

- 1 (A) savata vijitasi **Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasine lājine e vā pi amtā athā Chodā Paṇḍiyā Satiyapu[t]e** 1 **Am̐tiyoke nāma**
- 2 **Yona-lājā [e] vā pi tasa Am̐tiyokasa sāmamtā lājāne savata Devānāmpiyena Piyadasinā lāji** [ch]ikisā cha
- 3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi sava[ta] cha atata nathi
- 4 s[a]vatra¹ hālāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (D) magesu udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Satiyaputa**, the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka**, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoka**,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.²

(C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

¹ *sāvata* Senart, *savatu* Bühler.

² The last words of this section are missing at Jaugada, but are preserved at Dhauri. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicts.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
आ च पादेसिके च
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अंनाये पि कंमने
सा मितसंयुतेस ..
- 3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु
यि
- 4 हेतुते च वियंजनते च
- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ [ā] cha pād[e]sike cha
- 2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamāvū athā añnāye pi kaṃma[n]e
..... [s]ā mita-saṃthute[s] ...
- 3 nātisu ch[a] baṃbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu [a]nālambhe sādhu
[y]i
- 4 hetute cha viyaṃjanate cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajuka*, and the *Prādesika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the council (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वढिते व पानालंभे
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेल
- 3 दिवियानि लूपानि द्रसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससते
- 4 धंमानुसयिया अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संप
- 5 (D) एस अंने च बहुविधे धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयि
- 6 पियदसिने लाजिने पवढयिसंति येव धंमचल
- 7 (H) धंमचलने पि चु नो होति
- 8 हीनि च मा अलोचयि

- 1 (A) a[t]ikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānālaṃbhe
 2 (B) se aja **Devānāmpriya Piyaḍasine lājine** dhamma-chalanena bhe[l]
 3 divi[y]āni lūpāni drasayitu¹ munisānaṃ (C) ādisse bahūhi vasa-sate
 4 dhammānusathiyā anālaṃbhe pānānaṃ avihiṣā bhūtānaṃ nātisu [saṃpa]
 5 (D) esa aṃne cha bahuvidhe dhamma-chalane vaḍhite (E) va[ḍhay]i
 6 **Piyaḍasine lājine** pavaḍhayi[sa]m[t]i [y]e[va] dhamma-cha[la]
 7 (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i
 8 [hī]ni cha mā aloch[ay]i

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

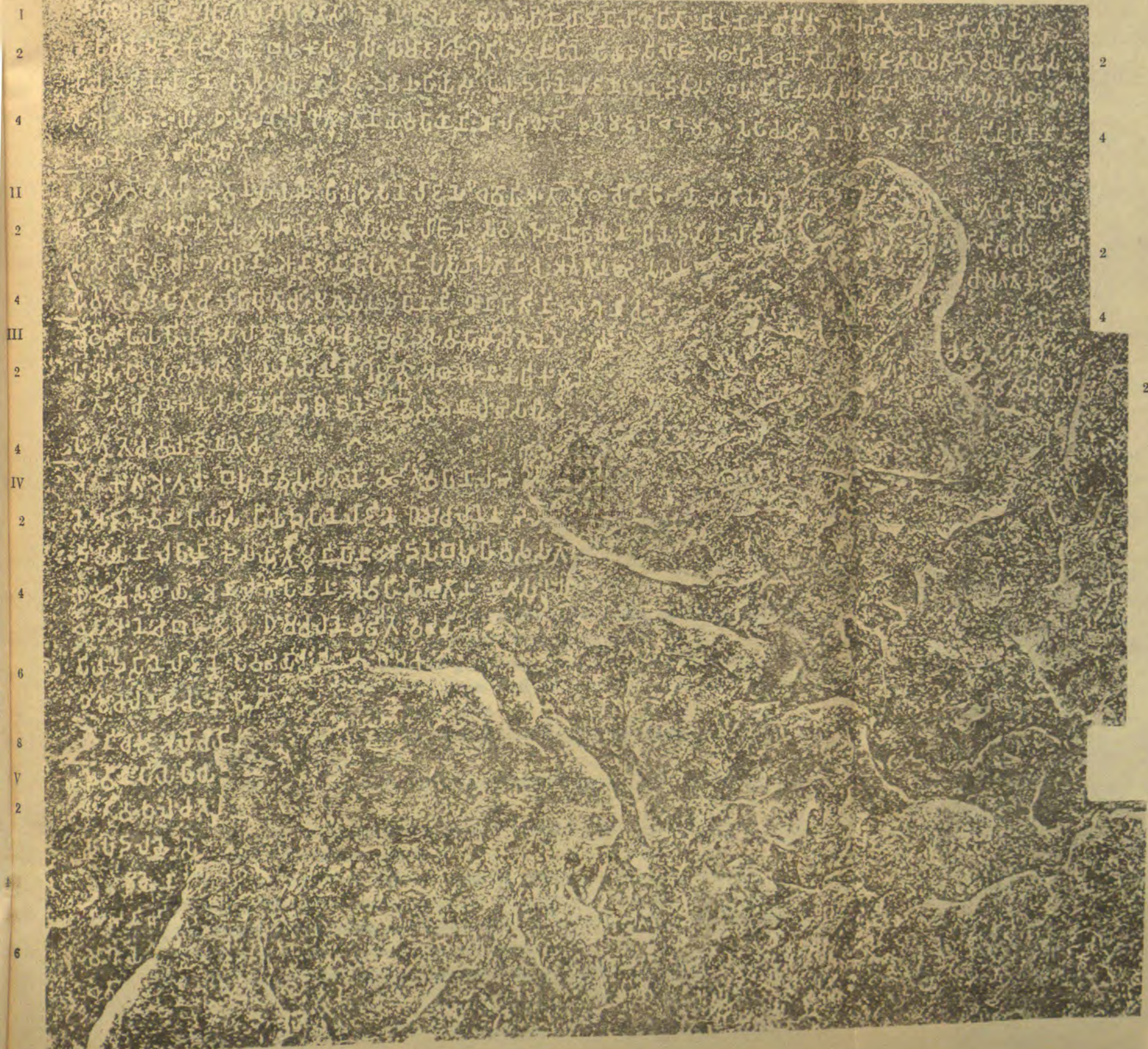
(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve² the neglect (of it).

(K) This has been written here by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

¹ *dasayitu* Senart, *dasayitu* Bühler.

² See above, p. 31, n. 7.



FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद
- 2 नती व पलं च ते
- 3 सुपदालये (H) से अ
- 4 धंमाधिषाना
- 5 . . भनिभि
- 6 मोखाये
- 7 ए वा
- 8

- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piya[da]
- 2 nat[ī]¹ va palam̐ cha te
- 3 s[u]padālaye (H) se [a]
- 4 [dha]m̐[m]ā[dh]i[th]ānā²
- 5 . . bhanibhi
- 6 mokhāye
- 7 e [v]ā
- 8



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TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
- (C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult.
- (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
- (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
- (F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
- (G) For sin indeed steps fast.³
- (H) Now in times past, (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.
- (I) But (the officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years**.
- (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas**, **Kambōchas**, and **Gandhālas**, among the **Laṭhikas** and **Pitēnikas**, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
- (K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,

¹ *nan̐ti* Senart, *nati* Bühler.² *oṭhānā* Bühler.³ See above, p. 33, n. 3.

with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,¹ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).²

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) नंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे
सवं कालं अठकंमे पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
- 2 स मे अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च
सवत पटिवेदका जनस अठं प्रटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस
- 3 कं (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं
वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि
विवादे व
- 4 लिसायं आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G)
हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च
- 5 (I) मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च
अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि
पलकमामि हकं
- 6 नियं येहं ति हिद च कानि मुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतू
ति (M) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु
- 7 ता मे पलकमंतु सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन
पलकमेन

1 (A) [na]m̐piye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no hūta-
puluve savaṃ kālāṃ aṭha-kamm[e] paṭivedanā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D)
savaṃ kālāṃ

2 [sa m̐]e aṃte olodhanasi gabhāgālasī vachasi vinitas[i] uyānasi cha savata
paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṃ praṭivedayaṃtu ³ me ti (E) savata cha janasa

¹ See above, p. 33, n. 7.

² See above, p. 33, n. 8.

³ The *r* is expressed by a horizontal stroke before *pa*, which therefore looks like *pe*; *paṭi* Senart and Bühler.

- 3 [ka]m̐ (F) am̐ pi cha kirinchhi mukhate ānapayāmi dāpakam̐ vā sāvakam̐
vā e v[ā] mah[ā]mātehi a[t]i[yā]yike [ā]lopīte hoti tasi aṭhasi vivāde va
- 4 lisāy[am̐¹ ā]nam̐[ta]liyam̐ paṭivedetaviye me ti savata savam̐
kālam̐ (G) hevam̐ me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uṭhānasi aṭha-
saṁtilān[ā]y[a] cha
- 5 (I) me sava-loka-hite (J) tasa cha pana iyam̐ mūle uṭhāne cha aṭha-
saṁtilānā cha (K) nathi hi k[am̐]matalā sava-loka-hiten[a] (L) am̐ cha kichhi
p[a]lakamāmi hakam̐
- 6 [n]iyam̐ yeham̐ ti hida cha kāni su[kha]jyāmi palata cha svagam̐
ālādhayam̐tū ti (M) etāye aṭhāye i[ya]m̐ dhamma-lipī likhitā chila-ṭhitikā
hotu²
- 7 [t]ā³ me [pa]lakamam̐tu sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu i[ya]m̐ am̐nata
agena palakamena

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before.

(C) But I have made (the following arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within⁴ the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

¹ °sāya Senart and Bühler.

² hotū Bühler.

³ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable *po* is visible before *tā*.

⁴ The preposition *ante*, 'within', is used with the locative, just as *anto* in Pāli; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 39 b.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) दसी लाजा सवत इच्छति सबपासंदा वसे . . ति (B) सवे हि
ते समयं भावसुधी च इच्छति (C) मुनिसा च उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा
2 (D) सं व कच्छति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने धी
च नीचे बाढं
- 1 (A) da[sɪ]¹ lājā savata ichhati sava-p[ā]saṃdā va[s]e . . [t]i (B) [sav]e
hi te sa[yama]m bhāva-[su]dhī cha ichhamti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhamdā
uchāvuch[a]-lāgā
2 (D) [sa]m² va kachhamti (E) [v]i[pul]e [p]i chā³ [d]ā[ne]
[dhī] cha nīche [b]āḍham

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.
(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).
(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

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- 1 विया अन्नानि च एदि मानि हुवंति नं (C) से
देवानंपिये
2 पिय दस ता (E) ततेस होति स
च दाने च वुढानं दसने च
3 हिलनपटिविधाने च धम्मपलिपुष्ठा िलामे
होति देवानंपियस
4 पियदसिने लाजिने भागे च . . .
- 1 '..... [v]i[y]ā [a]mānāni cha e[d]i [m]āni huvaṃti nam (C) se
Devānāmpiyē
2 [Piya] [dasa]⁵ [tā] (E) [ta]tesa hoti [sa] cha
dāne⁶ cha vuḍhānam dasane cha
3 hilaṃna-paṭiv[i]dhā[ne] [cha] [dha]mma-p[ai]i[puchh]ā⁷
ilāme hoti De[v]ānāmpiyasa
4 Piyadasine lājine bhāge [a]...

¹ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before *dasī*.

² The same plate reads [va] *eka-desaṃ*.

³ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a*][ti]kaṃtām aṃtalam lājā.

⁵ The same plate reads *Piyadasī* [l]ājā *dasa*.

⁶ *cha* looks almost like *chu*, and *dāne* like *dāno*.

⁷ -*pāli* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).¹

(C) But when king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Sāmbōdhi.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा पजुपदाये पवाससि एताये
अनाये च
- 2 हेदिसाये जने बहुके च मंगलं कलेति (D) से कटविये चेव
खो मंगले
- 3 (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे म (F) इयं चु सभटकसि
संम्यापटिपति गुलूनं अपचिति पानेसु समये
- 4 समनबाभनानं दाने एस अने पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना
पि सुवामिकेन पि इयं साधु इयं कटविये
- 5 से दाने अनुगहे वा आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे च (K) से चु
खो मितेन
- 6 यं साधू इमेन सकिये स्वगे आलाधयितवे (L) किं हि इमेन
कटवियतला
- 7

- 1 (A) Devān[am]piye Piyadasī lā[jā] [pa]jupadāye pavāsasi etāye
amnāye cha
- 2 hedisāye jane [ba]hu[ka]m [cha ma]m[ga]m k[a]leti (D) se kaṭaviye
cheva kho maṅgale
- 3 (E) apa-[pha]le chu [kh]o e[sa] he[d]ise ma (F) i[ya]m [chu]²
[sa-bha]ṭkasi sammyā-paṭipati gulūnam apachiti pānesu say[a]me
- 4 saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam] dā[n]e [esa a]m[n]e [pi]tinā pi putena pi
bhātinā pi suvāmike[na] pi iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye

¹ With *huvamti nam* cf. *etehi na* in the Kārle and Nāsik inscriptions (EI, 7, 64, text l. 4; 8, 65, text l. 14; 71, text l. 4; 73, text l. 11). In the Jaina Prākṛit, *nam* is used as an enclitical particle, and in Saurasēni, according to the grammarians, in the sense of *nanu*. Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 150) derives it from Skt. *nānam*.

² These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.

- 5[s]e dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dāne dhammānugahe cha (K)
se chu kho mitena
- 6yam sād[h]ū imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kiṃ hi imena
kaṭaviyatalā
- 7

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness at the marriage of a daughter, at the birth of a child,¹ (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men [are practising] many ceremonies.

(C) But women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But such ceremonies as these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other [such] (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This [practice] should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.’

(I) And it has been said thus:—‘Gifts are meritorious.’

(J) But there is no [such] gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality.

(K) Therefore a friend [a relative], and a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—‘This this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.’

(L) For what is more desirable than this, [viz.] the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) यसो वा किटी वा इहति तदत्ताये आयतिये च जने धंसुसूसं
सुसूसतु मे
- 2 ति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये वा किंति सकले अपपालिसवे
हुवेया ति
- 3 (D) लितिजितु खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले
- 1 (A) [ya]so vā ki[t]i vā ichh[a]ti tadatvāye ā[ya]tiye cha jane dhamma-
susūsam susūsatu me
- 2 [t]i Devānāmpiye pālatikāye vā ki[n]ti [śa]kale apa-palisave
[h]uveyā ti
- 3 (D) [l]itijit[u] khudakena [v]ā u[s]aṭena vā (F) usaṭena chu dukalatale

¹ For *pajupadāye* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

VI

2

4

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6

VII

2

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VIII

2

2

4

IX

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6

X

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XIV

2

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality morality.

(B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.

(C) [Whatever] effort *Dēvānāmpriya* is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) The danger

(E) difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [zeal] and (without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) मङ्गिमेन अथि विथटेन (B) नो हि सवे सवत घटिते (C)
महंते हि विजये

2 स माधुलियाये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि
चु हेत

3

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1 (A) [ma]jhime[na] ath[i] vithaṭena (B) [no] hi save savata ghaṭite
(C) mahamte hi vijaye

2 [sa] mādhuliyāye kiṁti[i] cha jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) e pi chu heta
3

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) These rescripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.

(D) has been stated because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But whatever of this is written incompletely

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालक हेवं
वतविया (C) अं किञ्चि दखामि हकं तं इच्छामि किंति कं कमन पटिपातयेहं
2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवालं अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E)
फे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं (F) सवमुना मे

- 3 पञा (G) अथ पजाये इहामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन यूजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-
पाललोकिकेन हेमेव मे इह सवमुनिसेसु (H) नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाथ
आवगमुके
- 4 इयं अठे (I) केचा एकमुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देसं नो सवं (J) दख्ख हि तुफे पि
सुविता पि (K) बहुक अठि ये एति एकमुनिसे बंधनं पलिकिलेसं पि
पापुनाति (L) तत होति अक-
- 5 स्मा ति तेन बधनंतिक अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (M) तत तुफेहि इच्छितये
किंति मभं पटिपातयेम (N) इमेहि जातेहि नो पटिपजति इसाय आमुलोपेन
निदूलियेन
- 6 तुलाय अनावुतिय आलस्येन किलमथेन (O) हेवं इच्छितविये किंति मे एतानि
जातानि नो ह्येयू ति (P) सवस चु इयं मूले अनामुलोपे अतुलना च
(Q) नितियं एयं किलंते सिय
- 7 संचलितु उथाया संचलितथ्ये तु वटितविय पि एतविये पि नीतियं (R) एवे
दखेया आनंने णिभूपेतविये हेवं हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि ति (S) एतं
संपटिपातयं-
- 8 तं महाफले होति असंपटिपति महापाये होति (T) विपटिपातयंतं नो
स्वगआलधि नो लाजाधि (U) दुआहले एतस कंसस स मे कुत्ते मनो-
अतिलेके (V) एतं संपटिपजमीने मम
- 9 च आननेयं एसथ स्वगं च आलाधयिसथा (W) इयं चा लिपी अनुतिसं
सोतविया (X) अला पि खनेन सोतविया एक्केन पि (Y)
मीने चघथ
- 10 तवे (Z) एताये च अठाये इयं लिखिता लिपी एन महामाता नगलक सस्वतं
समयं एतं युजेयु ति एन मुनिसानं अ ने पलिकि
. ये
- 11 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखामयिसामि महामातं अचंडं अफलुसं
त पि कुमाले वि . . त मयि
लाते
- 12 वचनिक अद अनुसयानं निखमिसंति अतने कंसं
यितु तं पि तथा कलंति अथा

1 (A) Dev[ā]naṃpiye he[va]m [ā]hā (B) Saṃ[ā]pāyaṃ mahāmātā [na]gala-
viyohālaka he[va]m va[tav[i]y[ā] (C) am kichhi dakhāmi ha[ka]m [taṃ] ichhām[i]
k]imti[i] kaṃ ¹ kamana ² pa]tipātayeḥam

¹ Senart and Bühler omit *kaṃ*. Cf. the Jaṭgaḍa separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above, p. 35, n. 12.

² [*kaṃ*]mana Bühler.

- 2 *duvālate cha ālabheham* (D) *es[a]* cha me mokhiya-mata *duvālam a[m]* *tuphesu anusathi* (E) *phe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasu [ā]ya[ta]* *p[a]na[yaṁ]* *gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m]* (F) *sava-mu[n]ā me*¹
- 3 *pajā* (G) *atha pa[jā]ye* *ichhām[i]* *kiṁ[t]* *i* me *savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti* *hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su* (H) *no chu*² *tu[phe e]taṁ [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e*³
- 4 *[i]yaṁ aṭh[e]* (I) *kechā eka-[muni]s[e]*⁴ *pā[p]unāti*⁵ *se pi desaṁ no savaṁ* (J) *dakhatha hi [tuphe] pi*⁶ *suvitā [p]i* (K) *bahuka aṭhi*⁷ *ye eti eka-munise ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]saṁ [p]i*⁸ *pāpunāti* (L) *tata [ho]t[i] aka-*
- 5 *sm[ā] ti*⁹ *ten[a]* *badhana[m]ti* *ka*¹⁰ *anye*¹¹ *cha [va]ge bahuke vedayati* (M) *tata tuphe[hi] ichhi* *taye kiṁti majham [pa]ṭipātayem[a]* (N) *imehi jāte[hi]*¹² *no [pa]ṭipa[ja]ti*¹³ *i[s]ā[ya]*¹⁴ *āsulopena [ni]thū[li]ye[na]*¹⁵
- 6 *t[ul]āya*¹⁶ *[a]nā[v]uti* *ya*¹⁷ *āla[s]y[e]na ki* *lamath[e]na* (O) *hevaṁ ichhit[a]vi[y]e kiṁti me et[ā]ni jāta[ni]* *njo hveyū*¹⁸ *ti* (P) *savasa chu*¹⁹ *iyam mū[le] a[n]ā[su]lo[p]e atulanā* *cha* (Q) *ni[tiya]m [e]y[am] k[i]l[am]t[e] [siya]*
- 7 *saṁchalitu uthāy[ā]*²⁰ *saṁchalitavye tu v[a]ṭitaviya*²¹ *[pi] etaviye pi nūt[i]yaṁ* (R) *eve dakh[e]yā*²² *āna[m]ne*²³ *nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*²⁴ *heva[m] hevaṁ* *cha Devānam[p]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi] ti* (S) *[eta]m [saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]-*
- 8 *taṁ mahā-phale hoti asaṁpaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti* (T) *vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ no svag[a]-ālādhi no lājādhi*²⁵ (U) *du[ā]hale etasa [kaṁ]masa sa me k[u]t[e] ma[n]o-ati* *le[ke]*²⁶ (V) *[etaṁ saṁpaṭipajamīne mama]*
- 9 *cha ānaneyam esatha svagam cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā* (W) *iyam chā*²⁷ *li[p]i anutisaṁ sot[a]v[i]yā* (X) *[a]lā*²⁸ *[p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā ek[a]k[e]na pi* (Y) *m[i]ne*²⁹ *ch[aghatha]*
- 10 *tave* (Z) *etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyam [li]khitā [l]ipī ena mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m]* *sama[ya]m [etaṁ] yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena [muni]s[ā]nam [a]* *ne [pal]i[k]*³⁰ *ye*
- 11 *[pa]mchasu paṁchasu va[sesu] anu[s]a[yānam*³¹ *nikhāma[y]isāmi*³² *mahāmāta[m]* *achamda[m] apha[usa]m*³³ *ta*³⁴ *pi kumāle [v]i*³⁵ *ta* *m[ayi]*³⁶ *[lā]t[e]*³⁷

¹ Read -*munisā me*; -*munise* Senart and Bühler.

² *cha* Bühler.

³ *āvā-* Bühler; -*gamake* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ -*palise* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *pi manati* Senart, *pi [ma]nāti* Bühler.

⁶ *hi* Bühler.

⁷ *atki* Bühler.

⁸ *hi* Bühler.

⁹ Senart and Bühler omit *ti*.

¹⁰ *baṁdha*^o Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ Bühler omitted this word.

¹² *jātehi* Bühler.

¹³ *saṁpaṭi*^o Senart, *saṁti*^o Bühler.

¹⁴ *isā[ye]* Bühler.

¹⁵ *nithu*^o Senart, *nithu*^o Bühler.

¹⁶ *tulāye* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ *tiye* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁸ *heyū* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁹ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

²⁰ *uthā[ye]* Bühler.

²¹ *vajita*^o Senart and Bühler.

²² *dekheyi* Senart and Bühler.

²³ *amna ne* Senart and Bühler.

²⁴ *nijha*^o Senart and Bühler.

²⁵ *[ma]ne-* Bühler.

²⁷ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

²⁶ Read *lājāladhi*.

²⁸ *mane* Bühler.

³⁰ Restore *akasmā baṁdhane palikilese*.

²⁹ Read *amītalā*.

³¹ *samyānam* Senart and Bühler.

³² *sāmī* Bühler.

³³ *aphalaha* Bühler.

³⁴ Bühler adds . . *vachanele*; perhaps *saṁkhalāmbham* is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauli.

³⁵ *vā* Bühler.

³⁶ Restore *nikhāmayisati*.

³⁷ This is probably a remnant of *Takhasilāte*.

12 vachanik[a]¹ ada² [anusa]yānaṃ³ n[ikha]mi[sam]ti a[ta]ne ka[r̥mma]ṃ
 [yitu taṃ pi tathā] kalaṃti [athā]

TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā*, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

(F) All men are my children.

(G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches.

(I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.

(J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances.⁴

(K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment.⁵

(L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people⁶ (continue to) suffer.

(M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.

(O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

(P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).

(R) He who will pay attention to this,⁷ must exhort⁸ (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you): 'Such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

¹ *javacha*^o Senart, *ājavacha*^o Bühler; cf. *ī[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* in the Jaugada separate edict II, B.

² *tada* Senart, *adā* Bühler.

³ *°saṃyānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ For *suṃvita* see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauḷi has the synonym *suṃvihita*.

⁵ Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 862) renders the Dhauḷi version of this section: 'There is also a single officer who hears of imprisonment or torture'; but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is obliged to change *eti* in the Jaugada version to *eta* (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb *pāpunāti* has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII; cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.

⁶ For *vage* = *jane* see above, p. 40, n. 2.

⁷ As *eve dakh[e]yā* corresponds to *hevaṃmeva e da[kheya]* at Dhauḷi, it seems to represent *evam e dakheyā*.

⁸ For *nijhapeti* see above, p. 69, n. 4.

(S) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

(T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

(U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly?

(V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.

(W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.

(X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya).

(Y) you will be able to

(Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment]

(AA) I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge)¹ a *Mahāmātra* who is neither fierce nor harsh

(BB) also the prince (governor) [will send out]

(CC) from [Takshaśī]lā.

(DD) When, at the word [of the king],² they will set out on tour, (then), [without neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain³ whether the judicial officers) are carrying out this also just, as

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

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- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आह (B) समापायं महमता लाजवचनिक वतविया (C) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं किंति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस अथस अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E) सवमुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा (F) अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हितसुखेन युजेयू अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसु-
- 4 खेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिकपाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु (G) सिया अंतानं अविजिता-
- 5 नं किछादि सु लाजा अफेसू ति (H) एताका वा मे इछ अंतेसु पापुनेसु लाजा हेवं इछति अनुविगिन ह्येयू
- 6 ममियाये अस्वसेयु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नो खं हेवं च पापुनेसु खमिसति ने लाजा
- 7 ए सकिये खमितवे ममं निमित्तं च धमं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पललोगं च आलाधयेयू (I) एताये

¹ See above, p. 5, n. 4.

² See below, p. 117, n. 10.

³ The word *jānisanti* seems to be omitted at Jaugada, but is required by the context; see the Dhauili version, CC.

- 8 च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं
च वेदि-
- 9 तु आ मम धिति पटिंना च अचल (J) स हेवं कटू कंमे चलितविये
अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति
अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं मये लाजिने (K) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित छंदं च वेदित आ मम धिति
पटिंना चा अचल सकल-
- 12 देसाआयुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि (L) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितमुखाये
च तेसं हिद-
- 13 लोगिकपाललोकिकाये (M) हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आलाधयिम्भ मम च
आननेयं एसथ (N) ए-
- 14 ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिद एन महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू
अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंमचलनाये च अंतानं (O) इयं च लिपी अनुचातुंमासं सोतविया तिसेन (P)
अंतला पि च सोतविया
- 16 (Q) खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया (R) हेवं च कलंतं चघष संपटिपातयितवे

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- 1 (A) Devānampiye hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyaṃ mahamatā l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]¹
vataviyā (C) aṃ kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakaṃ taṃ i[chh]āmi hakaṃ k[iṃ]ti kaṃ
kamana
- 2 paṭipātayehaṃ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṃ (D) esa cha me mokhiya-mat[a]² duvā[la]
etasa a[tha]sa a[m] t[uph]esu anusa[thi] (E) sava-muni-
- 3 sā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṃti me savenā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū
[a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṃ[ti] m[e] savena hita-su-
- 4 kh[e]na yujeyū³ ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]⁴ hevaṃmeva me ichha sava-
munisesu (G) siyā aṃtānaṃ [a]vijitā-
- 5 naṃ kiṃ-chhāṃde⁵ su lājā apheṣū ti (H) etākā⁶ [vā] me ichha [a]ṃtesu pāpuneyu
lājā hevaṃ ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]⁷
- 6 mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukhaṃ[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamāte [n]o kha[m]⁸
hevaṃ cha pāpuneyu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne lājā
- 7 e s[a]kiye⁹ khāmitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ cha dhamma[m]¹⁰ chaley[ū] ti hidalog[aṃ]
cha palalogam cha ālādhayey[ū]¹¹ (I) etāye

¹ laja- Senart and Bühler.

² -mate Senart, -matam Bühler.

³ Cancel the eight last words ([a]tha to yujeyū), which the writer has repeated by mistake.

⁴ kena Senart and Bühler.

⁵ -chhāṃde Senart and Bühler.

⁶ Read etākā, as proposed by Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 867.

⁷ heyu Senart and Bühler.

⁸ Read dukhaṃ.

⁹ chha kiye Senart, chakiye Bühler.

¹⁰ The Anusvāra of mam stands above the line; dhamma Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ yeyu Senart and Bühler.

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Sep. ed. I

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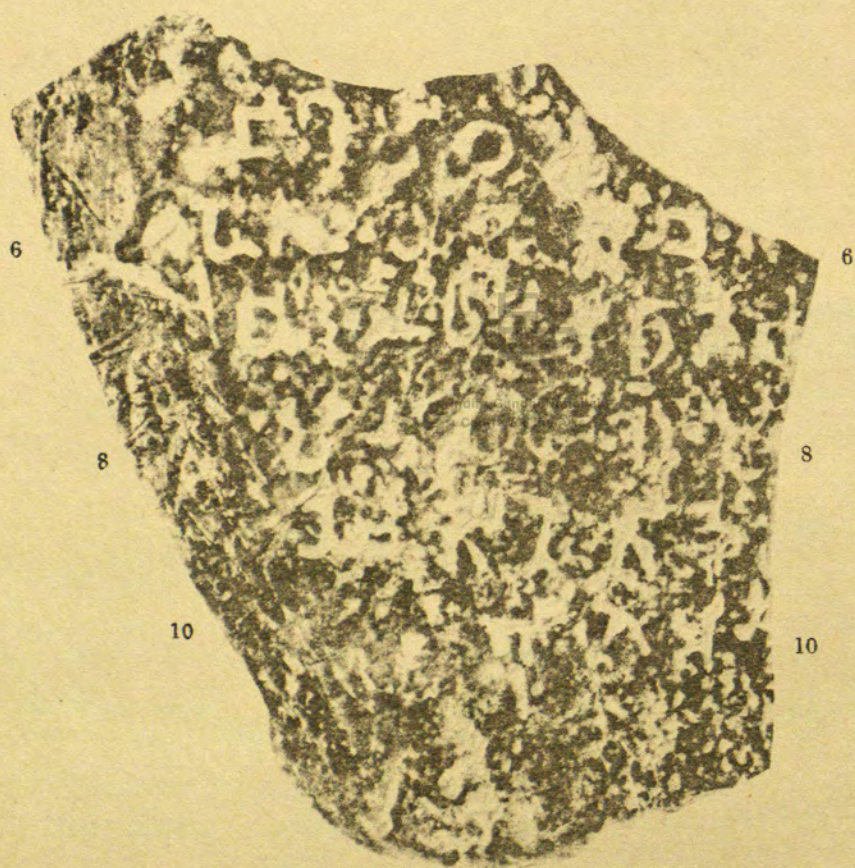
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BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT



SCALE ONE-THIRD

- 8 cha aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kaṁ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhaṁda[m̐ cha] vedi-
- 9 [t]u ā mama dhiti paṭimnā cha achala (J) sa hevaṁ [ka]tū¹ k[am̐]me [cha]litaviye asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te pāpune-
- 10 yu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṁ [n]e lājā ti atha [a]tānaṁ anukampat[i he]vaṁ a[ph]eni anuka[m̐pa]ti athā pajā he-
- 11 vaṁ [may]e lā[j]ine (K) tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita² [chh]āmdaṁ³ [cha v]e[di]ta⁴ [ā⁵ ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m̐]nā chā achala [saka]la-
- 12 desā-āy[ut]ike⁶ hosāmī et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]laṁ [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-sukhāye [cha te]sa[m̐] hida-
- 13 logi[ka]-p[ā]l[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtāṁ svaga[m̐ cha ā]lādhayisa[tha] mama cha āna[n]eyaṁ es[a]tha (N) e-
- 14 tāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]m̐ lipi li[kh]i[ta]⁷ hi[da] e[na ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvataṁ⁸ samam̐⁹ yujeyū asvāsanāye cha
- 15 dhamma-chala[nā]ye [cha] aṁtā[nā]m̐ (O) iyaṁ cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tur[m̐]asam̐ s[ota]viyā tisenā (P) aṁta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā
- 16 (Q) khane sam̐taṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m̐] cha [ka]laṁ[ta]m̐ chaghatha sam̐paṭipātayit[av]e

TRANSLATION

- (A) Dēvānāṁpriya speaks thus.
- (B) The *Mahāmātras* at Samāpā have to be told (this) at the word of the king.¹⁰
- (C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.
- (D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.
- (E) All men are my children.
- (F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.
- (G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'
- (H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.

¹ kaṭu Senart and Bühler.² chhaṁdaṁ Senart and Bühler.³ Senart and Bühler omit ā.⁴ likhitā Senart and Bühler.⁵ Read °sāsitu, which is Bühler's reading.⁶ Read veditu; vedāta Senart, vedit[ū] Bühler.⁷ Read desāyutike.⁸ sasvataṁ Senart and Bühler.⁹ Read samayam̐.¹⁰ The derivative [lā]ja-vachanik[a] seems to convey the same meaning as the two words Dēvānāṁpiyasa vachanena at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauli, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf. also the opening phrase of the Brahmagiri and Śiddhāpura rock-inscriptions.

(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence,¹ in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children.

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i. e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.²

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

.....

5 निखमिठ स

6 (E) हेत इयं होति बंभ

7 वुढानं दसने च हिरंनपटिविधाने च

8 धंमानुसथि धंम

9 .. ये रती होति दे

10 ने भागे अं ..

5 nikhamiṭha Sa³

6 (E) heta iyaṃ [ho]ti baṃ[bha]

7 vuḍhānaṃ dasane⁴ [cha] hiraṃna-paṭividhāne cha

8 [dha*]mmanusa[thi]⁵ dhamma

9 .. ye [ra]ti⁶ hoti De

10 n[e] bhāge aṃ ..

¹ With *asvāsa[n]iyā* cf. *visvaṃsayitave* on the Sārṇāth pillar, ll. 8 and 9.

² The two words *khane samātaṃ* are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

³ *nikhamiṭhā sam* Bhagvanlal Indraji.

⁴ These two words are entered above the line.

⁵ *sathi* Bh. I.

⁶ *raṭi* Bh. I.

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसति-
- 2 वसअभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता
- 3 (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धंमकामताया
- 4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसूयाया अगेन भयेना
- 5 अगेन उसाहेना (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 6 धंमापेखा धंमकामता चा सुवे सुवे वढिता वढीसति चेवा
- 7 (E) पुलिसा पि च मे उकसा चा गेवया चा मभिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
- 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेवा अंत-
- 9 महामाता पि (G) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने
- 10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-
- 2 vasa-abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā
- 3 (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā
- 4 agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]yāyā agena bhayenā
- 5 agena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
- 6 dhammāpekhā dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhīsati chevā
- 7 (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā anuvīdhīyaṃtī
- 8 saṃpaṭipādayaṃtī chā alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemevā aṇṇa-
- 9 mahāmātā pi (G) esa ¹ hi ² vidhī yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne
- 10 dhammena sukhiyaṇā dhammena gotī ti

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) ³ is difficult to secure

¹ *esā* Bühler.

² *pi* Senart and Bühler; *hi* is quite distinct on the inked estampages.

³ With the base *pālata*, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb *paratra*, cf. *pāratrika* at Gīrnār (= *pālantīkya* at Kālsī, and *pālatika* elsewhere).

without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day¹ and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents² also, both the high ones³ and the low ones,⁴ and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up⁵ fickle (persons).

(F) In the same way the *Mahāmātras* of the borderers⁶ also (are acting).

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.⁷ to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure⁸ according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech)⁹ according to morality.

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 10 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
 11 हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधू कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
 12 दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपद-
 13 चतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-
 14 दाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
 15 अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं-
 16 चित्तिका च होतू ती ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कड्ढती ति
- 10 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja¹⁰
 11 hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave¹¹ bahu kayāne
 12 dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me¹² bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-

¹ For *suve suve* = Skt. *śvaḥ śvaḥ* (literally: 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *suve*.

² I adopt V. A. Smith's translation of *pulisa*; see his *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII, M.

³ *ukasa* (= *utkarsha*) is used in the sense of *utkrishṭa*.

⁴ This meaning of *gevaṃ* is evident from the context. Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 62) derived *gevaṃ* (for **gēvaka*) from the root *gēv*, to which the *Dhātupāṭha* attributes the meaning of *sēv*, 'to serve'. For the change of *k* to *y* cf. *supādālaya*, above, p. 33, n. 3. But the existence of the root *gēv* is far from certain; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.

⁵ For *samādapeti* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *samādiyati*.

⁶ Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauli (M) and at Jaugada (N).

⁷ For this meaning of *yā iyaṃ* see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pāli expression *yad idaṃ*.

⁸ Cf. the pillar-edict IV, E, and VII, V.

⁹ Cf. the rock-edict XII, D.

¹⁰ *lāja* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*.

¹² A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of *me*.

- 13 chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-
 14 dākhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
 15 aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chilam-
 16 thitikā cha hotū tī ti¹ (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhati² ti

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) (To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?³
 (C) (It includes) few sins,⁴ many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.
 (D) The gift of spiritual insight⁵ also has been bestowed by me in many ways.
 (E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.⁶
 (F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.⁷
 (G) For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration.
 (H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.⁸

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) कयानंमेव देखति इयं मे
 18 कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
 19 नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि
 20 आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इस्या
 21 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे
 22 हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये

¹ The remaining versions read *hotū tī*. Three verses of Manu in which *itī* is doubled are quoted in Böhtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also *kiti tī* at Kālsī, XII, D.

² An apparent Anusvāra after *ka* is probably accidental.

³ Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 667) explained *kiyaṃ* = Skt. *kiyān*.

⁴ *āsinava* is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term *aṇhaya* which is derived from *ā + snu*; see Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 16. 326, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23. 267 f. The corresponding Pāli term is *āsava*, which is Sanskritized by *āsrava* or *āsrava*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 822 f.; *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f.; ZDMG, 72. 149. With the compound *apāsinave* cf. *apa-vyayātā*, *apa-phalaṃ*, and *apa-parisrave* in the Gīrnār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.

⁵ Literally: 'the gift of the eye'. According to the *Itivuttaka* (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three *chakkhūni* are *maṃsa-chakkhu*, *dibba-chakkhu*, and *paññā-chakkhu*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 62.

⁶ For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict V, D.

⁸ Cf. the same edict, E.

- 17 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhati iyaṃ me
 18 kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ d[e]khati iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā āsinave
 19 nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni
 20 āsinava-gāminī nāma atha chaṃḍīye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā
 21 kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ (G) esa bādha dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me
 22 hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.'

(C) They do not at all¹ regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.'²

(D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.

(E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:

(F) 'These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful.³ Let me not⁴ ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).'

(G) The following ought to be specially regarded:

(H) 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action)⁵ to my (happiness) in the other (world).'

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
 2 अभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) लजूका मे
 3 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयता (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा
 4 दंडे वा अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूका अस्वय अभीता

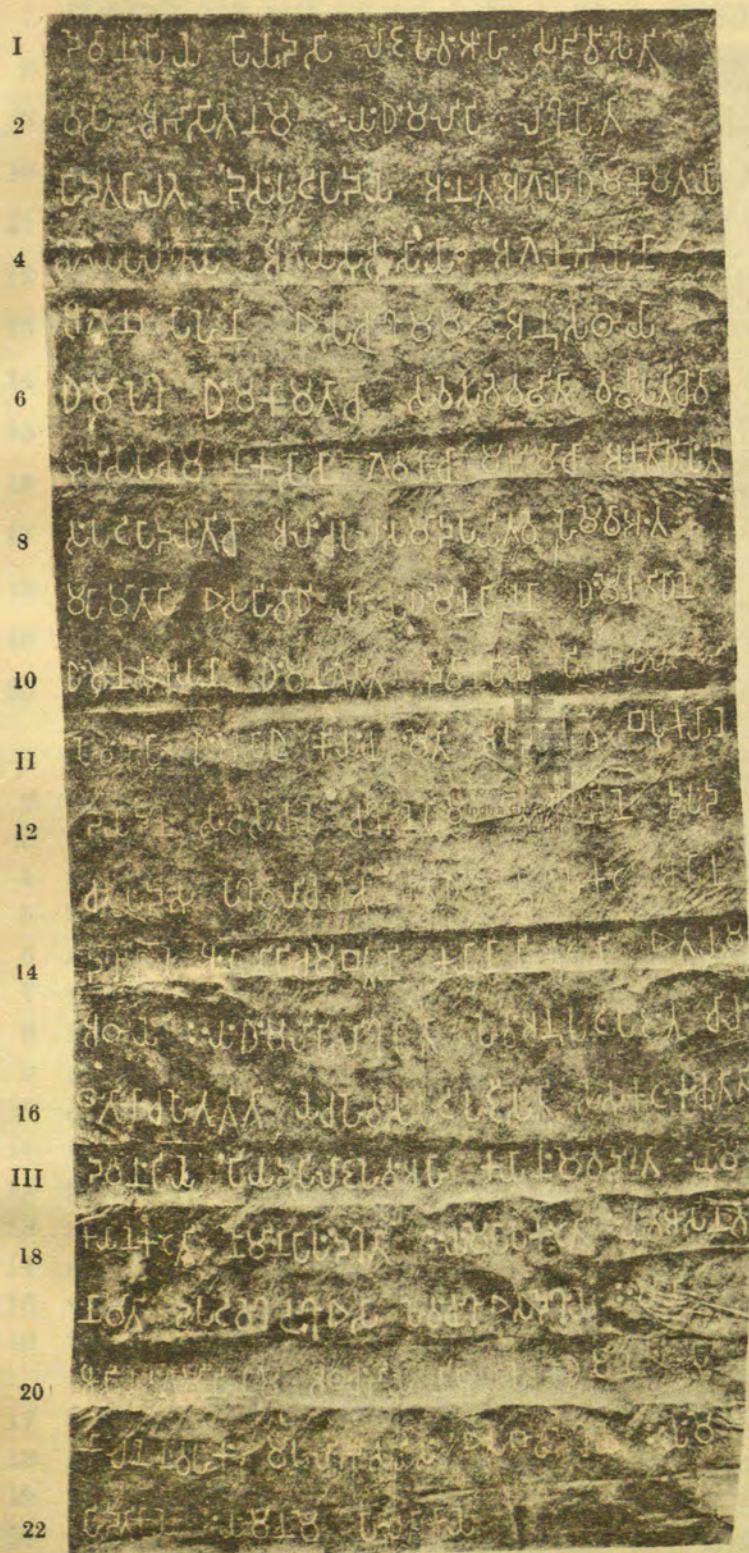
¹ Michelson (IF, 23. 236 f.) dissolves *nomina* into *no amina*, and identifies *amina* with the Pāli *aminā*, to which he attributes the meaning 'also'; but this word rather means 'hereby'. Bühler (EI, 2. 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking *no mina* = Skt. *na manāk*. For the change of *a* to *i* cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 101-103.

² For *āsinava* see above, p. 121, n. 4.

³ With the compound *āsinava-gāminī* cf. *āva-gamuka* in the first separate edict at Dhauri (G) and Jaugaḍa (H).

⁴ See Michelson, IF, 23. 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking *mā* to be the accusative of the pronoun *mad*, we may add that, if *mā* were the object of *palibhasayisaṃ*, it would be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. *ātmanam*.

⁵ Michelson (IF, 23. 237 f.) connects *mana* with Skt. *manāk*, and Bühler translated it by 'at least'. The adverb *mana* does occur in the *Āṭaka*, vol. I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means 'nearly'. I suspect that *iyammana* represents Skt. *idam anyat*. For the Sandhi cf. *kayānaṃmeva* in line 17; *hevaṃmeva* (or *°vā*) in the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauri separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, F; *sukhaṃmeva* in the Dhauri separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 6.



IV

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- 5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवू
 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च
 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च
 8 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे
 9 छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूका
 10 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
 11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे
 12 हेवं ममा लजूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीता
 13 अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं
 14 अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि एसा किंति
 15 वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा (L) अव इते पि च मे आवुति
 16 बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे
 17 योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं
 18 नासंतं वा निरूपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति
 19 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च
 20 वढति विविधे धंमचलने संयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi l[ā]ja hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-
 2 abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me
 3 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasi āyatā (D) tesam ye abhihāle vā
 4 daṇḍe vā ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūkā asvatha abhītā
 5 kaṃmāni pavatayevū janasa jānapadasā hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū
 6 anugahinevu chā (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṃ jānisānti dhamma-yutena cha
 7 viyovadisānti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha pālatam cha
 8 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi me
 9 chhamdamnāni paṭichalisānti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisānti yena maṃ lajūkā
 10 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu
 11 asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palihaṭave
 12 hevaṃ mamā lajūkā kaṭā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhītā
 13 asvatha samtam avimanā kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam
 14 abh[i]hāle¹ va daṇḍe vā ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye [h]i esā kiṃti
 15 viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā chā (L) ava ite pi cha me āvuti
 16 bamdhana-badhānam munisānam til[i]ta-daṇḍānam² pata-vadhānam timni
 17 yote dimne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisānti jivitāye tanaṃ
 18 nāsamtam vā nijhapayitā dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavāsam va kachhamti
 19 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
 20 vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane samyame dāna-savibhāge ti

¹ abhīhāle Bühler.² tilīta- Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) My *Lajūkas*¹ are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.²

(D) I have ordered that either rewards³ or punishments are left to their discretion,⁴ in order that the *Lajūkas* should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them).

(E) They will know how to cause pleasure⁵ and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,⁶ in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

(F) The *Lajūkas* also must obey me.⁷

(G) They will also obey the agents⁸ who know (my) wishes.

(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),⁹ in order that the *Lajūkas* may be able to please me.¹⁰

(I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent¹¹ nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the *Lajūkas* were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.¹²

(J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed,¹³ for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the *Lajūkas*.

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¹ For *Lajūka* or *Rājūka* see above, p. 5, n. 2.

² For *āyata* cf. above, p. 95, n. 4.

³ In the *Śātaṅka* the word *abhihāra* has the meaning of 'a present, an offering'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 46, 539 f., and Lüders, SPAW, 1913, 991 f.

⁴ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 990 f.), *ata-patiya* is an adjective formed of *ātman* + *pati* with the affix *-ya*, which seems to stand for *-ka*; see Franke, VOJ, 9, 347. Cf. *nilathiya* in the Kālsī rock-edict IX, C, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rummindī pillar, C.

⁵ Cf. *sukhiyānā* in the pillar-edict I, l. 10, and *sukhāyanā*, VII, V.

⁶ Bühler translated *dharmma-yutena* by 'in accordance with the principles of the sacred law'. In the pillar-edict VII, N, *dharmma-yu[ta]n* is an adjective qualifying *janam*, 'the people who are devoted to morality'. The same translation suits *dharmma-yute[na]* at Maski, l. 5, and the substantives *dharmma-yutasa* and *dharmma-yutasi* in the Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant [*dharmma*]-*yutānam* at Gīrnār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 185) and Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 992) understand the word *dharmma-yukta* to be the collective designation of certain officials.

⁷ Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 96) compared *laghamti* with Skt. *arhanti*.
⁸ Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 992 ff.) has shown that *pulisāni* is the accusative of *pulisā*, which occurs in the pillar-edict I, E, and VII, M; cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.

⁹ For *kāni* see above, p. 35, n. 12.

¹⁰ For *chaghati* = Skt. *sakshyati* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

¹¹ Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 99) first identified *viyata* with Skt. *vyakta*, which, according to the *Amarakośa*, has also the meaning of *prājña*, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist Sanskrit; see Böhtlingk's *Abridged Dictionary*, s. v. *व्याप्त*, and Āśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda*, II, 38.

¹² I follow Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 1009 f.) in making this section end here.

¹³ *saṃtām* is a nominative singular absolute. See Lüders, SPAW, 1913, 1010 f., and cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

(K) For the following is to be desired, (viz.) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments.

(L) And my order¹ (reaches) even so far² (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed,³ (and) who have been condemned to death.

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade⁴ those (*Lajūkas*) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them),⁵ they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world).⁶

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired,⁷ they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(O) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इमानि ज्ञातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथा
- 3 सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे
- 4 जतूका अंबाकपीलिका दळी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
- 5 गंगापुपुठके संकुजमछे कफटसयके पंनससे सिमले
- 6 संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते
- 7 सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियती (C) f

¹ With *āvuti* = *āyukti* (Senart) cf. *-āvutike* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 8 = *-āy[ut]ike* at Jaugaḍa, II, l. 12; *vishava* at Sarnāth (l. 10), Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā, and *visava* at Kālsī = *vi[sal]ya* at Gīrnār, XIII, R; *supadarave* at Mānsehrā = *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa, V, G; *sochave* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 28 = *sochaye* in edict II, l. 12.

² Senart (IA, 18. 9) translated *ava ite* (= Skt. *yāvad itaḥ*) by 'from this day'. I follow Bühler's rendering (EI, 2. 254), and compare *āva-gamu[k]e* in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugaḍa (H). Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares *ava* with Avestan *yavaṭ*, and *āvā*, the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian *yāvā*.

³ With *tilita-damḍa* cf. *tīritam* (*kāryam*), Manu, IX, 233, and *atha-saṁtīraṇā* at Gīrnār, VI, ll. 9, 10.

⁴ Literally: 'will induce to meditate or consider'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1022 f.) quotes *na machchuno nijjhapaṇam karonti* from the *Jātaka*. The means of 'persuasion' was evidently the payment of ransom; cf. the *Kautiliya*, p. 146, last line: पुष्पशीलाः समयानुबद्धा वा दोषनिष्कार्यं [चन्धनस्थानां] ददुः.

⁵ Three other versions read: 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1023) has explained *nāsaṁtam* as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of *nathi* (Skt. *nāsti*).

⁶ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

⁷ Bühler (EI, 2. 254, n. 28) took *niruddhē 'pi kālē* in the sense of *nirōdha-kālē 'pi*, 'even during (their) imprisonment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1026) translates: 'even in limited time', and Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 123): 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s. v. *niruddho*.

- 8 एठका चा सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिय पतके
 9 पि च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 10 नो भूपेतविये (F) दावे अनढाये वा विहिसाये वा नो भूपेतविये
 11 (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसायं पुंनमासियं
 12 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा
 13 अनुपोसथं मछे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येवा दिवसानि
 14 नागवनसि केवढभोगसि यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि
 15 न हंतवियानि (J) अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये
 16 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये
 17 अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
 18 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा
 19 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
 20 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) saḍvīsati-vasa-
 2 abhisitena me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā.
 3 suke sālīkā aluṇe chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe
 4 jatūkā aṃbā-kapilīkā daḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyāke
 5 Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭ[a]-sayake paṃna-sase simale
 6 saṃḍake okapiṇḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote
 7 save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati² (C) i³
 8 [e]lakā⁴ chā sūkālī chā gābhini va pāyamīnā va avadhi[y . p . ta]ke⁵
 9 pi cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukute no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve
 10 no jhāpetaviye (F) dāve anaṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no jhāpetaviye
 11 (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātummasīsū tisāyaṃ puṃnamāsiyaṃ
 12 timni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭipadāy[e] dhuvāye chā
 13 anuposathaṃ machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā⁶ divasāni
 14 nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni
 15 no haṃtaviyāni (J) aṭhamī-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ tisāye
 16 punāvasune tīsu chātummasīsū sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye
 17 ajake eḍake sūkale e vā pi aṃne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye
 18 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummasīye chātummasī-pakhāye asvasā gonasā
 19 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍvīsati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye
 20 aṃtalikāye paṃnavīsati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

¹ *daḍi* Bühler ; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1088. Three other versions read *duḷi*, and the Ailhabad-Kōsam pillar *duḍi*.

² *khādiyati* Bühler.

³ Three other versions read *ajakā nāni*.

⁵ Restore *avadhiyā potake*.

⁴ *eḍakā* Bühler.

⁶ *yeva* Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.¹ parrots, mainas, the *aruṇa*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *nandimukha*, the *gelāṭa*, bats, queen-ants,² terrapins,³ boneless fish, the *vedaveyaka*, the *Gaṅgā-pupulaka*, skate-fish,⁴ tortoises⁵ and porcupines, squirrels (?),⁶ the *śṛimara*,⁷ bulls set at liberty,⁸ iguanas (?), the rhinoceros,⁹ white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats],¹⁰ ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

¹ *seyathā* = Pāli *seyyathā* and Skt. *tadyathā*.

² Michelson (IF, 23. 266 f.) dissolves *ambākapiḷikā* into **ambāka* (an adjective formed of *ambā*) and **piḷikā* (for *pīḷikā* by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into *ambā* and *kapiḷikā* = Pāli *kipillika*. The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar actually reads *ambā-kipilikā*. Skt. *pīḷikā* has been changed to *kapiḷikā*, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 59.

³ Monmohan Chakravarti (*Memoirs*, ASB, I. 368) takes *d[u]ṭi* in the sense of 'the female tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.

⁴ With *sanikuja* Senart (IA, 18. 75) compares Skt. *śaṅkuchi* or *sāṅkuchi*, which may be derived from *sanikuch*, 'to contract'.

⁵ The identification of *kaphaṭa* with Skt. *kamāṭha* is due to Senart; see IA, 18. 75.

⁶ This doubtful explanation of *parṇa-śaśa* was proposed by Bühler; see EI, 2. 260.

⁷ This animal is mentioned in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 100, l. 12.

⁸ C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37. 211) remarks that this translation of *saṇḍaka* is improbable because 'Hindūs would hardly kill a bull'; but matters may have been different in Aśoka's time. Cf. the reference in Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta* (v. 45) to king Rantidēva who, according to the *Mahābhārata* (7. 67, 5; 12. 29, 123; 13. 66, 42 f.), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Charmaṇvatī. According to the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (III, 1, 2, 21), Yājñavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita* it is stated that a heifer (*vatsatari*) was slaughtered by Vālmiki in honour of Vasishṭha's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, *gōghna* means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Pāraskara (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Āpastamba (*Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage; cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the *śulagava* or 'spit-ox' offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 83 f. The Buddhist *Suttas* mention beef-butchers; see Neumann's translation of the *Dighanikāya*, vol. II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also *Memoirs*, ASB, I. 373; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 145; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, article 'cow' by Jacobi.

⁹ According to Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 58, n. 6, *palasata* (= Vedic *parasvat*) is the original of Pāli *palāsāda*, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form *palāsāda* occurs in the *Āṭaka*, V, p. 406, v. 267, and *palasata* *ibid.*, VI, p. 277, v. 1205; see Kern's *Toevoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers* (Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.

¹⁰ For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 13, n. 5. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9. 343), who wanted to join *ajakānāni* into one word, and to consider it a Prākṛit form of *ajakā*. Just as the nom. plur. neut. *nāni* is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. *ajakā*, and with the nom. sing. neut. *she* in the Queen's edict, l. 4, *kāni* is combined with the nom. sing. masc. *potake* in l. 9; see Lüders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.

(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

(H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsīs¹ (and) on the Tishyā full-moon² during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.³

(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park⁴ (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight,⁵ on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmāsīs, (and) on festivals,⁶ bulls⁷ must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmāsīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

(L) Until (I had been) **anointed twenty-six years**, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).⁸

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) दुवादस-
- 2 वसअभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापिता लोकसा
- 3 हितमुखाये से तं अपहटा तं तं धंमवडि पापोवा.
- 4 (C) हेवं लोकसा हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं
- 5 नातिसु हेवं पतियासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु

¹ i. e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter); see Bühler, EI, 2. 261 ff., and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli (N) and Jaugada (O).

² *tisā* (i. e. *tishyā*), instead of which three other versions read *tisi* (i. e. **tishī*), is the full-moon of the month Taisha or Pausha; see EI, 2. 264.

³ With the words *dhuvāye chā anuposatham* cf. *anuposatham cha dhuvāye* on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 8.

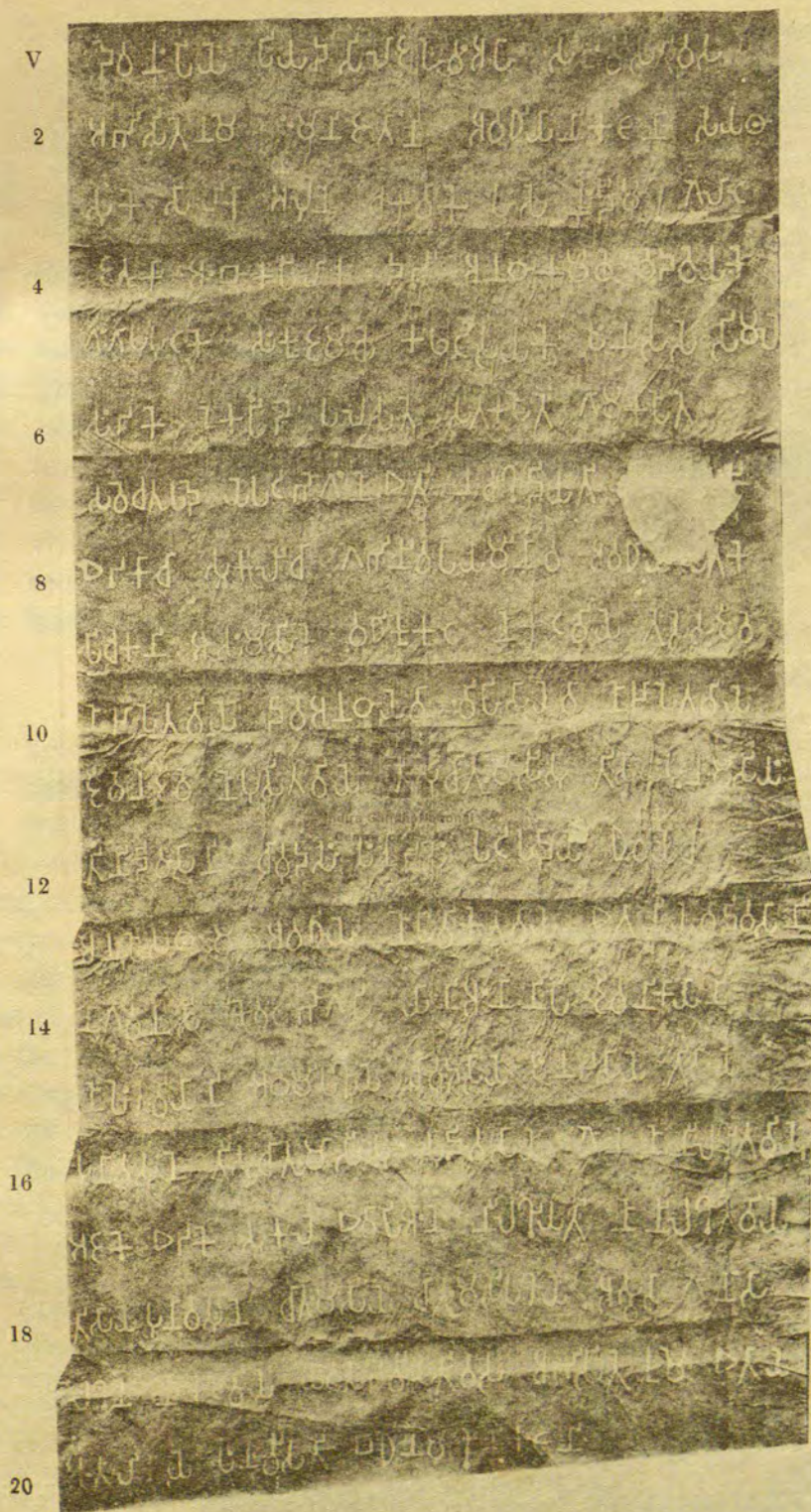
⁴ For *nāga-vana* see the *Dhammapada*, verse 324, and the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 50.

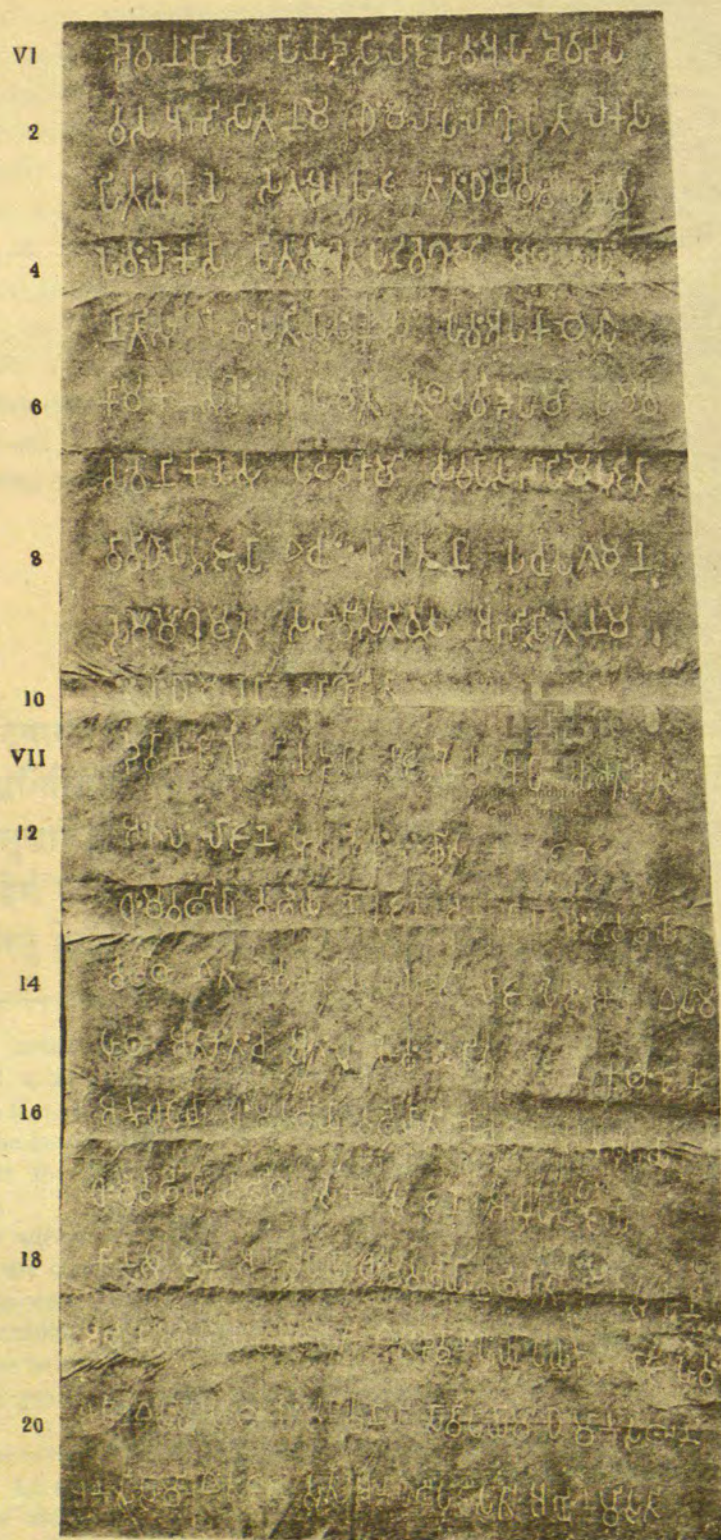
⁵ In the compound *athamī-pakha* the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Bühler, EI, 2. 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34. 434.

⁶ According to the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king's birthday and local festivals are meant; see below, n. 8.

⁷ For *goṇa*, the Prākṛit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. *gō*, 'an ox', see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 393.

⁸ The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 146 f. Cf. also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 407: [विजिगीषुर्नवमवाप्य लब्धं] कारयेत्सर्वबन्धनमोचणं पुंस्त्वोपघातं च प्रतिवधेत्; [having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmāsīyas during half a month, on full-moon days during four nights, on the king's birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).'





- 6 किमं कानि सुखं अवहामी ति तथ च विदहामि (D) हेमेवा
 7 सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता
 8 विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए च इयं अतना पचूपगमने
 9 से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे
 10 इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) duvāḍasa-
 2 vasa-abhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā
 3 hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭṭa taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpovā
 4 (G) hevaṃ lokasā hita-[sukhe] ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ
 5 nātisu hevaṃ patiyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu
 6 kimaṃ kāni sukhaṃ avahāmi ti tatha cha vidahāmi (D) hemevā
 7 sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi¹ (E) sava-pāsaṃḍā pi me pūjitā
 8 vividhāya pūjāyā (F) e chu iyaṃ at[a]nā² pachūpagamane
 9 se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena me
 10 iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing³ those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.

(C) (Thinking): 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)', I am directing my attention not only⁴ to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that⁵ I may lead them⁶ to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes.⁷

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.⁸

¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

² *atunā* Bühler; but see Fleet's note, IA, 13. 310.

³ Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 92 f.) explained *apahaṭṭa* by *a-prahartā*, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 9. 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications: *apahaṭṭa* may correspond as well to **a-prakritvā* (Skt. *a-prakṛitya*), and *pra-hṛi* may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in *-tvā* would be without parallel in the earlier dialect; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular *nijhapayitā* in the pillar-edict IV, M.

⁴ With *atha iyaṃ* cf. *yathayidam*, 'just as', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

⁵ *kimam* (or *kinmam* as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of *kimti*, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. *kim*, as Pāli *sudam* of Skt. *svid*. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18. 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34. 430. Bühler (EI, 2. 269) preferred to derive it from **kimva* = *kimiva*.

⁶ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J.

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict XII, A.

(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty),¹ viz.² visiting (the people) personally.³

(G) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ये अतिकंतं
 12 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इछिसु कथं जने
 13 धंमवढिया वढेया नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया
 14 वढिया (C) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (D) एस मे
 15 हुथा (E) अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने
 16 अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया
 17 धंमवढिया वढिया (F) से किनसु जने अनुपटिपजेया
 18 (G) किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति (H) किनसु कानि
 19 अभ्युनामयेहं धंमवढिया ति (I) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं
 20 आहा (J) एस मे हुथा (K) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
 21 अनुसासामि (L) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युनमिसति

B.—Round the Pillar.

- 22 धंमवढिया च बाढं वढिसति (M) एताये मे अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि
 धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य सिा पि बहुने जनसि
 आयता ए ते पलियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि (N) लजूका पि बहुकेसु
 पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ
 23 जनं धंमयुतं (O) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (P) एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने
 धंमथंभानि कटानि धंममहामाता कटा धंम कटे (Q) देवानंपिये
 पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (R) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि
 छायोपगानि होसंति पमुमुनिसानं अंबावडिक्या लोपापिता (S) अढ-
 कोसिक्यानि पि मे उदुपानानि
 24 खानापपितानि निंसिढया च कालापिता (T) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत
 तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पमुमुनिसानं (U) ल एस पटीभोगे

¹ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, P.

² Cf. above, p. 120, n. 7.

³ Cf. the rock-edict VIII, E, and *atanā āgācha* on the Rummindei and Nigāli Sāgar pillars. Senart (IA, 18, 107 f.) translated *atanā pachūpagamane* by 'the personal adherence (to the sects)', and Bühler (EI, 2, 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.

- नाम (V) विदिधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके (W) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे
- 25 एस कटे (X) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (Y) धंममहामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिथानं च सब डेसु पि च वियापटासे (Z) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे
- 26 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते माता (AA) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (BB) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
- 27 (CC) एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटी हिद चेव दिसासु च (DD) दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति
- 28 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (EE) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकस हेवं वढिसति ति (FF) देवानंपिये प स लाजा हेवं आहा (GG) यानि हि कानिचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपने तं च अनुविधियंति (HH) तेन वढिता च
- 29 वढिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलूसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटी-पतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनबलाकेसु आव दासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया (II) देवानंपिय . . . यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (JJ) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवढि वढिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निरुतिया च
- 30 (KK) तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे निरुतिया व भुये (LL) धंमनियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (MM) अंनानि पि चु बहुक . . . धंमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निरुतिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमवढि वढिता अविहिंसाये भुतानं
- 31 अनालंभाये पानानं (OO) से एताये अथाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते आलधे होति (QQ) सतविसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिवि लिखापापिता ति (RR) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (SS) इयं
- 32 धंमलिवि अत अथि सिलायंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिलठितिके सिया

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) ye atikaṃtaṃ
 12 aṃtalaṃ lājāne husu hevaṃ ichhisu kathaṃ jane
 13 dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā no chu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā
 14 vaḍhithā (C) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (D) esa me
 15 huthā (E) atikaṃtaṃ cha aṃtaṃl[a]ṃ¹ hevaṃ ichhisu lājāne kathaṃ jane
 16 anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti no cha jane anulupāyā
 17 dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍhithā (F) se kinasu jane anu[pa]ṭipajeyā²
 18 (G) kinasu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti (H) k[i]nasu kāni
 19 abhyuṃnāmayehaṃ dhamma-vaḍhiyā ti (I) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā
 hevaṃ
 20 āhā (J) esa me huthā (K) dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini
 21 anus[ā]sāmi (L) etaṃ jane sutu anupaṭipajisati abhyuṃnamisati

B.—Round the Pillar.

- 22 dhamma-vaḍhiyā cha bādham vaḍhisat[i] (M) etāye me aṭhāye dhamma-sāvanāni
 sāvāpitāni dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni [ya] [is]ā³ pi bahunē
 janasi āyatā e te⁴ paliyovadisanti pi pavithalisanti pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukesu
 pāna-sata-sahasasu āyatā te pi me ānapitā hevaṃ cha hevaṃ cha paliyovadātha
 23 janaṃ dhamma-yu[ta]ṃ (O) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā (P) etameva me
 anuvekhamāne dhamma-thaṃbhāni kaṭāni dhamma-mahāmātā kaṭā dham[ma]
 . ā . . . e⁵ kaṭe (Q) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (R) magesu pi
 me nigohāni lopāpitāni chhāyopagāni hosanti pasu-munisānaṃ aṃbā-vaḍikyā
 lopāpitā (S) aḍha-[kos]ikyāni pi me udupānāni
 24 khānāpāpitāni nimsi[dha]yā⁶ cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]ukāni tata tata
 k[ā]lāpitāni paṭibhogāye p[a]su-munisānaṃ (U) [la]⁷ esa paṭibhoge nāma
 (V) vividhāyā hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi pi lājīhi mamayā cha sukhayite loka
 (W) imaṃ chu dhammānupaṭipatī anupaṭipajanti ti etadathā me
 25 esa kaṭe (X) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā (Y) dhamma-mahāmātā pi me
 te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajitānaṃ cheva gihithānaṃ
 cha sava [d]esu⁸ pi cha viyāpaṭāse (Z) saṃghaṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime
 viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti hemeva bābhanesu ā[j]ivikesu pi me kaṭe
 26 ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti nigamṭhesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti nānā-
 pāsāṃdesu pi⁹ me [ka]ṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭivisiṭhaṃ
 tesu tesu [te] mātā¹⁰ (AA) dhamma-mahāmātā chu me etesu cheva
 viyā[pa]ṭā savesu cha aṃnesu pāsāṃdesu (BB) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā
 hevaṃ āhā

¹ Read *aṃtalaṃ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² The *pa* of °*pajeyā* is inserted above the line.

³ Restore *yathā pulisā*.

⁴ *ete* (in one word) Senart and Bühler.

⁵ Restore *dhamma-sāvane*.

⁶ *nimsiḍhiyā* Bühler.

⁷ Restore *lahuke chu*.

⁸ Restore *sava-pāsāṃdesu*.

⁹ *pi* looks almost like *ghi*.

¹⁰ Restore *te te mahāmātā*. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13. 310) was prepared, the missing letters were still visible.

- 27 (CC) ete cha amne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭāse mama cheva devinaṃ cha savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahuvidhena ā[kā]lena tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi¹ hida cheva disāsu cha (DD) dālakānaṃ pi cha me kaṭe amnānaṃ cha devī-kumālānaṃ ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti
- 28 dhammāpadānaṭhāye dhammānupaṭipatiye (EE) esa hi dhammāpadāne dhamma-paṭipati cha yā iyaṃ dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[v]e cha lokasa hevaṃ vaḍhisati ti (FF) Devānaṃpiye [P s .² l]ājā hevaṃ āhā (GG) yāni hi [k]ānichi mamiyā sādhaṃni kaṭāni taṃ loka anūp[a]ṭipamne taṃ cha anuvidhiyaṃti (HH) tena vaḍhitā cha
- 29 vaḍhisamti cha mātā-pit[i]su sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo-mahālakānaṃ anupaṭipatiyā bābhana-samanesu kapana-valākesu āva dāsa-bhaṭakesu sampaṭipatiyā (II) Devānaṃpiy . . . ya]dasi³ lājā hevaṃ āhā (JJ) munisānaṃ chu yā iyaṃ dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhamma-niyamena cha nijhatiyā [cha]
- 30 (KK) tata chu lahu se dhamma-niyame nijhatiyā va bhuye (LL) dhamma-niyame chu kho esa ye me iyaṃ kaṭe imāni cha imāni jātāni avadhiyāni (MM) amnāni pi chu bahu[k] . . .⁴ dhamma-niyamāni yāni me kaṭāni (NN) nijhatiyā va chu bhuye munisānaṃ dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā avihimsāye bhutānaṃ
- 31 anālambhāye pānānaṃ (OO) se etāye a[th]āye⁵ iyaṃ kaṭe putā-papotike chaṃdama-suliyike hotu ti tathā cha anupaṭipajamtu ti (PP) hevaṃ hi anupaṭipajamtaṃ hi[da]ta-[pāla]te āladhe hoti (QQ) satavisati-vasābhis[i]tena me iyaṃ dhamma-libi likhāpāpitā ti (RR) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye⁶ āhā (SS) iyaṃ
- 32 dhamma-libi ata athi silā-thambhāni vā silā-phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa chila-ṭhitike siyā

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TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that⁷ men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

(C) Concerning this,⁸ king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(D) The following occurred to me.

(E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

¹ Bühler (EI, 2, 274, note k) restored *paṭipādayamti*, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was *paṭivedayamti*; cf. *praṭivedayamtu* in the Jaugada rock-edict VI, D.

² Restore *Piyadasi*.

³ Restore *°piye Piyadasi*.

⁴ Restore *bahukāni*.

⁵ *athāye* Bühler.

⁶ The late Dr. Fleet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the *de* of *Devānaṃpiye*, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word *a[th]āye* in section OO. This double *kākapāda* or caret (cf. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

⁷ Franke (GN, 1895, 537) attributes to *katham* the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

⁸ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XI, D.

(F) How¹ then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?

(G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?

(H) How could I elevate² them³ by the promotion of morality?

(I) Concerning this, king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(J) The following occurred to me.

(K) I shall issue proclamations on morality,⁴ (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).

(L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.

(M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine)⁵ too, who are occupied⁶ with many⁷ people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.

(N) The *Lajūkas*⁸ also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, —these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner⁹ exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.

(O) Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(P) Having in view this very (matter),¹⁰ I have set up pillars of morality,¹¹ appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.

(Q) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men,¹² (and) mango-groves¹³ were caused to be planted.

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¹ Senart (IA, 18. 302) explains *kināsu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēna-svit*; cf. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *assu*. For *su* = *svit* see above, p. 99, n. 14.

² With the optative *°nāmayeham* cf. [pa]ti[pāday]eham and ālabheham in the Dhauī separate edict I, B, and *yeham* in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.

³ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁴ Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to *sāvāpayāmi*, cf. *iyam sāvane sāvāpīte* at Brahmagiri (l. 5), for which the Śiddhāpura edict (l. 11) reads [*iya*]m sāvane sāvīte, and the Rūpnāth edict (l. 3) *sāvane kaṭe*. These three records and the Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the *dhamma-sāvanāni* to which Aśoka is alluding here.

⁵ See above, p. 120, n. 2.

⁶ See above, p. 95, n. 4.

⁷ With the locative *bahune* Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared *punāvasune* in the pillar-edict V, ll. 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.

⁸ See above, p. 124, n. 1.

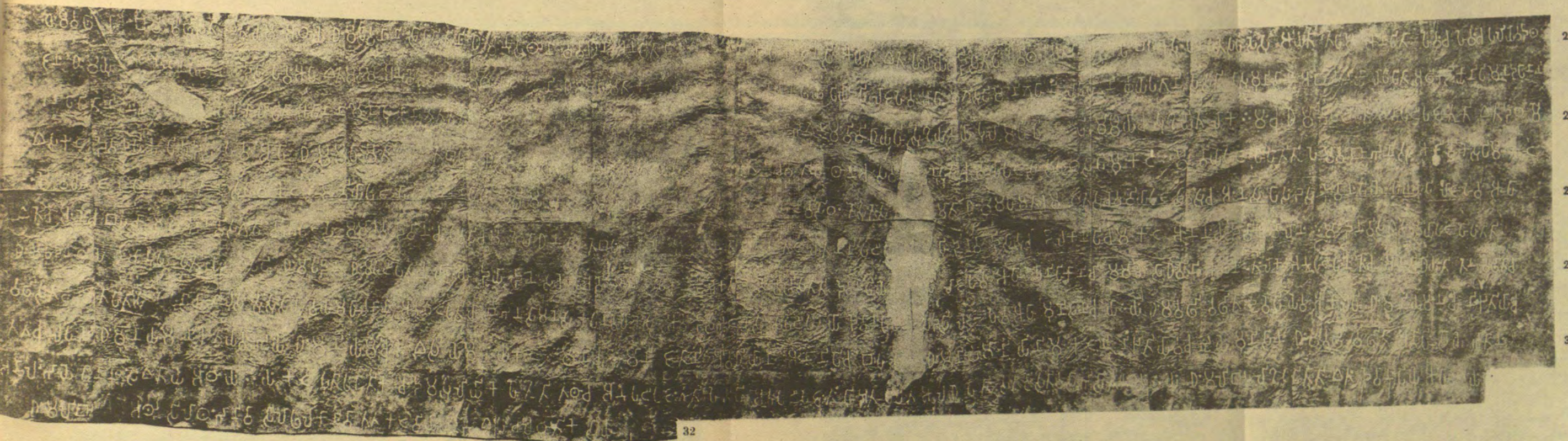
⁹ Cf. the Dhauī separate edict I, l. 12.

¹⁰ *anuvekhamāne* is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1013.

¹¹ As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.

¹² Cf. the rock-edict II, D.

¹³ In *ambā-vaḍikā* and *adha-[kos]ikā* (below, section S) the *k* of the two affixes *-kā* and *-ika* is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*, as frequently at Kālsī; see there *nātikā*, *pālāntikā*, &c. The form *ambā-vaḍikā* occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, *ambā* (for the Sanskrit masculine *āmra*), seems to be used as feminine; cf. *ābikā-bhati* (= **āmrikā-bhṛiti*) at Junnar (ASWI, 4. 97, No. 26). The second member, *vaḍikā*, is the regular Prākṛit equivalent of Skt. **vṛitikā* (= *vṛiti*, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, *vāṭikā*, presupposes the form **vartikā*; cf. Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I, p. 168.



(S) And (at intervals) of eight *kōs*¹ wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water)² were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places³ were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men.

(U) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence].⁴

(V) For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(W) But by me this has been done for the following purpose:⁵ that they might conform to that practice of morality.

(X) *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(Y) Those⁶ my *Mahāmātras* of morality too are occupied⁷ with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects.

¹ Fleet (JRAS, 1906. 401 ff.) showed that *adha* here represents Skt. *ashtan*, and not *ardha*. According to Hiuen-Tsiang, Bāṇa, and Kauṭilya (JRAS, 1912. 239), one *yōjana* = eight *kōs* = nine miles was considered a day's march of an army, while it would have been unnecessarily lavish and unpractical to sink wells and build rest-houses at distances of but little more than half a mile.

² Bühler read *nimsiḍhiyā*, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with *nishidiyā* (from Skt. *nishidati*) in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also *Arahata-nisidiyā-samīpe* in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, l. 15. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 852) compares with it the Ardhamāgadhi *sedhi* = Skt. **śliṣṭhi*. As *sedhi* is synonymous with Skt. *śrēṇi*, he attributes to *nimsiḍhiyā* the sense of Skt. *nīśrayanī*, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is *nimsi[ḍha]yā*, which would correspond to Skt. **nīśliṣṭakā*. For the change of *śl* to *ms* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74, and for *ḍh* = original *sh* cf. *adha* = *ashta* at the beginning of section S.

³ With *āpāna* cf. *prapā* in the Nāsik cave-inscription No. 10, l. 3 (EI, 8. 78), and in the Palitānā plates of Simhāditya (EI, 11. 18, text l. 12). I cannot refrain from quoting the following description from F. Drew's charming work, *The Northern Barrier of India* (London, 1877), p. 99: 'At this time of the year the ground is dry, and all the way from Akhnūr the road has been hot and thirst-bringing. A good charitable custom of the Hindūs brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands; he may have been placed there by some well-to-do Hindū, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come, and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.' The same charitable arrangement is evidently alluded to in the text of Aśoka's pillar-edict. The Hindūs are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hindī *bahāngī*, Dravidian *kāvaḍi*) figured at Bharaut (Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 57; 41, fig. 1; 42, fig. 7; 45, fig. 5; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

⁴ A similar phrase occurs in the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

⁵ For *athā* = *athāya* see above, p. 22, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edicts Skt. *artha* is generally represented by *aṭha*, the form *atha* (with dental *th*) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Michelson's explanation of *etadathā* (IF, 23. 248 f.) appears to me 'too bold', as he confesses himself.

⁶ The pronoun *te* seems to refer to section P, above.

⁷ Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) has pointed out that *viyāpaṭāse*, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Prākṛit equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in *-āsah*. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.

(Z) Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves¹ with the affairs of the *Samgha*; ² likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the *Brāhmaṇas* (and) *Ājivikas*; ³ others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the *Nirgranthas*; ⁴ others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations).⁵

(AA) But my *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers)⁶ are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity⁷ both here⁸ and in the provinces.

(DD) And others⁹ were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons,¹⁰ in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz.¹¹ compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas*, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

¹ Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated *ime* by 'others'.

² i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

³ For the *Ājivika* sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

⁴ i.e. the Jaina monks.

⁵ As remarked by Senart (IA, 18. 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the *Dharma-mahāmātras* of sections Y and AA.

⁶ As at *Shāhbāzgarhi* (XIII, 8) and *Mānsehrā* (XIII, 9), *mukha* corresponds to Skt. *mukhya*. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. *mukha*, because in *mokhya* (= Skt. *maukhya*, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group *khy* is not assimilated. But Skt. *mukha* is always neuter, and the masculine *mukha* seems to be a fiction of the *Kōśas*. Thomas renders *bahukā mukhā* by 'many departments'; see JRAS, 1915. 99.

⁷ Kern and Bühler (EI, 2. 274) explained *tutthāyatan[ā]ni* by *tushty-āyatanāni*, 'sources of contentment', i.e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take *āyatana* as a synonym of *pātra* or *tīrtha*, and follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be *tushtā* in the sense of *tushtī*.

⁸ viz. in Pāṭaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

⁹ Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. the Kālsī edict V, M, where Aśoka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

¹¹ See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before *yā iyaṃ* we may have to supply *dhamme*, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it; cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 854.

(II) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(JJ) Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion.¹

(KK) But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably.

(LL) Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable.²

(MM) But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me.

(NN) By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals.

(OO) Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine),³ and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,⁴ (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained.

(QQ) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-seven years.

(RR) Concerning this, Dēvānāmpriya says.⁵

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that⁶ this may be of long duration.

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II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 नं धमेन विधाने

2 धमे

1[naṁ] dhaṁmen[a] v[i]dh[āne]

2 dha[me]

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आ . . (B) धंमे साधु कियं . . . मे ति

2 (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाना पि मे

¹ Literally; 'by inducing to meditate'. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916, 122) has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works *nidhyapti* has the meaning 'reflection'.

² See the pillar-edict V.

³ Cf. *puta-papotike chaṁdama-sūriyike* on the Sāmchī pillar, C, *ā-chaṁdama-shūliyam* in the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions (IA, 20. 364 f.), and *ā-chandrārkaṁ* in Sanskrit inscriptions.

⁴ See above, p. 97, n. 3.

⁵ This section and the next one may have to be placed before section OO; see above, p. 133, n. 6.

⁶ *ena* is used in the same way in the Dhauli separate edict I, Y, and II, I and M.

- 3 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनु-
 4 गहे कटे आ पानदाखिनाये (F) अनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि
 5 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता
 6 अनुपटिपजंतू चिलंथितिका च होतू ति (H) ये च
 7 सति से सुकटं कळती ति

- 1 (A) De[vā]n[a]m̐piye Piyadasi lāja¹ [hevaṃ ā] . . (B) dh[aṃ]me s[ā]dh[u] k[iya]m̐
 [m]e ti
 2 (C) a[pā]sinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā² [pi me]
 3 bahuvidhe diṃne (E) du[pa]da-ch[a]tu[pa]desu pakhi-vālichale[su viv]i[dhe me anu]-
 4 gahe kaṭe ā pāna-dākhināye (F) a[m̐]nāni pi cha me bah[ūni kayānāni]
 5 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi li[khāpitā]
 6 anupaṭipajamtū chil[am̐-th]itikā cha hot[ū] ti (H) ye [cha]
 7 [sa]ti se sukaṭaṃ ka[chha]ti ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) कयानंमेव दे
 2 कयाने कटे ती (C) नो मिना पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व
 3 आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
 4 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे
 5 माने इस्या कालनेन व हकं मा पालिभसयिसं (G) बाढं
 6 देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयं मे पालतिकाये

- 1 (A) Devānam̐piye Piyadasi lāja³ hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānam̐[eva de]
 2 kayāne kaṭe ti⁴ (C) no min[ā] pāpaṃ dekhati iyaṃ me pāp[e⁵ kaṭe ti iyaṃ va]
 3 āsinave nāmā ti (D) [du]paṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṃ chu kho [esa⁶ de]khiye
 4 (F) imāni āsinav[a-gāmīni] nāma atha chaṇḍ[i]ye ni[ṭhū]li[y]e k[o]dhe
 5 māne isyā kālanena [va] hakaṃ mā palibha[sa]yi[sa]m̐ (G) bā[ḍham]
 6 dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me [hi]dat[i]kāye iyaṃ me pālatikāye

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1
 2 क चघंति आलाधयितवे
 3 तु अस्वये होति
 4 विय लिहटवे हेवं ममा
 5 लजूक ये (J) येन एते अभीता

¹ lāja Bühler.

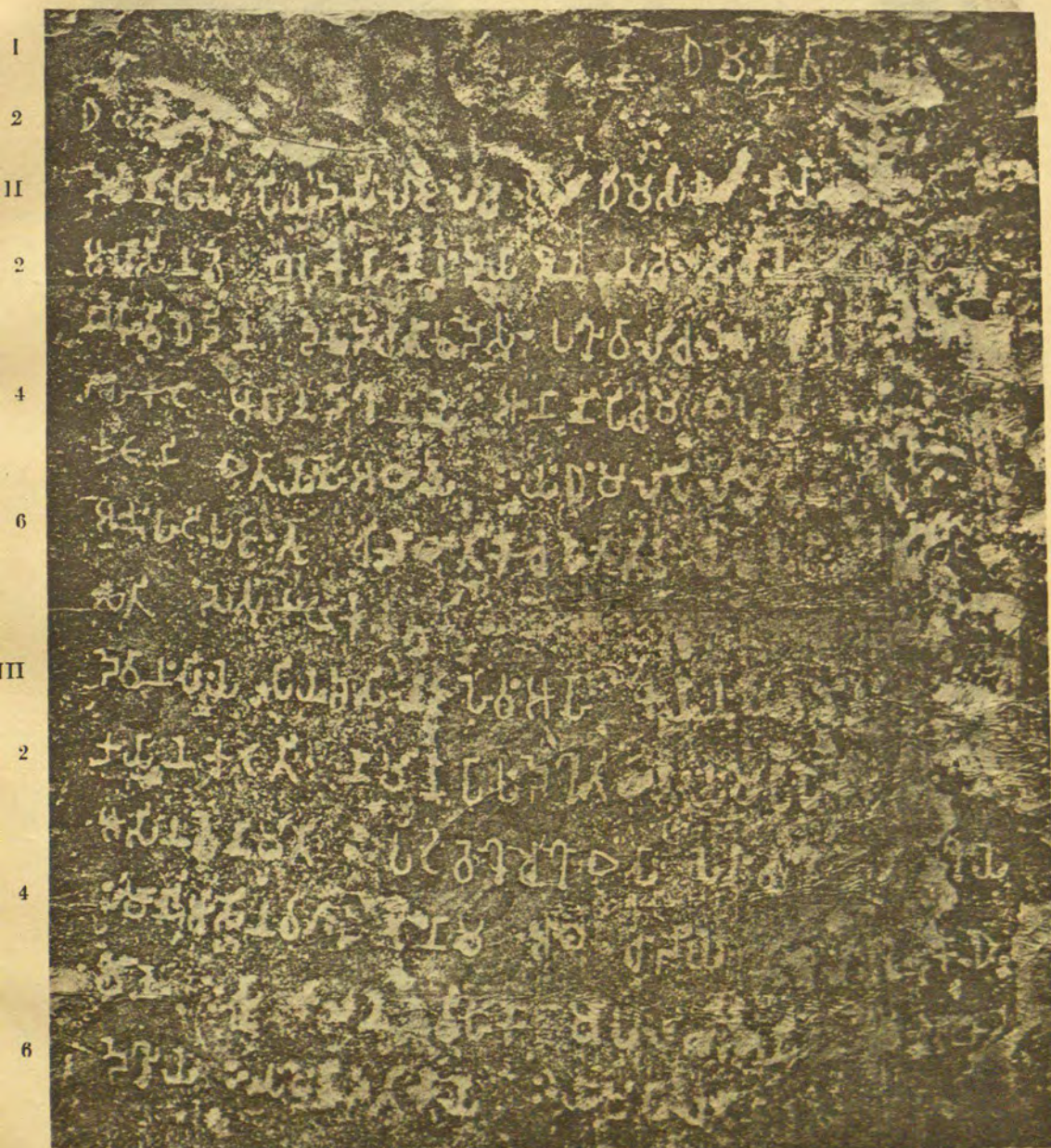
³ lāja Bühler.

⁶ . . sā Bühler.

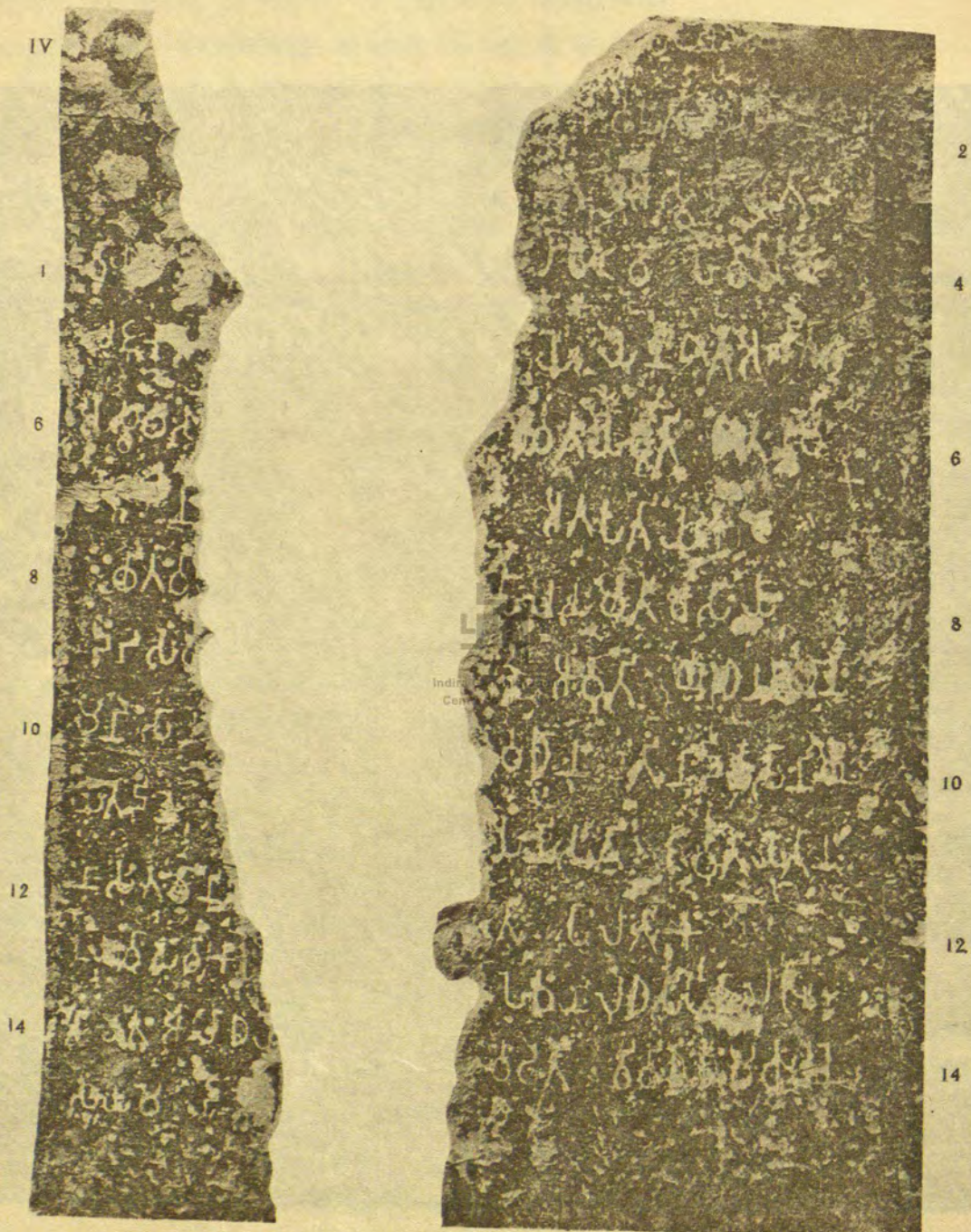
² -[dā]nam Bühler.

⁴ ti Bühler.

⁵ pāpaṃ Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FOURTH



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

- 6 अस्वथ सं पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे
 7 लजूकानं अतपतिये कटे
 8 (K) इच्छितवि हालसमता च सिया
 9 दंडसम मे आवुति बंधनबधानं
 10 मुनिसानं वधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे
 11 योते दिने (M) पयिसंति जीविताये तानं
 12 नासंतं वा नि ति पालतिकं
 13 उपवासं वा क हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि
 14 पालतं आलाधये वढति विविधे धंमचलने
 15 संयमे दान

- 1
 2 [ka]¹ chaghamti [ā]lādha[y]i[tave]
 3 tu asvathe² [ho]ti
 4 vi[ya] [i]i[ha]tave hev[am mam]ā
 5 [la]jūk[a]³ ye (J) yen[a] ete a[bh]itā
 6 asvatha sam [pa]vataye[v]ū ti [e]te[na] me
 7 [la]jū[kā]n[am] ata-patiye kaṭ[e]
 8 (K) ichhitavi [h]āla-samatā ch[a] siyā
 9 daṇḍa-sa[ma] [me] āvuti [ba]m̐dhana-[badh]ānam
 10 munisā[nam] vadhānam̐ tim̐ni di[va]sāni [m]e
 11 y[o]te dim̐ne (M) payisa[m̐]ti j[i]v[i]tāye tāna[m̐]
 12 nāsam̐taṁ [v]ā ni ti pālatikaṁ
 13 u[pa]vāsam̐ vā k[a] hevaṁ niludhasi pi [k]ālasī
 14 pā[la]taṁ ālādha[ye] vaḍhati vividhe dham̐ma-chal[a]ne
 15 sam̐yame dā[na]

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 पोतके पि च कानि
 2 के (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 3 तविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो
 4 आपेतविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातंमासीसु
 5 तिसायं पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चाबुदसं पंनडसं
 6 पटिपदा धुवाये च अनुपोसथं महे अवधिये नो पि
 7 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवढभोगसि
 8 यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि नो हंतवियानी

¹ [la]jūkā] Bühler.² asva[the] Bühler.³ lajūk[ā] Bühler.

- 9 (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनइसाये तिसाये
 10 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने
 11 नो नीलखितविये अजके एऊके सूकले ए वा पि
 12 अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने
 13 चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा लखने
 14 नो विये (L) यावसुदुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
 15 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 [potake¹ pi cha] k[ā]n[i]
 2 ke (D) [vadh]i-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse saji[ve]
 3 ta[v]iye (F) dāve [a]naṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no
 4 [jhāpe]ta[vi]ye (G) jī[v]ena j[iv]e no pusi[ta]viye (H) tisu chāturmāsīsu²
 5 [t]isāya[m] pu[m]na[m]mā[si]ya[m] tīmni divasāni chāvudasa[m] paṇṇaḍasa[m]
 6 p[a]ṭipadā dh[r]uvāye³ cha anuposatha[m] machhe avadhiye no pi
 7 viketav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ga-van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi
 8 y[ā]ni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]ntaviyāni⁴
 9 (J) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye⁵ [chā]vudasāye paṇ[na]ḍasāye tisāye
 10 punāvasune tisu chāturmāsīsu sudiṇasāye gone
 11 no nīlakhitavi[y]e ajake eḷake⁶ sūkale e vā pi
 12 am[n]e nī[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]
 13 chāturmāsīye chātu[m]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane
 14 no [v]iye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvisati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye
 15 a[m]talikāye paṇnavīsati baṇdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

-
 1 पूगमने से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडु
 2 णिसतेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लि
 1 ūpagamane se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍu
 2 isitena me iya[m] dhamma-li[pi] li

¹ On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 124), portions of the preceding word *avadhiyā* are also visible.

² Read *chāturm*.

³ *dhuvāye* Bühler. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 1.

⁴ *yāni* Bühler.

⁵ *aṭham[ī]* Bühler.

⁶ *eḷake* Bühler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1911. 1088.

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III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंमलिपि
2 लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय
पलीखाय
3 अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय
धंमापेख
4 धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया
च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति
5 संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G)
एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन
6 धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

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- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ dhamma-li[p]i
2 likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya
palikhāy[a]
3 agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
dhammāpekha¹
4 dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita² vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhiyaṃti
5 saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṇṇa-mahāmātā
pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana
6 dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukh[i]yana dhammena goti ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे
2 सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवाल्लिचलेसु
विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे

¹ dhammāpekha Bühler.² vaḍhita Bühler.

- 3 आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
अठाये इयं धमलिपि लिखापित हेवं
- 4 अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं
कच्छति ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache
- 2 socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-
vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe
- 3 ā pāna-dakhināye (F) a[m]nāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
aṭhāye iyaṃ dhama-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ
- 4 anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajisati se
sukataṃ kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे
ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
- 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
(F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये
- 3 निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं
देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti
- 2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa
dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye
- 3 niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bādham
dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me palatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
- 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक
अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
- 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धमयुतेन च
वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च
- 4 पालतं च आलाधयेवु (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि
पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं

- 5 लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं मुखं पलिहटवे ति
- 6 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं
अछिमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व
- 7 दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय
दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं
- 8 मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका
व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व
- 9 निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति (N) इछा हि मे हेवं
निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति
- 10 (O) जनस च वढति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसंविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu
- 2 janasi āyata (D) tesāṃ ye abhihāle va d[a]ṇḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka
asvatha abhīta kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
- 3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṃ jānisanti
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisanti janāṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha
- 4 pālataṃ cha ālādhayevu (F) lajūkā pi laghaṃti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi
me chhamdamnāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ
- 5 lajūka chaghaṃti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me paṃjaṃ¹ sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti
- 6 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā
saṃtaṃ achhimana² kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ abhihāle va
- 7 daṇḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya
daṇḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ
- 8 munisā[na]ṃ tīlita-daṇḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni me yote diṃne (M)
nātikā va kāni nijhapayisanti jīvītāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ va
- 9 nijhapayī[ta]ve dānaṃ dāhaṃti pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhaṃti (N) ichhā hi me
hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti
- 10 (O) janasa cha va[dha]ti vividhe dha[m]ma-chalane sayame dāna-saṃvibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे इमानि
पि जातानि अवध्यानि
- 2 कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक
- 3 अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके

¹ Read *paṃjaṃ*.² Read *avimana*.

- 4 पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे
 5 ये पटिपोगं नो एति नो च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च
 गभिनी व पायमीना व
 6 अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 नो ज्ञापयितविये (F) दावे
 7 अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो ज्ञापयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H)
 तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं
 8 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
 मछे अवध्ये नो पि
 9 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अन्नानि
 पि जीवन्विकायानि
 10 नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु
 चातुंमासीसु
 11 सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळवे सूकले ए वा पि अंने
 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
 12 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस लखने
 नो कटविये
 13 (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे एताये अंतलिक्काये पंनवीसति बंधन-
 मोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa me
 imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni
 2 kaṭāni seyatha suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka
 3 ambā-kapilika duḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake Gaṃgā-pupūṭake saṃkuja-machhe
 kaphaṭa-seyake
 4 paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake okapiṃḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save
 chatupade
 5 ye paṭipogaṃ² no eti no cha khādiy[a]ti (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkālī cha
 gabhinī va pāyamīnā va
 6 avadhya potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajiwe
 no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve
 7 anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu
 chāturmāsīsu tisyam
 8 puṃnamāsiyam timni divasāni chāvudasam paṃnaḷasam³ paṭipadam dhuvāye cha
 anuposatham machhe avadhye no pi
 9 vikataviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi
 jīva-nik[ā]jyāni

¹ duḍi Bühler ; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in *JR.AS.*, 1911. 1087.

² Read *paṭibhogam*.

³ *paṃnaḷasam* Bühler.

V
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
VI
1 2 3 4

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- 10 no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁṇaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu chātummāsīsū
- 11 sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eḷake¹ sūkale e vā pi aṁne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye
- 12 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kaṭaviye
- 13 (L) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁṇavīsati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस
- 2 हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि
- 3 अथा इयं नातिमु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेव अपकटेसु किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि
- 4 (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने
- 5 से मे मुख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) duvā[ḍa]sa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa
- 2 hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahāṭa taṁ taṁ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi
- 3 athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsanneṣu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kiṁmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi
- 4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsāṇḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane
- 5 se me mukhya-mute² (G) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हितपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय
- 2 अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम

¹ edake Bühler.² See above, p. 35, n. 10.

- 4 अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा
पि मे
- 5 उकसा च गेवया च मग्गिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं
समादपयितवे
- 6 (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन
विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन
- 7 धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ
- 2 dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṃnata agāya dhamma-
kāmatāya
- 3 agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu
kho mama
- 4 anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
(E) pulisā pi me
- 5 ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ
chapalaṃ samādapayitave
- 6 (F) hemeva aṃta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena
vidhāne dhammena sukhīyana
- 7 dhammena gotī ti

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SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु किय चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
- 2 दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखि-
- 3 वालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे
बहूनि कयानानि
- 4 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु
चिलंथितीका च होतू ति
- 5 (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiya¹ chu dhamme
ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne
- 2 daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-
chatupadesu pakhi-
- 3 vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) aṃnāni pi cha me bahūni
kayānāni

- 4 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu
chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti
- 5 (H) ye cha hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukataṃ kachhati

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे
ति (C) नो मिन पापं
- 2 देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस
(E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
- 3 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इस्य
कालनेन व हकं
- 4 मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे
पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ
- 2 dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho
esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye
- 3 (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni¹ nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya
kālanena va hakaṃ
- 4 mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bāḍhaṃ dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana
me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे
- 2 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये
मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ
- 3 अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस हितसुखं उपदहेवू अनुगहिनेवु च
(E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं
- 4 जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च
आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति
- 5 पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि
च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे

¹ āsinave Bühler.

- 6 (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति
मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति
- 7 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं
अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति
- 8 एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि एस
किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च
- 9 (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं
तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि
- 10 निरुपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व निरुपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं
उपवासं व कच्छंति (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं
- 11 निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च वढति विविधे
धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me
- 2 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va daṇḍe va
ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka asvatha
- 3 abhīta kammāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū
anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukkhīyanaṃ
- 4 jānisaṃti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisanti janaṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha
pālataṃ cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṃti
- 5 paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulis[ā]ni pi me chhamdamnāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi
cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ lajūka chaghaṃti ālādhayitave
- 6 (I) athā hi paṇaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me
paṇaṃ sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti
- 7 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā
saṃtaṃ avimana kammāni pavatayevū ti
- 8 etena me lajūkānaṃ [a]bhihāle va daṇḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa
kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā cha
- 9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tīlita-daṇḍānaṃ
pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni me [yo]te diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni
- 10 nijhapayisanti jīvītāye tānaṃ nāsanti va nijhapayi[tav]e dānaṃ dāhaṃti
pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhaṃti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ
- 11 niludhasi pi [kālas]i pālataṃ ālādhayevū t[i] (O) janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe
dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

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|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|-----|---|---|----|
| 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 1 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 11 | 2 | 4 | III | 2 | 4 | IV |

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2 4 6 8 10 12 14 2 4 6

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3 6 9 12 15 18 21 24 27 30 33 36 39 42 45 48 51 54 57 60 63 66 69 72 75 78 81 84 87 90 93 96 99 102 105 108 111 114 117 120 123 126 129 132 135 138 141 144 147 150 153 156 159 162 165 168 171 174 177 180 183 186 189 192 195 198 201 204 207 210 213 216 219 222 225 228 231 234 237 240 243 246 249 252 255 258 261 264 267 270 273 276 279 282 285 288 291 294 297 300 303 306 309 312 315 318 321 324 327 330 333 336 339 342 345 348 351 354 357 360 363 366 369 372 375 378 381 384 387 390 393 396 399 402 405 408 411 414 417 420 423 426 429 432 435 438 441 444 447 450 453 456 459 462 465 468 471 474 477 480 483 486 489 492 495 498 501 504 507 510 513 516 519 522 525 528 531 534 537 540 543 546 549 552 555 558 561 564 567 570 573 576 579 582 585 588 591 594 597 600 603 606 609 612 615 618 621 624 627 630 633 636 639 642 645 648 651 654 657 660 663 666 669 672 675 678 681 684 687 690 693 696 699 702 705 708 711 714 717 720 723 726 729 732 735 738 741 744 747 750 753 756 759 762 765 768 771 774 777 780 783 786 789 792 795 798 801 804 807 810 813 816 819 822 825 828 831 834 837 840 843 846 849 852 855 858 861 864 867 870 873 876 879 882 885 888 891 894 897 900 903 906 909 912 915 918 921 924 927 930 933 936 939 942 945 948 951 954 957 960 963 966 969 972 975 978 981 984 987 990 993 996 999 1002 1005 1008 1011 1014 1017 1020 1023 1026 1029 1032 1035 1038 1041 1044 1047 1050 1053 1056 1059 1062 1065 1068 1071 1074 1077 1080 1083 1086 1089 1092 1095 1098 1101 1104 1107 1110 1113 1116 1119 1122 1125 1128 1131 1134 1137 1140 1143 1146 1149 1152 1155 1158 1161 1164 1167 1170 1173 1176 1179 1182 1185 1188 1191 1194 1197 1200 1203 1206 1209 1212 1215 1218 1221 1224 1227 1230 1233 1236 1239 1242 1245 1248 1251 1254 1257 1260 1263 1266 1269 1272 1275 1278 1281 1284 1287 1290 1293 1296 1299 1302 1305 1308 1311 1314 1317 1320 1323 1326 1329 1332 1335 1338 1341 1344 1347 1350 1353 1356 1359 1362 1365 1368 1371 1374 1377 1380 1383 1386 1389 1392 1395 1398 1401 1404 1407 1410 1413 1416 1419 1422 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2025 2028 2031 2034 2037 2040 2043 2046 2049 2052 2055 2058 2061 2064 2067 2070 2073 2076 2079 2082 2085 2088 2091 2094 2097 2100 2103 2106 2109 2112 2115 2118 2121 2124 2127 2130 2133 2136 2139 2142 2145 2148 2151 2154 2157 2160 2163 2166 2169 2172 2175 2178 2181 2184 2187 2190 2193 2196 2199 2202 2205 2208 2211 2214 2217 2220 2223 2226 2229 2232 2235 2238 2241 2244 2247 2250 2253 2256 2259 2262 2265 2268 2271 2274 2277 2280 2283 2286 2289 2292 2295 2298 2301 2304 2307 2310 2313 2316 2319 2322 2325 2328 2331 2334 2337 2340 2343 2346 2349 2352 2355 2358 2361 2364 2367 2370 2373 2376 2379 2382 2385 2388 2391 2394 2397 2400 2403 2406 2409 2412 2415 2418 2421 2424 2427 2430 2433 2436 2439 2442 2445 2448 2451 2454 2457 2460 2463 2466 2469 2472 2475 2478 2481 2484 2487 2490 2493 2496 2499 2502 2505 2508 2511 2514 2517 2520 2523 2526 2529 2532 2535 2538 2541 2544 2547 2550 2553 2556 2559 2562 2565 2568 2571 2574 2577 2580 2583 2586 2589 2592 2595 2598 2601 2604 2607 2610 2613 2616 2619 2622 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3225 3228 3231 3234 3237 3240 3243 3246 3249 3252 3255 3258 3261 3264 3267 3270 3273 3276 3279 3282 3285 3288 3291 3294 3297 3300 3303 3306 3309 3312 3315 3318 3321 3324 3327 3330 3333 3336 3339 3342 3345 3348 3351 3354 3357 3360 3363 3366 3369 3372 3375 3378 3381 3384 3387 3390 3393 3396 3399 3402 3405 3408 3411 3414 3417 3420 3423 3426 3429 3432 3435 3438 3441 3444 3447 3450 3453 3456 3459 3462 3465 3468 3471 3474 3477 3480 3483 3486 3489 3492 3495 3498 3501 3504 3507 3510 3513 3516 3519 3522 3525 3528 3531 3534 3537 3540 3543 3546 3549 3552 3555 3558 3561 3564 3567 3570 3573 3576 3579 3582 3585 3588 3591 3594 3597 3600 3603 3606 3609 3612 3615 3618 3621 3624 3627 3630 3633 3636 3639 3642 3645 3648 3651 3654 3657 3660 3663 3666 3669 3672 3675 3678 3681 3684 3687 3690 3693 3696 3699 3702 3705 3708 3711 3714 3717 3720 3723 3726 3729 3732 3735 3738 3741 3744 3747 3750 3753 3756 3759 3762 3765 3768 3771 3774 3777 3780 3783 3786 3789 3792 3795 3798 3801 3804 3807 3810 3813 3816 3819 3822 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4425 4428 4431 4434 4437 4440 4443 4446 4449 4452 4455 4458 4461 4464 4467 4470 4473 4476 4479 4482 4485 4488 4491 4494 4497 4500 4503 4506 4509 4512 4515 4518 4521 4524 4527 4530 4533 4536 4539 4542 4545 4548 4551 4554 4557 4560 4563 4566 4569 4572 4575 4578 4581 4584 4587 4590 4593 4596 4599 4602 4605 4608 4611 4614 4617 4620 4623 4626 4629 4632 4635 4638 4641 4644 4647 4650 4653 4656 4659 4662 4665 4668 4671 4674 4677 4680 4683 4686 4689 4692 4695 4698 4701 4704 4707 4710 4713 4716 4719 4722 4725 4728 4731 4734 4737 4740 4743 4746 4749 4752 4755 4758 4761 4764 4767 4770 4773 4776 4779 4782 4785 4788 4791 4794 4797 4800 4803 4806 4809 4812 4815 4818 4821 4824 4827 4830 4833 4836 4839 4842 4845 4848 4851 4854 4857 4860 4863 4866 4869 4872 4875 4878 4881 4884 4887 4890 4893 4896 4899 4902 4905 4908 4911 4914 4917 4920 4923 4926 4929 4932 4935 4938 4941 4944 4947 4950 4953 4956 4959 4962 4965 4968 4971 4974 4977 4980 4983 4986 4989 4992 4995 4998 5001 5004 5007 5010 5013 5016 5019 5022 5025 5028 5031 5034 5037 5040 5043 5046 5049 5052 5055 5058 5061 5064 5067 5070 5073 5076 5079 5082 5085 5088 5091 5094 5097 5100 5103 5106 5109 5112 5115 5118 5121 5124 5127 5130 5133 5136 5139 5142 5145 5148 5151 5154 5157 5160 5163 5166 5169 5172 5175 5178 5181 5184 5187 5190 5193 5196 5199 5202 5205 5208 5211 5214 5217 5220 5223 5226 5229 5232 5235 5238 5241 5244 5247 5250 5253 5256 5259 5262 5265 5268 5271 5274 5277 5280 5283 5286 5289 5292 5295 5298 5301 5304 5307 5310 5313 5316 5319 5322 5325 5328 5331 5334 5337 5340 5343 5346 5349 5352 5355 5358 5361 5364 5367 5370 5373 5376 5379 5382 5385 5388 5391 5394 5397 5400 5403 5406 5409 5412 5415 5418 5421 5424 5427 5430 5433 5436 5439 5442 5445 5448 5451 5454 5457 5460 5463 5466 5469 5472 5475 5478 5481 5484 5487 5490 5493 5496 5499 5502 5505 5508 5511 5514 5517 5520 5523 5526 5529 5532 5535 5538 5541 5544 5547 5550 5553 5556 5559 5562 5565 5568 5571 5574 5577 5580 5583 5586 5589 5592 5595 5598 5601 5604 5607 5610 5613 5616 5619 5622 5625 5628 5631 5634 5637 5640 5643 5646 5649 5652 5655 5658 5661 5664 5667 5670 5673 5676 5679 5682 5685 5688 5691 5694 5697 5700 5703 5706 5709 5712 5715 5718 5721 5724 5727 5730 5733 5736 5739 5742 5745 5748 5751 5754 5757 5760 5763 5766 5769 5772 5775 5778 5781 5784 5787 5790 5793 5796 5799 5802 5805 5808 5811 5814 5817 5820 5823 5826 5829 5832 5835 5838 5841 5844 5847 5850 5853 5856 5859 5862 5865 5868 5871 5874 5877 5880 5883 5886 5889 5892 5895 5898 5901 5904 5907 5910 5913 5916 5919 5922 5925 5928 5931 5934 5937 5940 5943 5946 5949 5952 5955 5958 5961 5964 5967 5970 5973 5976 5979 5982 5985 5988 5991 5994 5997 6000 6003 6006 6009 6012 6015 6018 6021 6024 6027 6030 6033 6036 6039 6042 6045 6048 6051 6054 6057 6060 6063 6066 6069 6072 6075 6078 6081 6084 6087 6090 6093 6096 6099 6102 6105 6108 6111 6114 6117 6120 6123 6126 6129 6132 6135 6138 6141 6144 6147 6150 6153 6156 6159 6162 6165 6168 6171 6174 6177 6180 6183 6186 6189 6192 6195 6198 6201 6204 6207 6210 6213 6216 6219 6222 6225 6228 6231 6234 6237 6240 6243 6246 6249 6252 6255 6258 6261 6264 6267 6270 6273 6276 6279 6282 6285 6288 6291 6294 6297 6300 6303 6306 6309 6312 6315 6318 6321 6324 6327 6330 6333 6336 6339 6342 6345 6348 6351 6354 6357 6360 6363 6366 6369 6372 6375 6378 6381 6384 6387 6390 6393 6396 6399 6402 6405 6408 6411 6414 6417 6420 6423 6426 6429 6432 6435 6438 6441 6444 6447 6450 6453 6456 6459 6462 6465 6468 6471 6474 6477 6480 6483 6486 6489 6492 6495 6498 6501 6504 6507 6510 6513 6516 6519 6522 6525 6528 6531 6534 6537 6540 6543 6546 6549 6552 6555 6558 6561 6564 6567 6570 6573 6576 6579 6582 6585 6588 6591 6594 6597 6600 6603 6606 6609 6612 6615 6618 6621 6624 6627 6630 6633 6636 6639 6642 6645 6648 6651 6654 6657 6660 6663 6666 6669 6672 6675 6678 6681 6684 6687 6690 6693 6696 6699 6702 6705 6708 6711 6714 6717 6720 6723 6726 6729 6732 6735 6738 6741 6744 6747 6750 6753 6756 6759 6762 6765 6768 6771 6774 6777 6780 6783 6786 6789 6792 6795 6798 6801 6804 6807 6810 6813 6816 6819 6822 6825 6828 6831 6834 6837 6840 6843 6846 6849 6852 6855 6858 6861 6864 6867 6870 6873 6876 6879 6882 6885 6888 6891 6894 6897 6900 6903 6906 6909 6912 6915 6918 6921 6924 6927 6930 6933 6936 6939 6942 6945 6948 6951 6954 6957 6960 6963 6966 6969 6972 6975 6978 6981 6984 6987 6990 6993 6996 6999 7002 7005 7008 7011 7014 7017 7020 7023 7026 7029 7032 7035 7038 7041 7044 7047 7050 7053 7056 7059 7062 7065 7068 7071 7074 7077 7080 7083 7086 7089 7092 7095 7098 7101 7104 7107 7110 7113 7116 7119 7122 7125 7128 7131 7134 7137 7140 7143 7146 7149 7152 7155 7158 7161 7164 7167 7170 7173 7176 7179 7182 7185 7188 7191 7194 7197 7200 7203 7206 7209 7212 7215 7218 7221 7224 7227 7230 7233 7236 7239 7242 7245 7248 7251 7254 7257 7260 7263 7266 7269 7272 7275 7278 7281 7284 7287 7290 7293 7296 7299 7302 7305 7308 7311 7314 7317 7320 7323 7326 7329 7332 7335 7338 7341 7344 7347 7350 7353 7356 7359 7362 7365 7368 7371 7374 7377 7380 7383 7386 7389 7392 7395 7398 7401 7404 7407 7410 7413 7416 7419 7422 7425 7428 7431 7434 7437 7440 7443 7446 7449 7452 7455 7458 7461 7464 7467 7470 7473 7476 7479 7482 7485 7488 7491 7494 7497 7500 7503 7506 7509 7512 7515 7518 7521 7524 7527 7530 7533 7536 7539 7542 7545 7548 7551

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे
इमानि पि
- 2 जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथा सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे
3 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
4 गंगापुपुठके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे
5 पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति
6 (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके
च कानि
- 7 आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो शपयितविये (F)
दावे अनठाये व
- 8 विहिसाये व नो शपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु
चातुंमासीसु तिसियं
- 9 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
मछे अवध्ये
- 10 नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि
अंनानि पि
- 11 जीवनिक्कायानि नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनळसाये
तिसाये पुनावसुने
- 12 तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिक्साये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए
वा पि अंने
- 13 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासि-
पखाये अस्वस गोनस
- 14 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये
पंनवीसति
- 15 बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitasa me
imāni pi
- 2 jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse
3 naṇḍīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka āmbā-kapilika duḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
4 Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake
okapimḍe

¹ duḍi Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in *JRAS*, 1911. 1087.

- 5 palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati
- 6 (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni
- 7 āsammasike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anathāye va
- 8 vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu chātummāsīsu tisiyam
- 9 punnamāsīyam timni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ¹ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṃ machhe avadhye
- 10 no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi
- 11 jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṃnaḷasāye² tisāye punāvasune
- 12 tisu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake³ sūkale e vā pi amne
- 13 nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
- 14 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye paṃnavīsati
- 15 baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाळसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित
- 2 लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु
- 3 किमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिक्कायेसु पटिवेखामि
- 4 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvā[la]s[a-va]sābhisitena⁴ me dhamma-lipi likhāpita
- 2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭa taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lokasa
- 3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi athā iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu
- 4 kiṃmaṃ kāni sukhaṃ āvahāmī ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi
- 5 (E) sava-pāsaṃḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ atana pachūpa-gamane
- 6 se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvisati-va[s]ābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

¹ paṃnaḍasaṃ Bühler.

⁴ duvāḍasa- Bühler.

² paṃnaḍasāye Bühler.

³ eḍake Bühler.

V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

A.—North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेव आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते
- 2 दुसंपटिपादये अन्नत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन
- 3 (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च
- 4 गेवया च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि
- 5 या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva¹ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate
- 2 dusam̐paṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena
- 3 (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
- 4 gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṇṭa-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
- 5 yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dha[m]m[e]na sukhīyana dhammena goti ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे
- 2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
- 3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyāṃ chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāṇe daya dāṇe sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāṇe pi me

- 2 bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) amṇāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni
- 3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampāṭipajisati se sukaṭam kachhatī ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
- 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निठूलिये
- 3 कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हित्तिकाये इयंमन मे पालत्तिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) kayānaṁmeva dekhamti iyaṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ dekhamti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti
- 2 iyaṁ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye
- 3 kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṁ mā palibhasayisaṁ (G) esa bāḍhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye ti

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FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
- 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहले व दंडे व अतपत्तिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथे अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
- 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिततं च पालतं च
- 4 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुल्लिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक
- 5 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति हेवं मम लजूक कट
- 6 जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपत्तिये कटे
- 7 (K) इद्धितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं

- 8 तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये
तानं नासंतं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कञ्चंति
- 9 (N) इछा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस
च वढति विविधे धम्मचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu
- 2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale¹ va daṃḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka
asvatha abhita kammāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
- 3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukkhīyanaṃ jānisamti
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha
pālatam cha
- 4 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me
chhamdamnāni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam
lajūka
- 5 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi² pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti
viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palihāṭave ti hevaṃ mama lajūka
kaṭa
- 6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhita asvathā samtam avimana kammāni
pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam abhihale va daṃḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe
- 7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa ki[m]ti² viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṃḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā
ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānam munisānam tilita-daṃḍānam
pata-vadhānam
- 8 timni divasāni me [y]ote dimne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisamti jivitāye tānam
nāsamtam va nijhapayitave dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavāsam va kachhamti
- 9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT : RAMPURVA

B.—South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इमानि
पि जातानि अवधानि कटानि सेयथ
- 2 सुके सालिक अलुने चक्वाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि
अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
- 3 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते
सेतकपोते
- 4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि
एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व

¹ Read *abhihale*.² *kiti* Bühler.

- 5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये
(E) तुसे सजीवे नो रूपयितविये
- 6 (F) दावे अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो रूपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो
पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं
- 7 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं मछे अवध्ये नो
पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अनानि पि जीवनिकायानि नो
हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये
- 9 पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये
अजके एळके सूकले
- 10 ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये
चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये
पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-[va]sābhisitena me
imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha
- 2 suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka ambā-kapilika duḷi
anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
- 3 Gaṃgā-puṇṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake
okaṇḍe palasate seta-kapote
- 4 gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati (C) ajakā nāni
eḷakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va
- 5 pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukute no kaṭaviye
(E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye
- 6 (F) dāve anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye
(H) tisu chātumma[s]isu tisyaṃ puṇnamāsiyaṃ
- 7 tiṃni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṃ
machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva
- 8 divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtavīyāni
(J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye
- 9 paṃnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tisu chātummasīsu sudivasāye gone no
nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake sūkale
- 10 e vā pi amne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummasīye
chātummasi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
- 11 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me etāye aṃtalikāye
paṃnavisati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किंमं कानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं
- 4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvāḍasa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭa
- 2 taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lok[a]sa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsānnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu kiṃmaṃ kāni
- 3 sukhāṃ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-n[i]kāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsāṃḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ
- 4 atana pachūpagamane se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvīsati[i]-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

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VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये
- 2 अनंत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 3 धंमापेखा धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढिता वढिसति चेवा (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया च मभिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च
- 4 अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयना धंमेन गुति ति च

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusampaṭipāda[y]e
- 2 aṇnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāyā agena bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

- 3 dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati ch[e]vā (E) pulisā
pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyānti sampatipādayānti cha
4 alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) herimeva¹ amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
yā [i]yam dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyānā
dhammena [gut]i [ti² cha]³

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे
2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ
पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलठितीका
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कछती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne
pi me
2 bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu⁴ pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe
kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni⁵ kayānāni kaṭāni
3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chila-
ṭhitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampatipajisati se sukaṭam kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने
कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापकं देखति इयं मे पापके कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
नामा ति

.....

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānameva dekhati iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpakam dekhati iyaṃ me pāpake kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā
āsinave nāmā ti

.....

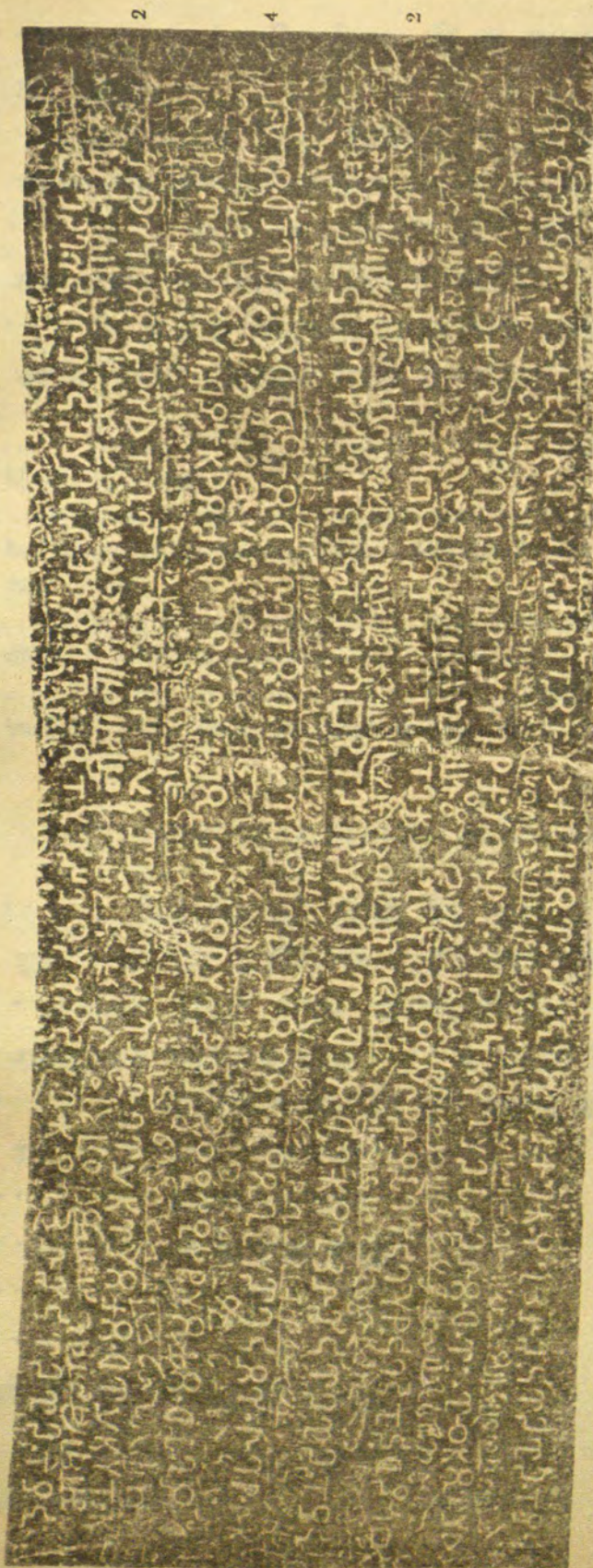
¹ hemeva Bühler.

² As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13. 310, note), the vowel *i* is attached before, not after the *t*.

³ chu Bühler.

⁴ The apparent Anusvāra after *da* of *dupada-* is probably accidental.

⁵ bahuni Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FIFTH

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 कानं अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि
एस किंति
- 2 लसमता च सिया दंडसमता च (L) आव इते पि च मे आवुति
बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि योते दिंने
- 3 (M) का व कानि निहपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निहपयिता
दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं वा कच्छंति
- 4 (N) हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवु (O) जनस च
वढति विविधे धम्मचलने सयमे दानसविभागे

- 1 [kānaṃ abhihāle vā daṇḍe vā ata-pa]t[i]y[e kaṭe] (K) [i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e]
h[i] e]s[a] k[i]m]t[i]¹
- 2 la-sama[t]ā cha² siyā da[m]ḍa-samatā cha (L) āva³ ite pi cha me āvuti
baṇḍhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tilīta-daṇḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ tiṇṇi divasāni
yote diṇṇe
- 3 (M) [k]ā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti jīvītāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ vā nijhapayitā dānaṃ
dāhaṃti pālatikaṃ upavāsaṃ vā [ka]chha[m]ti
- 4 (N) [h]i me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālatiṃ ālādhayev[u] (O) janasa cha
vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) पिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे
इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके
- 2 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूका अंबाकिपिलिका दुडी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफट के पंससे सिमले संड ..
- 3 तकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो
ना पायमी ..
- 4 सजीवे नो भाप
5 नि चावुदसं पंचद
6 नि
7
8 लखने नो कटविये (L) या

¹ Bühler omitted this line.² chā Bühler.³ ava Bühler.

- 1 (A) [p]iye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālikā alune chaka[v]āke
2 [naṃdī]m[u]khe gelāṭe jatūk[ā]¹ ambā-kipilikā duḍi² anathika-machhe³
vedaveyake Gaṃgā-p[u]p[u]take saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa k[e] p[a]ṃna-
sase simale saṃḍa ...
3 [ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭ[i]bhogaṃ [no]
..... nā [p]ā[ya]mī ...
4 sajīve no jhā[pa]
5 [n]i chā[v]u[da]saṃ [pa]ṃcha[da]
6 [n]i
7
8 [lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye] (L) [y]ā

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

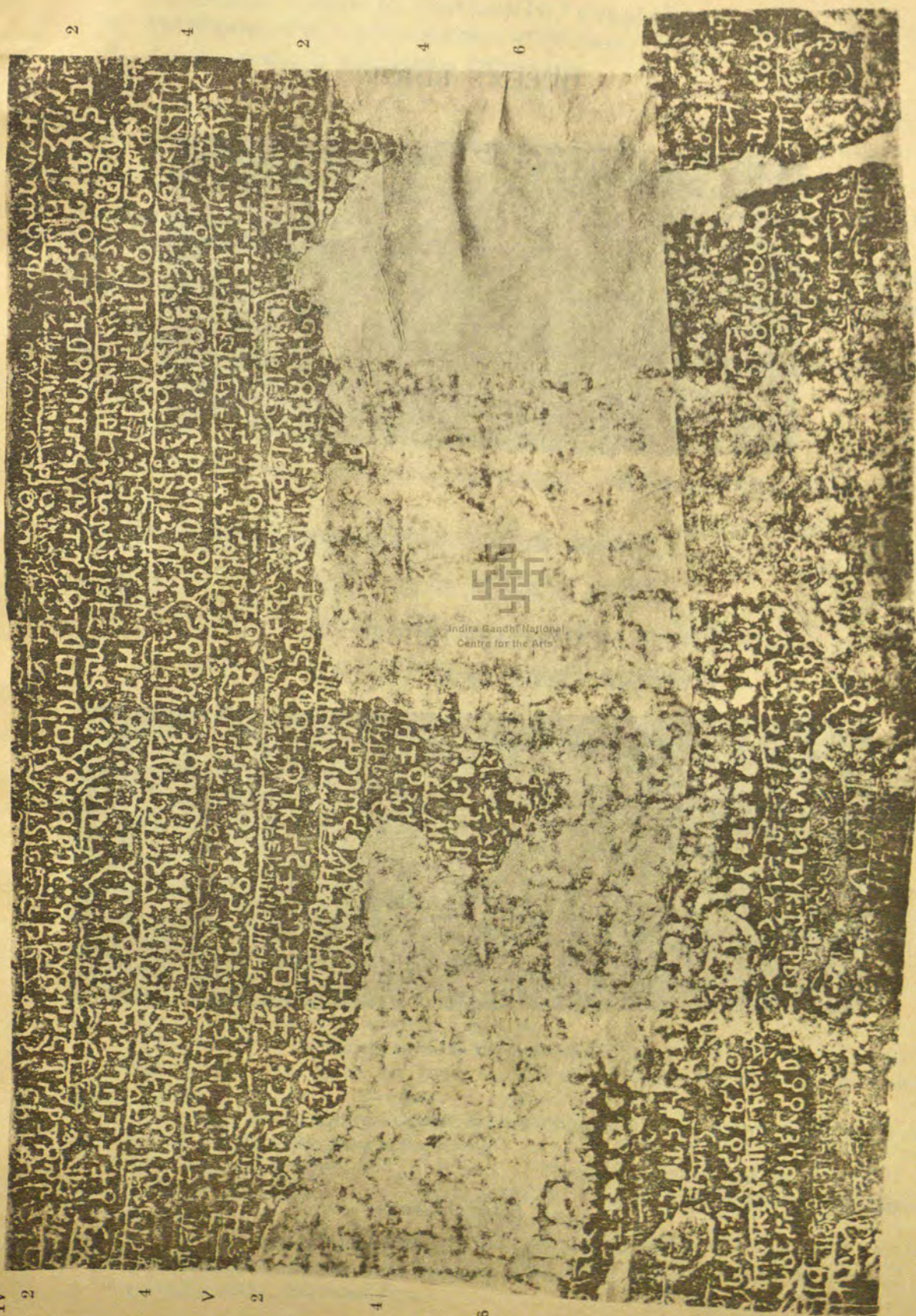
- 1 (A) पिये पियदसी ला तं दि पा
(C) हेवं लोकस
2 हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं वं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु
किमं कानि विदहामि (D) हेवंमेव सव .. कायेसु
पटिवेखामि
3 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचुपगमने
से मे मुख्यमुते (G) लिपी लिखापिता ति

- 1 (A) [p]iye [P]iyada[s]ī l[ā] t[am] [dh]i [pā]
(C) heva[m lokasa]
2 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha [iya]m [va]m [paty]āsa[m]ne[su heva]m
apaka[th]e[su] kimam [k]ā[ni] [v]i[dah]āmi (D) hevaṃmeva [sa]va
.. [k]āyesu paṭivekhāmi
3 (E) [sa]va-pāsaṃḍā pi me pūjītā vividhāya [pū]jāyā (F) e chu iy[a]m atana
pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute (G) lipī⁴ likhāpitā ti

B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपियषा वचनेना सवत महमता
2 वतविया (B) ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने
3 अंबावडिका वा आलमे व दानगहे व ए वा पि अंने
4 कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये षे नानि (C) हेवं .. न ..
5 दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवलमातु कालुवाकिये

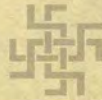
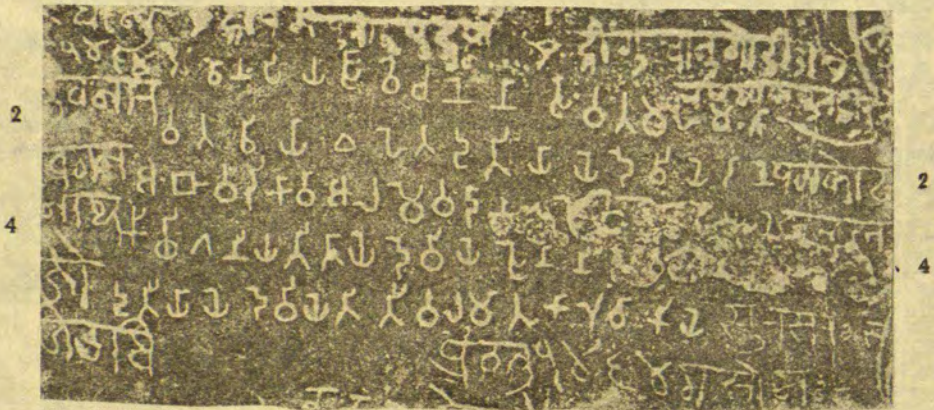
¹ jatūke Bühler.² daḍi Bühler.³ anathika- Bühler.⁴ lipi Bühler.



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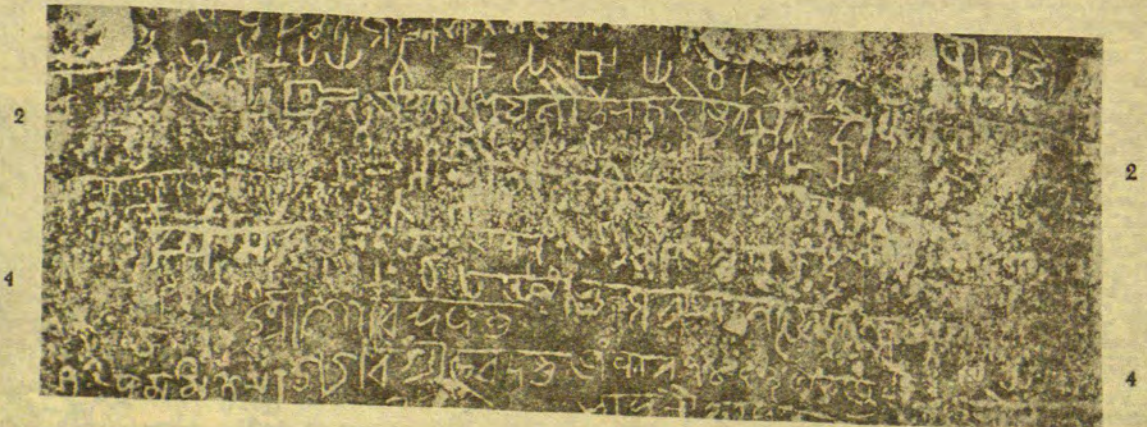
SCALE ONE-FIFTH

QUEEN'S EDICT



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KAUSAMBI EDICT



- 1 (A) Devānāmpiyashā v[a]chanenā savata mahamatā¹
- 2 vataviyā (B) e hetā² dutiyāye deviye dāne
- 3 ambā-vaḍikā vā ālame va dāna-[gah]e [va³ e vā pi a]mne
- 4 kīchhi ganīyati tāye deviye she nāni (C) [he]vaṁ . . [na] . .⁴
- 5 dutiyāye deviye ti Tivala-mātu Kāluvākiye

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Dēvānāmpriya, the Mahāmātras everywhere have to be told (this).

(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango-groves,⁵ or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these⁶ (shall) be registered⁷ (in the name) of that queen.

(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of Tivala,⁸ the Kāluvāki.⁹

C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये आनपयति (B) कोसंबियं महामात
- 2 समगे कटे (D) संघसि नो लहिये
- 3 संघं भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा से पि चा
- 4 ओदातानि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावससि आवासयिये

- 1 (A) [Devānam*[p]iye ānapayati (B) Kosāmbiyam¹⁰ mahām[ā]ta¹¹
- 2 [sa]ma[ge ka]t[e] (D) sa[m]gh[a]si no¹² l[a]hiye¹³
- 3 [sa]mgham bhā[khati¹⁴ bhikh[u] v[ā]¹⁵ bhikh[u]ni¹⁶ vā [se pi] chā¹⁷
- 4 [o*]dāt[ā]ni¹⁸ dusāni [sa]naṁdhāpayitu a[nāvā]sas[i]¹⁹ āv[ā]sayiy[e]²⁰

¹ mahāmatā Senart and Bühler.

² hetā Senart and Bühler.

³ vā Bühler.

⁴ Restore perhaps *vinati* (= Skt. *viñāpti*); see JRAS, 1911. 1113.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 134, n. 13.

⁶ For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 127, n. 10.

⁷ With *ganīyati* cf. *gaṇana* or *gaṇanā* in the rock-edict III, E.

⁸ Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that Tivara occurs (a thousand years after Aśoka) as the name of a king of Kōśala; see Fleet's *Gupta Insers.*, p. 293, and EI, 7. 103.

⁹ As stated by Bühler (IA, 19. 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may be connected with the Vedic *gōtra* of the Kārus.

¹⁰ *biya* Bühler and Boyer.

¹¹ *mahamāta* Bühler and Boyer.

¹² *na* Bühler and Boyer.

¹³ *chi ye* Bühler.

¹⁴ *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

¹⁵ *va* Bühler.

¹⁶ *bhi[khu]ni* Bühler.

¹⁷ [pa]chā Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add *o* at the end of the line.

¹⁸ The syllable *dā* is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 125.

¹⁹ *āna[pe]sa* Bühler, *ānāvasasi* Boyer.

²⁰ *avā* Boyer.

TRANSLATION

(A) [Dēvānām]priya commands (thus).

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī¹

(C) is made united.²

(D) should not be received³ into the *Samgha*.

(E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the *Samgha*,⁴ should be caused to put on white robes⁵ and to reside⁶ in a non-residence.⁷

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

1

2 .. या भेत्त .. (C) .. घे .. मगे कटे

3 भिखूनं च भिखुनीनं चा ति पुतप-

4 पोतिके चंदमसूरियिके (D) ये संघं

5 भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-

6 नि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावा-

7 ससि वासापेतविये (E) इच्छा हि मे कि-

8 ति संघे समगे चिलयितीके सिया ति

1

2 .. [y]ā⁸ bhe[ta] . . .⁹ (C) . . [gh]e¹⁰ mage¹¹ kaṭe

3 [bhi*]khūna[m] cha¹² bhi[khun]īna[m] ch[ā]¹³ ti [p]uta-pa-

¹ This ancient city (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kōsam; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 2, and EI, II. 141.

² Cf. the Sāmchi pillar, C.

³ *lahiye* may be derived from the root *labh*; cf. the gerundive *āvāsaiye* in l. 4 of this inscription, and in l. 5 of the Sārnāth pillar. Boyer (JA (10), 10. 121) connects *lahiye* with the root *rah*.

⁴ Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) has identified *bhākhati* with Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*.

⁵ Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōsha's *Samantapāsādikā*, in which Aśoka is stated to have given white robes (*setakāni vatthāni*) to the heretical monks whom he expelled; see *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, vol. III, p. 312, with which Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (4th ed., 2. 139) agrees, and cf. *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 53, and *Mahāvamsa*, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.

⁶ *āvāsaiye* is a gerundive formed from the causative *āvāsaya*, and corresponds to Skt. *āvāśya*. Senart (CR, 1907. 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.

⁷ i.e. a residence unfit for members of the *Samgha*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) quoted Buddhaghōsha's explanation of the term *anāvāsa*; see SBE, 17. 388, n. 1.

⁸ *y[am]* Bühler.

⁹ *bhe[da]* Boyer. Restore perhaps *bhetave*, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 3.

¹⁰ The syllable *ghe* is almost certain; restore *saṃghe*.

¹¹ Restore *samage*, as in l. 8.

¹² *[vā]* Bühler.

¹³ *[vā]* Bühler, *cha* Boyer.

SAMCHI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



SCALE ONE-THIRD

- 4 [po*]tike chaṁ[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke¹ (D) ye saṁghaṁ
 5 bh[ā]khati² bhikhu³ vā bhikhuni vā odātā-
 6 ni dus[ān]i sanāṁ[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]-
 7 sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e] (E) ichhā hi me kiṁ-
 8 ti saṁghe samage⁴ chila-thitike siyā ti

TRANSLATION

(A)

(B) [cannot] be divided.⁵

(C) The *Samgha* both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine).⁶

(D) The monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.⁷

(E) For my desire is that the *Samgha* may be united⁸ (and) of long duration.

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

1 (A) देवा

2 ए ल

3 पाट ये केनपि संघे भेतवे (D) ए चूं खो

4 भिखू वा भिखुनि वा संघं भाखति से ओदातानि दुसानि संनंधापयिया
 आनावाससि

5 आवासयिये (E) हेवं इयं सासने भिखुसंघसि च भिखुनिसंघसि च विन-
 पयितविये

6 (F) हेवं देवानंपिये आहा (G) हेदिता च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवाति
 संसलनसि निखिता

7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ (H) ते पि च उपासका
 अनुपोसथं यावु

8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे अनुपोसथं च धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसथाये

¹ See JRAS, 1911. 167 f.

² *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

³ *bhikhū* Boyer.

⁴ *saṁghasa mage* Bühler and Boyer; see JRAS, 1911. 168.

⁵ Cf. the Sarnāth pillar, C.

⁶ Cf. *putā-papotike chaṁdama-suliyike hotu ti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 31. Other instances of the Prākṛit affix *-ika* are *vadhanike* and *vejayike* in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Koṇḍamudi plates. See EI, I. 6, text l. 9; 6. 87, text l. 5 f.; 6. 317, text, l. 8 f.

⁷ With this section cf. above, p. 160, n. 4, 5, 7.

⁸ Cf. *saṁaggo hi saṁgho phāsu viharati* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *sukhā saṁghassa sāmaggī samaggānaṁ tapo sukho* in the *Dhammapada*, verse 194; *saṁgho samaggo hutvāna taddkāsi uposathaṁ* in the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 274.

- 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च (I) आवते च तुफाकं
आहाले
- 10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेसु कोटविषवेसु एतेन
- 11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा
- 1 (A) Devā¹
- 2 e l
- 3 Pāṭa² ye³ kenapi saṅghe bhetave (D) e chum kho
- 4 [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṅghaṁ bh[ākha]t[i]⁴ s[e] odātāni duṣ[ān]i
[sa]ṁnamdhāpayiyā ānāvāsasi⁵
- 5 āvāsaiye (E) hevaṁ iyaṁ sāsane bhikhu-saṅghasi cha bhikhuni-saṅghasi cha
viṁnapayitaviye
- 6 (F) hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye āhā (G) hedisā cha ikā lipī tuphākamtikaṁ huvāti
saṁsalanasi nikhitā
- 7 ikāṁ cha lipiṁ hedisameva upāsakānamtikaṁ nikhipātha (H) te pi cha upāsakā
anuposathaṁ yāvu
- 8 etameva sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave anuposathaṁ cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte
posathāye
- 9 yāti etameva sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave ājānitave cha (I) āvate cha tupaḥkaṁ
āhāle
- 10 savata vivāsaiyātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena (J) hemeva savesu koṭa-vishavesu⁶
etena
- 11 viyaṁjanena vivāsāpayāthā

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TRANSLATION

- (A) Dēvā[nāmpriya]
- (B) Pāṭa[liputra]⁷
- (C) the *Samgha* [cannot] be divided by any one.⁸
- (D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, should be
caused to put on⁹ white robes and to reside¹⁰ in a non-residence.¹¹

¹ These are the two first syllables of the title *Devānaṁpiya*.

² These are probably the two first syllables of the name *Pāṭaliputa*.

³ Boyer ingeniously restores *na sakiye*.

⁴ The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read *bhikhati*, and Boyer *bhokhati*.

⁵ The Sāmchī and Kausāmbī edicts read *anāvāsasi*.

⁶ Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from *sa*, and is probably meant for *sha*.

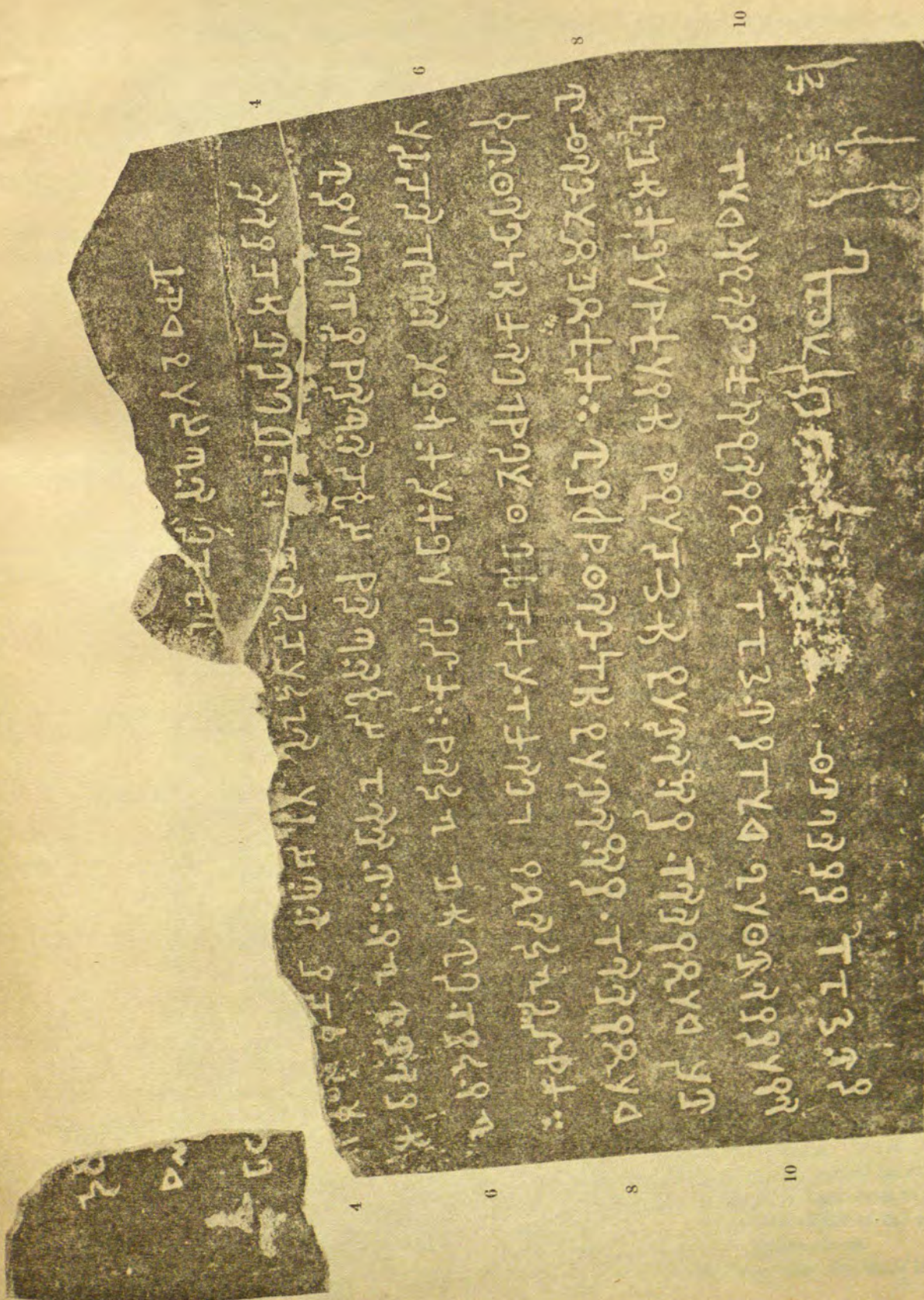
⁷ This is the ancient name of the city of Paṭnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśoka. It is mentioned also in the Girnār edict V, M. The Sāmāth edict was probably addressed by the king to the *Mahāmātras* at Pāṭaliputra, as the Kausāmbī edict to the *Mahāmātras* at Kausāmbī.

⁸ With *saṅghe bhetave* cf. *saṅghaṁ bhindati*, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *bhindati*; *saṅghaṁ bhinditvā* in the *Jātaka*, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6; *saṁgassa saṁghassa bhedāya* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876, 75, § 10; *Buddha-vachanaṁ bhindimsu* in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, VII, 54.

⁹ [sa]ṁnamdhāpayiyā, instead of which the Sāmchī and Kausāmbī edicts read *saṁnamdhāpayitu*, corresponds to Skt. *saṁnāhya*; cf. Senart, CR, 1907, 28.

¹⁰ For *āvāsaiye* see above, p. 160, n. 6.

¹¹ See above, p. 160, n. 7.



SCALE ONE-THIRD

(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the *Samgha* of monks and to the *Samgha* of nuns.

(F) Thus speaks *Dēvānāmpriya*:

(G) Let one copy of this (edict)¹ remain² with you³ deposited⁴ in (your) office;⁵ and⁶ deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

(H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (*posatha*)⁷ in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict;⁸ and invariably on every fast-day,⁹ every *Mahāmātra* (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it).¹⁰

(I) And as far as your district¹¹ (extends), dispatch ye (an officer)¹² everywhere according to the letter of this (edict).¹³

¹ Literally: 'one writing of this description.'

² Senart (CR, 1907. 30) explains *huvāti* as a subjunctive.

³ As remarked by Vogel (EI, 8. 170), *tuphākāntikām* stands for *tuphākām antikām*, and *upāsakānantikām* in l. 7 for *upāsakānām antikām*. Cf. E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 64, and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 71.

⁴ Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *ni-kship* by 'inscribing'. Cf. the *Raghuvaṃśa*, VII, 65, where Mallinātha explains *nikshēpita* by *lēkhita*, and *nikkhitta-vannaṃ* in the *Śākuntala*, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word *nikhitā* is placed after *saṃsalanasi*, and *nikhipātha* in the next sentence after *upāsakānantikām*, it is more natural to take *ni-kship* in the sense of 'depositing'.

⁵ Senart (CR, 1907. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering *saṃsalana* (= Skt. *saṃsarana*) the designation of some locality. Venis (JPASB, 3. 4) translated it by 'place of assembly'.

⁶ As remarked by Senart (CR, 1907. 30), the double *cha* in *hedisā cha ikā lipi* and *ikām cha lipiṃ hedisameva* co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the *cha* after *te pi* corresponds to the *cha* after *anuposathaṃ* in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

⁷ In the form *posatha*, which occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ZDMG, 48. 63), the initial *u* of Skt. *upavasatha* has been dropped. Cf. *posaha* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 141, and the artificial form *pōshadha* (Böhtlingk's two dictionaries, s. v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

⁸ With *visvaṃsayitave* cf. *asvāsa[n]iyā* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, section J.

⁹ Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

¹⁰ Sections E to H do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sārnāth and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the *Mahāmātras* and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the *Mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pāṭaliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

¹¹ Kern pointed out that *āhāla* (spelt *ahāla* at Rūpnāth) corresponds to the well-known territorial term *āhāra*, 'a district'; see EI, 8. 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words *tuphākām āhāle* are contrasted with *saveṣu koṭa-vishavesu* in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word *āhāra*, 'a district', occurs, see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, 10. Appendix), p. 214, s. v.

¹² As Thomas states (JA (10), 15. 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of *vivasati* is *vippavasati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. The verb *vivāsayaṭi* (*vivaseti* in the Rūpnāth edict, l. 5) is the causative, and *vivāsāpayati* in section J a double causative, of *vivasati*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *vivāsayaṭi* by 'making known'; but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAS, 1915. 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from *vivasetaviye* at Rūpnāth. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhauḷi, Z-CC; Jaugaḍa, AA-DD), viz. *mahāmātram*.

¹³ Literally: 'by this letter'. The word *vyāñjana* is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of

(J) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts:¹

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिस्सितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्कमुनी ति
- 3 (B) सिला विगडभी चा कालापित सिलायभे च उसपापिते
- 4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुमिनिगामे उबलिके कटे
- 5 अठभागिये च
- 1 (A) Devāna[pi]yena Piyadasina lājina visati-vasābhisitena
- 2 atana āgācha mahīyite hida Budhe jāte Sakyamunī ti
- 3 (B) silā viḡaḍabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite
- 4 hida Bhagavaṃ jāte ti (C) Lurhmini-gāme ubalike kaṭe
- 5 aṭha-bhāgiye cha

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here.²

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(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?)³ and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.⁴

'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (*attha*); see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *vyañjanam*. In the rock-edict III, E, it is coupled with *hetu*, 'reason'. A number of Pāli sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Neumann (ZDMG, 67. 345 f.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907. 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i. e. he takes the instrumentals *etena viyañjanena* in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 59.

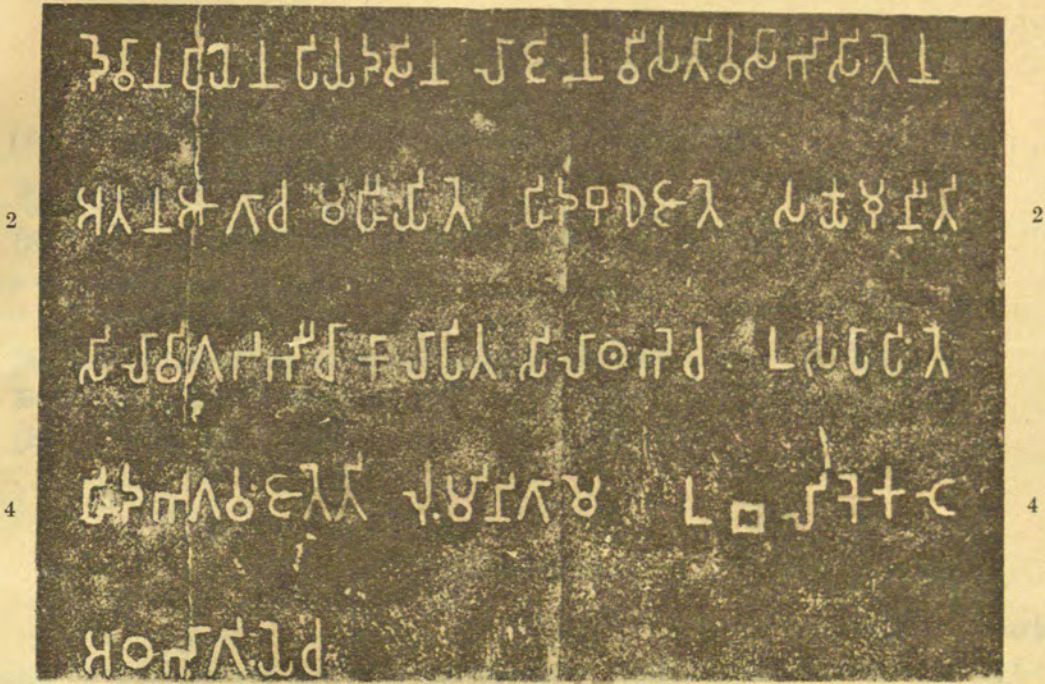
¹ This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāi) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forests' mentioned in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict XIII, M.

² In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1876. 241), the Buddha himself is reported to have said: 'āgamissanti kho Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu-bhikkhuniyo upāsaka-upāsikāyo idha Tathāgato jāto ti.' In accordance with this quotation I connect the words from *hida* to *ti* with section A, while Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 486) joined them to B.

³ This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word *viḡaḍabhī*; see IA, 43. 19 f. The syllable *-bhī* might certainly represent Skt. *-bhṛit*; but, that *viḡaḍa* means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 20. 366, n. 14) and Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 477, 823) joined *bhīchā* into one word, and explained it by Skt. **bhittikā*, 'a wall'. As, according to Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 49, 219, *viḡaḍa* is an Ardhamāgadhi form of Skt. *vikṛita*, *silā-viḡaḍa bhīchā* might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43. 17) remarks, the change of **bhittikā* to *bhīchā* 'is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prākṛit dialects.'

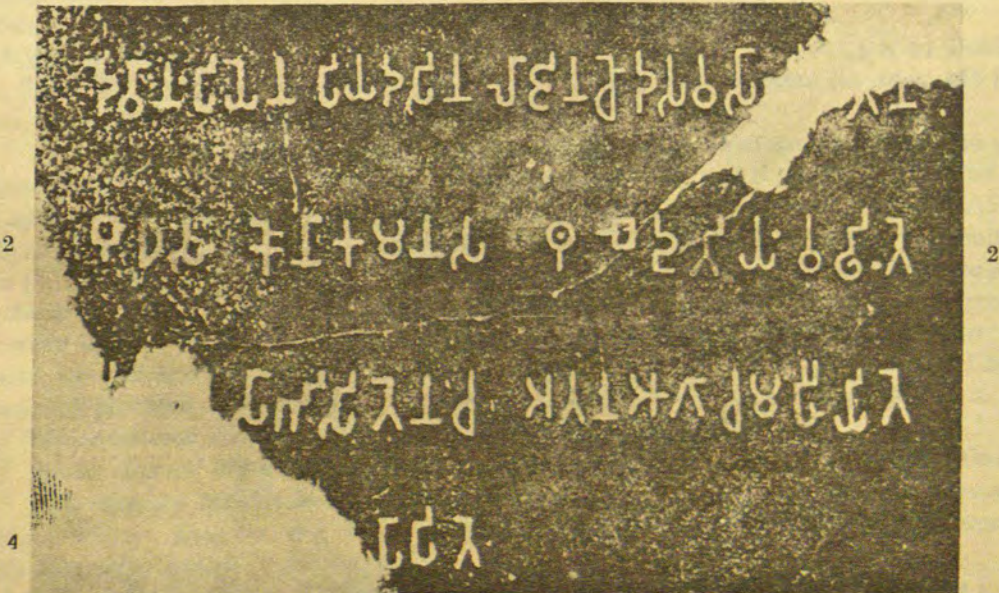
⁴ With the words *hida Bhagavaṃ jāte* cf. *Divyavadāna*, p. 389: 'asmin mahārāja pradēśe Bhagavaṃ jātaḥ.'

RUMMINDEI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



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NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



C' (He) made the village of **Luhmini**¹ free of taxes,² and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).³

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

1 (A) देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन

2 बुधस कोनाकमनस शुबे दुत्तियं वढिते

3 (B) साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते

4 पापिते

1 (A) Devānāmpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bh]i[si]t[e]n[a]

2 Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyam vaḍhite

3 (B) sābhisitena⁴ cha atana āgācha mahīyite

4 pāpite⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed **fourteen** years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the **Buddha Kōnākamana**⁶ to the double (of its original size).⁷

(B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

¹ In the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54), the site of the Buddha's birth is called Lumbini-vana. For other forms of the name see Charpentier in IA, 43. 18. The word *Lummini* survives in the modern designation Rummindēi; see V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1.

² For *ubalika* = Skt. **udbalika* see Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73, n. 2; Bühler, EI, 5. 5; Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 478 f.; Sir Charles Lyall, id. 850 f.; and Thomas (id. 1909. 466 f.), who quotes the similar term *uchchhulka* from the *Kaṭṭhiya*.

³ The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 390) reports that Aśoka spent at Lumbini-vana 100,000 (gold pieces). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Bühler (EI, 5. 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68. 721 f.) took *aṭha* = Skt. *artha* and translated *aṭha-bhāgiya* by 'partaking of riches'. Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 479 f.) explained *aṭha-bhāga* by Skt. *aṣṭa-bhāga*, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the *Kaṭṭhiya* (p. 116, l. 2 from bottom) *chaturtha-pañcha-bhāgiya* is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce)'. I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 391 f.) in believing that *-bhāgiya* must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleet thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of *Luhmini*, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix *-iya* (= Skt. *-ika*) see above, p. 124, n. 4.

⁴ Bühler restored *visati-vasābhisitena*, as on the Rummindēi pillar, l. 1.

⁵ Bühler restored *silā-thabhe cha usapāpita* on the strength of l. 3 of the same inscription.

⁶ This mythical Buddha is called *Kōṇāgamana* by the Southern Buddhists (*Konāgamana* at Bharaut; IA, 21. 229, No. 30), and *Kanakamuni* or *Kōnākamuni* by the Northern ones; see Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64.

⁷ With *dutiyam vaḍhite* cf. *diyaḍhiyam vaḍhisati* (or *vaḍhisiti*) at Sahasrām, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered *dutiyam* by 'for the second time'.

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) सातिरकेकानि अढतियानि व य सुमि प्रकास
सके (C) नो चु बाढि पकते (D) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं
सघ उपेते
- 2 बाढि च पकते (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते
दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकमसि हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महतता
पापोतवे खुदकेन
- 3 पि पकममिनेना सकिये पिपुले पा स्वगे आरोधेवे (H) एतिय अठाय च
सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति अता पि च जानंतु इय
पकरा व
- 4 किति चिरठितिके सिया (I) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति
अपलधियेना दियढिय वढिसत (J) इय च अठे पवतिसु लेखापेत वालत
(K) हध च अथि
- 5 सालाठभे सिलाठभसि लाखापेतवय त (L) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक
तुपक अहाले सवर विवसेतवाय ति (M) व्युठेना सावने कटे (N) २००
५० ँ स-
- 6 त विवासा त

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye heva[m] āhā (B) sāti[ra]kekāni¹ aḍhati[y]āni va² ya sumi
prakāsa [Sa]k[e]³ (C) no chu bāḍhi pakate (D) sātīleke chu chhavachhare⁴
ya sumi haka[m] sagh[a] up[e]te
- 2 bāḍhi ch[a]⁵ pakate (E) yā⁶ [i]māya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni
m[i]s[ā] kaṭā (F) pakamasi⁷ hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha esā mahatātā p[ā]potave
khudakena⁸

¹ sāti[lē]kāni Senart and Bühler ; read sātīrekāni.

² This seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*, which is the reading of the Bairāt, Brahmagiri, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions.

³ The first *akshara* of *prakāsa* looks like *pā* ; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read *pākā* (which he considered a mistake for *hakā*, i. e. *hakam*) [sava]ke. The reading [Sa]k[e] was suggested to me by the new Maski rock-inscription, which reads Bu[dha]-Śake.

⁴ As the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for *savachhare* ; see IA, 37. 23, and JRAS, 1910. 145 f.

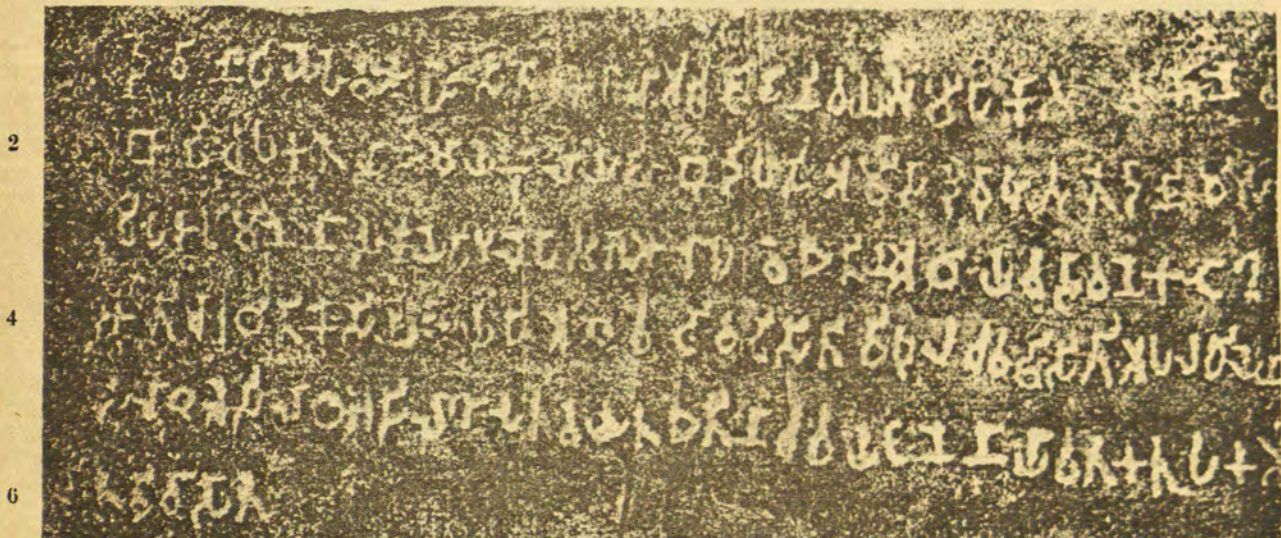
⁵ *chu* Bühler.

⁶ *y[i]* Bühler.

⁷ Three other versions of this edict read *pakamasa*.

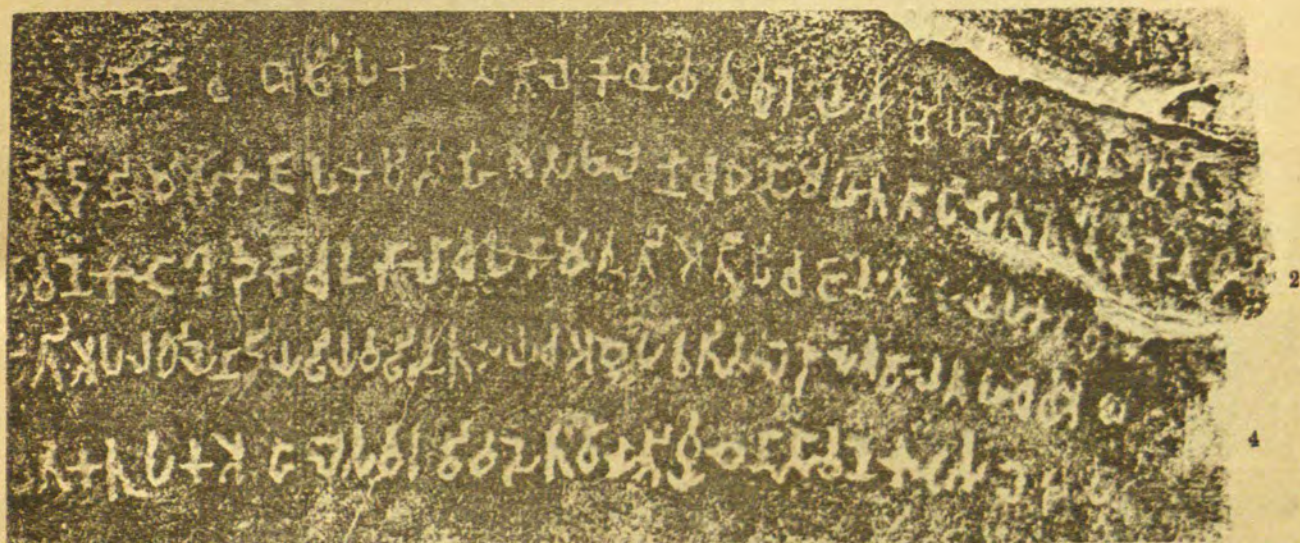
⁸ Senart and Bühler add the two syllables *hi ka*. I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.

LEFT HALF



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RIGHT HALF



- 3 pi pa[ka]mam[i]nenā¹ sakiye pipule² pā³ svage ārodheve⁴ (H) etiya aṭhāya cha
sāvane kaṭe kh[u]dakā cha uḍālā cha pakamatu⁵ ti atā pi cha jānamtu iya⁶
paka[rā⁷ va]
- 4 kiti chira-ṭhitike siyā (I) iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti apaladhiyenā
diyaḍhiya vaḍhisata⁸ (J) iya cha aṭhe pavatis[u] lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha⁹
cha athi
- 5 sālā-ṭh[abh]e¹⁰ silā-ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya¹¹ ta¹² (L) etinā cha vayajanenā
yāvataka tupaka¹³ ahāle savara¹⁴ vivasetavā[ya]¹⁵ ti (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane
kaṭe (N) 200 50 6 sa-
- 6 ta vivāsā ta¹⁶

TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.

(B) Two and a half years¹⁷ and somewhat more (have passed) since I am
openly a *Śākya*.¹⁸

(C) But (I had)¹⁹ not been very zealous.²⁰

(D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited²¹ the
*Samgha*²² and have been very zealous.

¹ *parumaminena* Bühler.

² Read *vipule*.

³ Read *pi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁴ *ārodhave* Bühler; read *ārādhe[ta*]ve*.

⁵ *pakamantu* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *iyam* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ Senart proposes to read *pakame*; cf. the Śiddāpura and Sahasrām rock-inscriptions.

⁸ Read *vaḍhisiti*.

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⁹ Bühler and Senart correct *hidha*. Instead of it, the context seems to require *yata* (= Skt. *yatra*); but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained.

¹⁰ Read *silā*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler; -*ṭhubhe* Bühler.

¹¹ Read *likhā*.

¹² Read *ti*.

¹³ Read perhaps *tuphākam*, as on the Sārṇāth pillar, l. 9.

¹⁴ Read *savata*, as on the Sārṇāth pillar, l. 10.

¹⁵ *viya* Senart, *vā[yu]* Bühler; read *vivāsetaviye* and cf. *vivāsayātha* at Sārṇāth, l. 10.

¹⁶ Read *ti*.

¹⁷ As was first remarked by Oldenberg (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xxxviii, note, and ZDMG, 35. 474, note), *aḍhatiya* is the Pāli *aḍḍhatiya*, 'two and a half'.

¹⁸ Instead of this, the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura versions read *upāsake*, 'a lay-worshipper', but the Maski version reads *Bu[dha]-Śake*. On the Rumindē pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet *Śākyamuni*. Varāhamihira uses the tribal name *Śākya* in the sense of 'a Buddhist'; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s.v. In the *Kaṭṭhiya* the word *Śākya* has the same meaning; see Shama Sastri's Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me, the Munich MS. reads *शकाजीवकादीन्*, which is meant for *शकाजीवकादीन्*; the *editio princeps* (p. 199, l. 3 f.) has *शकाः । जीवकादीन्*.

¹⁹ The word *husam* is inserted in the Mysore versions.

²⁰ The Mysore versions add 'for one year'. Thomas (JA (10), 15. 515 f.) and Sylvain Lévi (id. 17. 121 f.) take *pakamati* in the sense of 'travelling about'. But the various readings of the Sahasrām and Bairāt edicts suggest that *pakamati* has to be understood as a synonym of *palakamati*, 'to exert one's self, to be zealous'; see Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 993, and cf. the rock-edict VI, L and N, and X, C and E. In section G the participle *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā* (Rūpnāth) or *palakamaminenā* (Sahasrām) corresponds to *dhama-yute[na]*, 'devoted to morality', at Maski, E.

²¹ Bühler translated *up[te]* by 'entered'; see IA, 6. 156, and EI, 3. 140. I adopt Senart's very cautious rendering, which is more natural and supported by Buddhist tradition; see IA, 20. 234.

²² i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

(E) Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men)¹ in Jambudvīpa,² have now been made (by me) mingled (with them).³

(F) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank⁴ (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.⁵

(H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued,⁶ (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers⁷ may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.

(I) For, this matter⁸ will (be made by me to) progress,⁹ and will (be made to) progress considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.¹⁰

¹ Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 124 f.) first showed that *misā* represents Skt. *miśrāḥ*; but his translation of *devā* by 'kings' is inadmissible. The word *deva* is not used anywhere else in the Aśoka edicts except in the title *Devānampriya*, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which the word *rājā* is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911. 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7. 438 ff.) still upholds Bühler's view that *misā* stands for Skt. *mṛishā*, which is represented by *musā* in Pāli, in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds *misam-deva* and *ammisam-deva* at Sahasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamāgadhī form *musam*,—it would create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound *misibhūtā* at Maski would offend against the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final *ā* of indeclinables to *i* (cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on I, 1, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words *misā devehi*, 'mingled with the gods', in the Mysore edicts, by 'ont été (réduits à apparaître comme) faussement (*mis au nombre*) des dieux', and to consider the instrumental *devehi* an ablative partitive (?).

² i. e. in India.

³ As I have shown in JRAS, 1913. 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects *in effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *Dharma*. The word *devā* corresponds to *divyāni rūpāni* in the Gīrnār edict IV, B.

⁴ As the Brahmagiri version suggests, *mahatātā* corresponds to Skt. *mahātmatvāt*.

⁵ Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

⁶ Fleet (JRAS, 1909. 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15. 510) were of opinion that the few following words: 'let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous' represent the text of an address delivered by Aśoka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (511) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by *etiya aṭhāya*, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of the Rūpnāth edict itself.

⁷ According to the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

⁸ i. e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda; see section J.

⁹ With *vaḍhi*[m*] *vaḍhisiti* cf. *dharmma-vaḍhi vadhitā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ and NN.

¹⁰ Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.

(J) And cause ye this matter¹ to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.²

(K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here,³ it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.⁴

(L) And according to the letter of this (proclamation)⁵ (you) must dispatch (an officer)⁶ everywhere, as far as your district⁷ (extends).

(M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.⁸

(N) 256 (nights)⁹ (had then been) spent on tour.¹⁰

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानापिये हेवं आ ियानि सवङ्गलानि । अं उपासके
सुमि । (C) न चु बाढं पलकंते
- 2 (D) सवङ्गले साधिके । अं ते (E) एतेन च अंतलेन । जंबुदीपसि ।
अंमिसंदेवा । संत

¹ Instead of the nominative *iya cha aṭhe* we should have expected the accusative *ima cha aṭham*, as at Sahasrām, l. 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture *lekhāpetaviye ti* for *lekhāpeta vālata*; but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.

² Literally: 'in consequence of an occasion' (*vārataḥ*); see JRAS, 1911, 1116.

³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

⁴ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, SS.

⁵ See above, p. 163, n. 13.

⁶ See above, p. 163, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911, 1106) translated *vivaseti* by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth edict; see JRAS, 1912, 1053 ff.

⁷ Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11.

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms *vyūṭha* and *vivāsa*, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15, 512 ff. The instrumental *vy[u]thenā*, which depends on *sāvane kaṭe*, must refer to Aśoka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (*tupaka*, l. 5); see JRAS, 1909, 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37, 22) in supplying *mayā*.

⁹ The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908, 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15, 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word *lāti* = Skt. *rātri*, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word *sata*, 'a hundred', see Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911, 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word *lāti* at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910, 1301 ff., 1911, 1091 ff., and 1913, 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17, 119 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 41, 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the *Digha-nikāya*, 2, 225 f., and *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 22, 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916, 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7, 434 f.), who takes *lāti* = Skt. *raṭi*, as at Kālsī, VIII, F.

¹⁰ In JRAS, 1910, 1309, I interpreted the word *vivāsā*, which corresponds to *vivūṭhā* at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.

- 3 मुनिसा मिसंदेव कटा । (F) पल इयं फले (G) नो यं
महतता व चकिये पावतवे । खुदकेन पि पल-
- 4 कममीनेना विपुले पि सुअग .. किये आला वे । (H) से एताये
अठाये इयं सावाने । खुदका च उडाला चा प-
- 5 लकमंतु अंता पि च जानंतु । चिलठितीके च पलाकमे होतु । (I) इयं च अठे
वढिसति । विपुलं पि च वढिसति
- 6 दियाढियं अवलधियेना दियढियं वढिसति । (J) इयं च सवने विवुथेन (K) दुवे
सपंना लाति-
- 7 सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इम च अठं पवतेसु लिखापयाथा (M) य ..
वा अ-
- 8 थि हेता सिलाथंभा तत पि लिखापयथ ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye he[vaṃ] [[ā]]¹ [[iyāni savachhalā]][[ni | a]]m
upāsake sumi । (C) na chu bādham [palaka]m[t]e
- 2 (D) sav[a]chhale² sādhi[ke] [[i am]] [[te]] (E) [ete]][[na cha amta]]lena ।
Jambudipasi । ammisam-[de]vā³ । samta⁴
- 3 munisā [n]isam-deva [[kaṭā | (F) pala]] [[iyam phale (G) [n]o]]
[[yam]] mahatata va chakiye pāv[a]t[ve] । khudakena pi pala-
- 4 kamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]ag ... [k]iye⁵ [ā][lā] [[ve]] [i] (H) se etāye
aṭh[ā]ye iyaṃ sāvāne⁶ । khudakā cha uḍālā chā pa-
- 5 [la]kamamtu amta pi ch[a] jānamtu । chila-ṭhit[īke]⁷ cha p[a][ā]kame⁸ hotu । (I)
iya[m] cha [aṭhe] vadhisati । vipulaṃ pi cha vadhisati
- 6 diyādhiyaṃ aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]dhiyaṃ vadhisati । (J) iyaṃ [[cha savane]]
[v]ivuthena (K) dūve sapannā lāti-
- 7 satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6 (L) ima cha aṭham pavatesu [I][ikhā][pa]yāthā (M)
ya ..⁹ [vā] a-
- 8 th[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata pi¹⁰ [likhāpayatha t]i

¹ The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

² The top of *va* is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable *vin* in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22. 299), the group *qva*, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 147), it is already impossible because the *q* would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the *va* would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading *saḍvachhale*, combined with the actual blunder *chhavachhare* at Rūpnāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśoka's inscriptions for a long time.

³ Read *amisam*.

⁴ *sam[tā]* Bühler.

⁵ Restore *snage chakiye*.

⁶ Read *sāvane*.

⁷ *[ṭh]itik*. Bühler.

⁸ *palakame* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Restore *yata*.

¹⁰ The syllable *pi* was entered above the line.

TRANSLATION

- (A) *Dēvānāmpriya* [speaks] thus.
 (B) years since I am a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).
 (C) But (I had) not been very zealous.
 (D) A year and somewhat more (has passed) since
 (E) And men in *Jambudvīpa*, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.
 (F) [For] this is the fruit [of zeal].
 (G) cannot¹ be reached by (persons of) high rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.
 (H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.
 (I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.
 (J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour.
 (K) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour,²—(in figures) 256.³
 (L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.
 (M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

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III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानांपिये आहा (B) साति
 2 वसानि य हकं उपासके (C) नो चु बाढं
 3 अं ममया सधे उपयाते बाढ च
 4 जंबुदिपसि अमिसा न देवेहि मि कमस एस .. ले
 5 (G) नो हि एसे महतनेव चकिये कममिनेना
 6 विपुले पि श्वगे चक्ये आलाधेतवे (H) का च उडाला चा
 पलकमतु ति

¹ For *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*, see above, p. 97, n. 4.

² Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520, note) compares the word *vivuthā* (corresponding to *vivāsā* at Rūpnāth) with *vyushṭam*, a division of time which is mentioned in the *Kautilīya*, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter may have the sense of *νυχθήμερον*, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśoka's time both *vivutha* and *vivāsa* apparently meant 'a civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twenty-four hours from headquarters'.

³ The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520), who discovered in it the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that *pannā* is a recognized Prākṛit form of *pañchāśat*, and that expressions like *dvē śatpañchāśe rātri-śatē* are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. *ekam rattim vipavasati*, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 581.

- 7 अन्ता पि च जानंतु ति चिलठित लं पि वढिसति
- 8 दियढियं वढिसति
- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye āh[ā] (B) s[ā]ti
- 2 vasān[i] ya hakaṃ¹ upāsake (C) [no chu] bādham
- 3 am mamayā saghe² [u]payāte [bā]dha cha
- 4 Jambudīpasi³ amisā⁴ na devehi [m]ji [ka]masa esa .. l[e]
- 5 (G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]taneva chakiye kamaminenā
- 6 vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādheta[v]e (H) kā cha [u]d[ā]lā chā⁵
[pala]kamatū [t]i
- 7 [am]tā pi cha jānamtu ti [ch]ila-ṭhit lam pi vadhisati
- 8 diyaḍhiyam vadhi[s]ati

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) प्रियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादेतूनं आहा अपावाधतं च फासु-
विहालतं चा
- 2 (B) विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च
(C) ए केचि भंते
- 3 भगवता बुधेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (D) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया
हेवं सधंमे
- 4 चिलठितिके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वातवे (E) इमानि भंते धंम-
पलियायानि विनयसमुक्से
- 5 अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिने ए चा
लाघुलो-
- 6 वादे मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि
इहामि
- 7 किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सुनेयु चा उपधालयेयू चा
- 8 (F) हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखापयामि
अभिप्रेतं मे जानंतू ति

- 1 (A) Pr[i]yadas[i]⁶ l[ā]jā Māgadhe⁷ saṅghaṃ abhivāde[tu]naṃ⁸ āhā ap[ā]bādhatam
cha phāsu-vihālatam chā
- 2 (B) vidite v[e] bhaṃte āvatake h[a]mā Budhasi dhammasi saṅghasī ti gālave⁹
cham prasāde¹⁰ cha (C) e kechi¹¹ bhaṃte

¹ haka Bühler.

² sa[m]ghe Bühler.

³ °dīpasi Bühler.

⁴ The syllable *mi* was entered above the line.

⁵ cha Bühler.

⁶ Piya^o Senart.

⁷ Māgadham Senart; but the *e* of *dhe* is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anusvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.

⁸ abhivādanam Senart; but see JRAS, 1909. 727.

⁹ galave Senart.

¹⁰ pasāde Senart.

¹¹ kemichi Senart.

- 3 bhagavatā **Budhe[na]** bhāsīte sarve¹ se subhāsīte vā (D) e chu kho bhamīte
hamiyāye diseyā hevaṃ sadhamme
- 4 chil[a-ṭhi]ṭike hosatī ti alahāmi hakam ta[m] v[ā]tave² (E) imāni bhamīte dha[m]ma-
paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase
- 5 Aliya-vasāni³ Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatīsa-pasine e chā
Lāghulo-
- 6 vāde musā-vādam adhigichya⁴ bhagavatā **Budhena** bhāsīte etāni⁵ bhamīte
dhamma-paliyāyāni ichhāmi
- 7 kintī bahuke bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikhuniye⁶ ch[ā] abhikhinam sun[e]yu⁷ chā
upadhāl[a]jeyū⁸ chā
- 8 (F) hevaṃmevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā (G) eteni⁹ bhamīte imam likhā[pa]jyāmi
abhipretam¹⁰ me jānamtū¹¹ ti

TRANSLATION

(A) The Māgadha king Priyadarśin,¹² having saluted the Saṃgha,¹³ hopes they are both well and comfortable.¹⁴

(B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma,¹⁵ (and) the Saṃgha.¹⁶

(C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed Buddha, all that is quite well spoken.

(D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me¹⁷ (to be referred to by the words of the scripture): 'thus the true Dharma will be of long duration',¹⁸ that I feel bound to declare.

(E) The following expositions of the Dharma, Sirs, (viz.) (1) the Vinaya-samukasa, (2) the Aliya-vasas,¹⁹ (3) the Anāgata-bhayas, (4) the Muni-gāthās, (5) the Moneya-sūta,

¹ save Senart.

² vatave Senart.

³ -vasāni Senart.

⁴ This word is quite distinct, and the reading *adhigichya* proposed by Michelson (IF, 27, 194 f.) is impossible.

⁵ etāna Senart.

⁶ bhakhuniye Senart.

⁷ sunayu Senart.

⁸ upādhāleyeyu Senart.

⁹ Read etenā.

¹⁰ abhikhetam Senart; but the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *aparakaramhi* in the Girnār edict XII, l. 3.

¹¹ ma jānamta Senart.

¹² Cf. e.g. *rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro* in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (passim); *rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu* at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1875, 49); and *rājā Pasenaji Kosalo* in a Bharaut inscription (IA, 21, 232, No. 58).

¹³ i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

¹⁴ Literally: 'pronounces both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment) of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*: 'appābādham appātāṅkam lahuṭṭhānam balam phāsu-vihāram pucchha', and see Neumann's translations of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (2, 617, note) and *Dīgha-nikāya* (2, 216, n. 3).

¹⁵ i.e. the Buddhist doctrine.

¹⁶ These are the so-called 'three jewels'; see Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *ratanaṃ*.

¹⁷ Kern (IA, 5, 257) explained *diseyā* as the optative of the Pāli *dissati* = Skt. *drīsyatē*; cf. JRAS, 1909, 728.

¹⁸ As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901, 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.

¹⁹ *vasa* is a defective spelling for *vamsa*; see IA, 41, 39.

(6) the *Upatisa-pasina*, and (7) the *Lāghulovāda* which was spoken by the blessed **Buddha** concerning falsehood,¹—I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस असोकस अढति-
 2 .. नि वषानि । अं सुमि बुधशके (C) तिरे
 3 .. मि संघं उपगते उठ मि उपगते (D) पुरे जंबु-
 4 सि ये अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसिभूता (E) इय अठे खुद-
 5 केन पि धमयुतेन सके अधिगतवे (F) न हेवं दखितविये उडा-
 6 लके व इम अधिगछेया ति (G) खुदके च उडालके च वत-
 7 विया हेवं वे कलंतं भदके से अ तिके च वढि-
 8 सिति चा दियदियं हेवं ति

- 1 (A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa Asok[a]sa² [a]dh[a]t[i]-
 2 .. ni³ vashā[ni] । am⁴ sum[i] Bu[dha]śake⁵ (C) [t]ire
 3 .. [m]i⁶ [s]aṃgha[m] u[pa]gate [uṭh] m[i] u[pa]gate⁷ (D) pure Jambu-
 4 s[i]⁸ ye amisā devā husu te [dā]n[i] misibhūtā (E) iya a[the khu]da-

¹ For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, *Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xl, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, 11. 159 f.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 52. 634 ff.; Bloch, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, *Vinaya-samukasa*, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (*Buddhist Bibliography*, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmananda Kosambi (IA, 41. 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, Nos. 4-6 in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and No. 7 in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

² Senart fills up this break by *vachanena adhiḥkāni*. As the instrumental *vachanena* would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading *sāvane* (or *sāsane*) (B) *adhiḥkāni*.

³ Restore *aḍhatiyāni*.

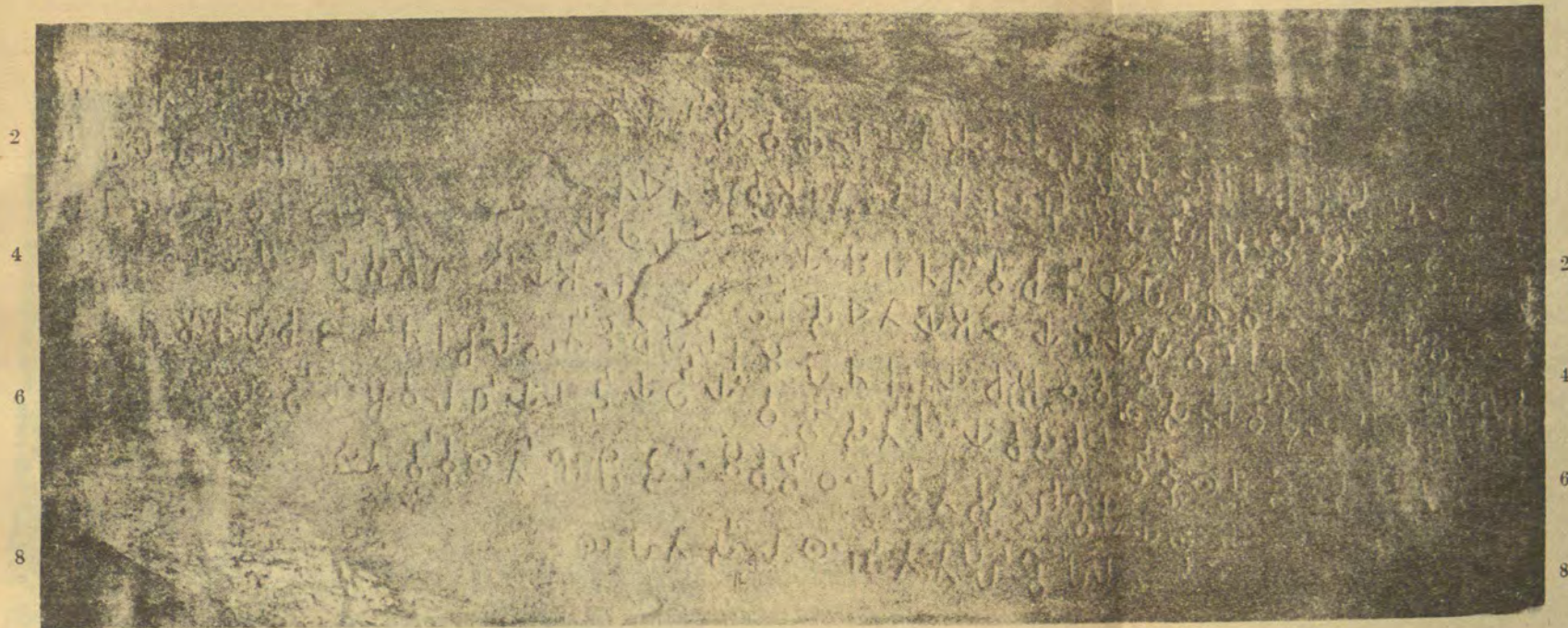
⁴ *vasāni* [ya]m am Krishna Sastri.

⁵ *bun[pā]śake* K.S. The point after *bu* does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that 'the letter *pā* appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between *upāsake* and *Budhupāsake*. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write *upāsake*, which is the reading of Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura. On second thoughts he changed *upā* to *Budha* and added *śake*, which corresponds to [Sa]k[e] at Rūpnāth. The abnormal shape of the *dha* of *Budha* is due to its having been corrected from *pā*.

⁶ Restore *sātireke am sumi* and, before these three words, perhaps *saṃvachhare*.

⁷ Restore perhaps *uṭhānam cha sumi upagate*, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: *bāḍham cha me pakānte*. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore *bāḍham cha sumi upagate*.

⁸ Restore *Jambudīpasi*. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.



FROM MR. BEGLAR'S PHOTOGRAPH

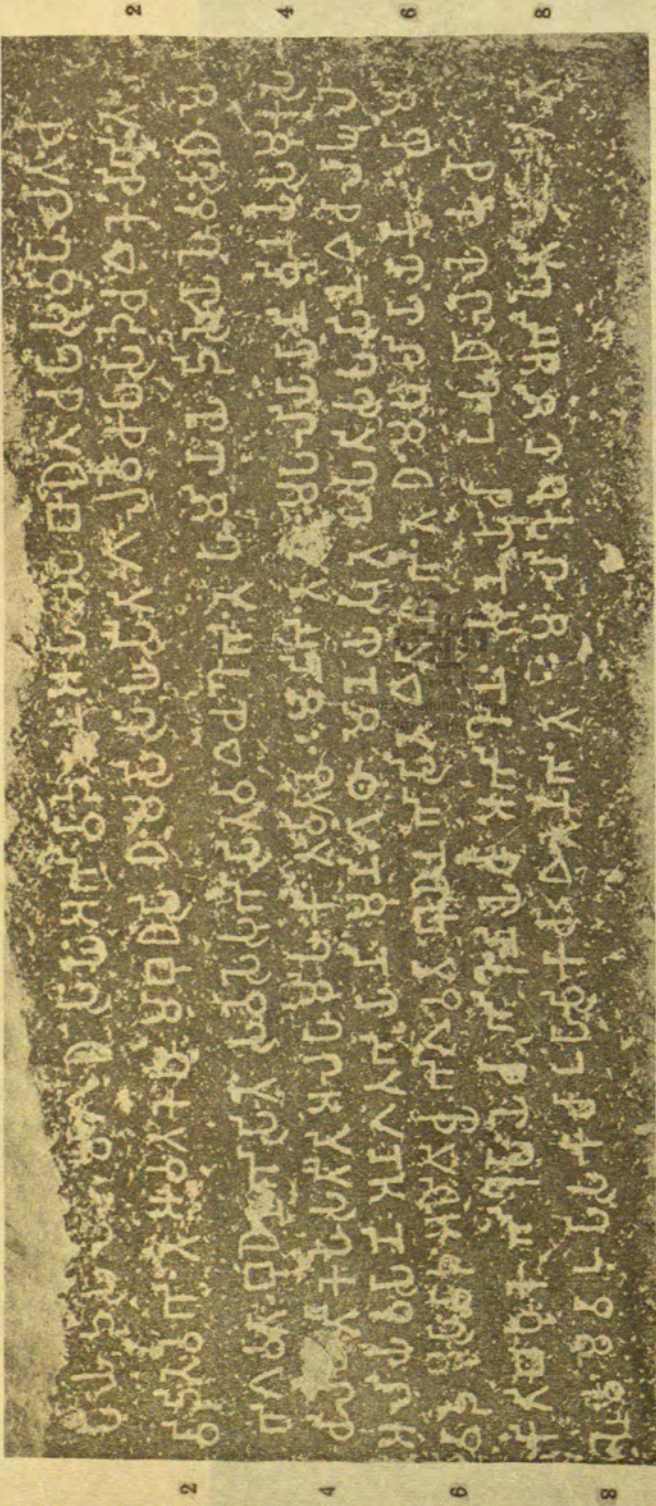
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FROM AN INKED ESTAMPAGE

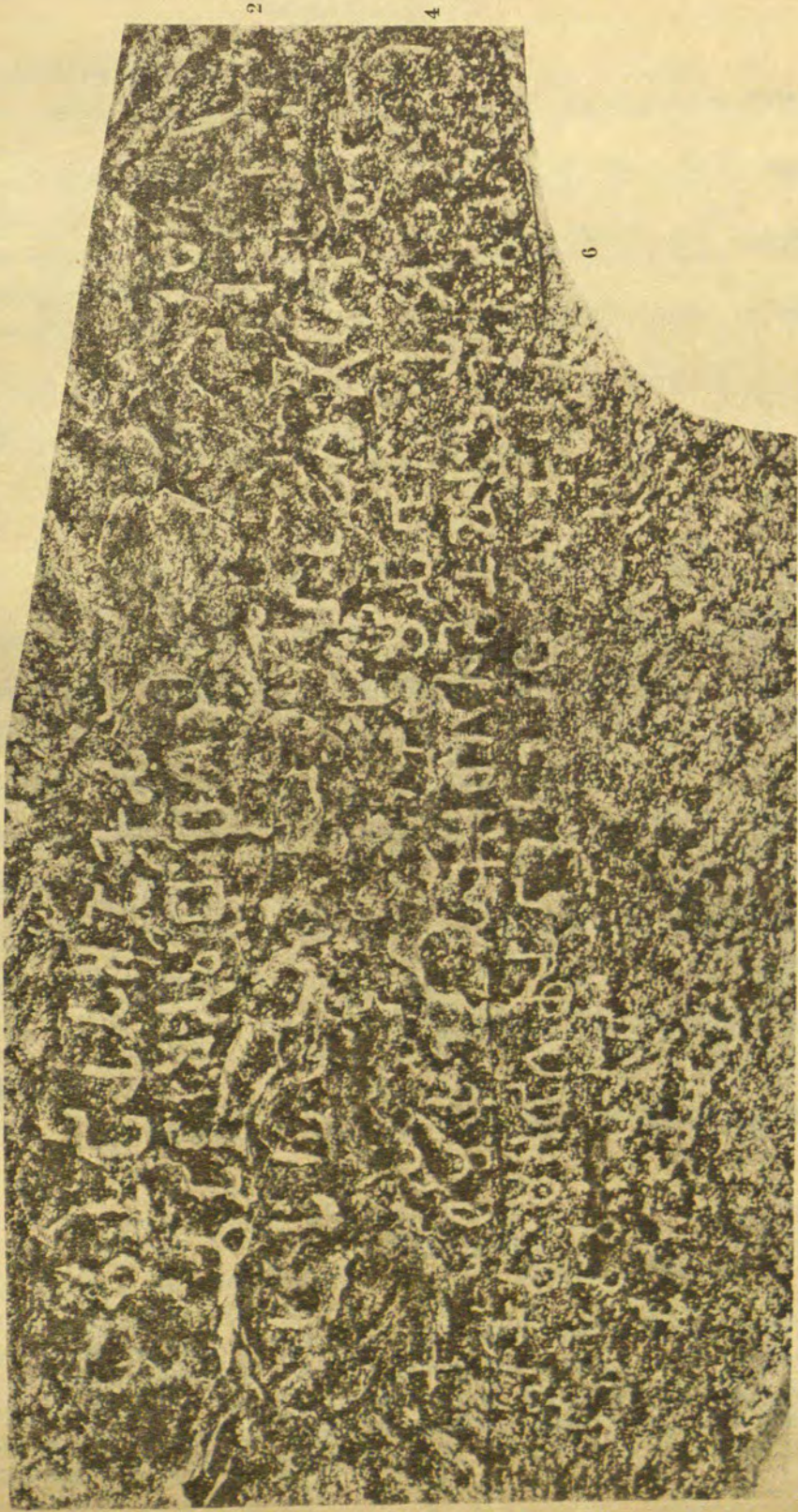
SCALE ONE-FOURTH



SCALE ONE-NINTH



SCALE ONE-FOURTH



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH

- 5 ke[na pi]¹ dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevañ dakhitaviye [uḍā]-
 6 lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha uḍ]ālake cha vata-
 7 viyā hevañ ve kalamāñ bha[dak]e [se a]² t[i]k[e]³ cha va[ḍhi]-
 8 siti chā diya[ḍhi]yañ he[vañ] ti⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka.

(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a *Buddha-Sākya*.⁵

(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the *Samgha* and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in *Jambudvīpa*, have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.⁶

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,' this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half'.

VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीते अयपुतस महामाताणं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगियं
 वतविया हेवं च वतविया (B) देवाणंपिये आणपयति
 2 (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि य हकं सके (D) नो तु खो बाढं
 प्रकंते हुसं एकं सवछरं (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवछरं
 3 यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना
 मुनिसा जंबुदीपसि
 4 मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले (H) नो हीयं सक्के महात्मेनेव पापोतवे
 कामं तु खो खुदकेन पि
 5 पकमि णेण विपुले स्वगे सक्के आराधेतवे (I) एतायठाय इयं सावणे
 सावापिते
 6 महात्मा च इमं पकमेयु ति अंता च मे जानेयु चिरठितीके
 च इयं

¹ h[ī] K. S.

² [the ti] K. S.

³ Restore perhaps *se athe chira-ṭhitike*.

⁴ *diyadhiya h[e]sati* K. S.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 167, n. 18.

⁶ Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to *pra-kram* or *parā-kram* and to *dharmayukta*; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.

⁷ For the nominative singular absolute *kalamāñ* see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, *ve* (= Skt. *vaḥ*), is originally an oblique case of the plural.

- 7 पक् (J) इयं च अठे वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अवरधिया
दियदियं
- 8 वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूथेन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) से हेवं
देवाणंपिये
- 9 आह (N) मातापितिसु सुसूसितविये हेमेव गरुसु प्राणेषु द्रह्यितव्यं सचं
- 10 वतवियं से इमे धंमगुणा पवतितविया (O) हेमेव अंतेवासिना
- 11 आचरिये अपचायितविये जातिकेसु च कं य . . रहं पवतितविये
- 12 (P) एसा पोरणा पकिती दीघावुसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस कटिविये
- 13 (R) चपडेन लिखिते लिपिकरेण

- 1 (A) [S]uv[a]ṁnagiriṭe¹ ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṁ cha vachan[e]na Isilasi
mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā hevaṁ cha vataviyā (B) Devāṇaṁpiye
ānapayati
- 2 (C) adhikāni adhātīyāni v[a]sāni ya hakaṁ . . . sa[ke]² (D) no tu kho
bāḍhaṁ prakānte³ husaṁ ekaṁ savachharaṁ (E) sātireke tu kho
saṁvachhareṁ⁴
- 3 yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ cha me pakānte (F) iminā chu kālena amisā
samānā munisā Jambudīpasi
- 4 mi[s]ā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no hiyaṁ sakye mahātpeneva
pāpotave kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi
- 5 paka[m]i . . . neṇa⁵ vipule svage sakye ārādhetaṁ (I) e[t]āyathāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe
sāvāpīte
- 6⁶ mahāt[p]ā cha imaṁ pakame[yu t]i aṁtā cha mai⁷ jāneyu chira-
ṭhitike cha iyaṁ
- 7 [paka]⁸ (J) iyaṁ cha aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā
diyadhiyaṁ
- 8 [vaḍh]isiti (K) iyaṁ cha sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena (L) 200 50 6 (M) se hevaṁ
Devāṇaṁpiye
- 9 āha (N) mātā-pitisu susūs[i]taviye hemeva garu[su]⁹ prāṇesu drahyitavyaṁ
sachāṁ
- 10 vataviyaṁ se ime dhamma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (O) hemeva aṁtevāsina
- 11 āchariye apachāyitaviye nātikesu cha [ka]m¹⁰ ya . . rahaṁ¹¹ pavatitaviye

¹ This word looks almost like *Suvenṇa*^o, but the Śiddāpura version reads *Suvanṇa*^o distinctly.

² Restore *upāsake*, as at Śiddāpura.

³ *pakānte* Bühler.

⁴ Read *saṁvachhare*; *sa[m]vachhar[a]m* Bühler.

⁵ *paka[mam]neṇa* Bühler; read *pakamamīneṇa* and cf. the Sahasrām edict, l. 3 f.

⁶ The Śiddāpura version reads *yathā khu[dakā cha]*.

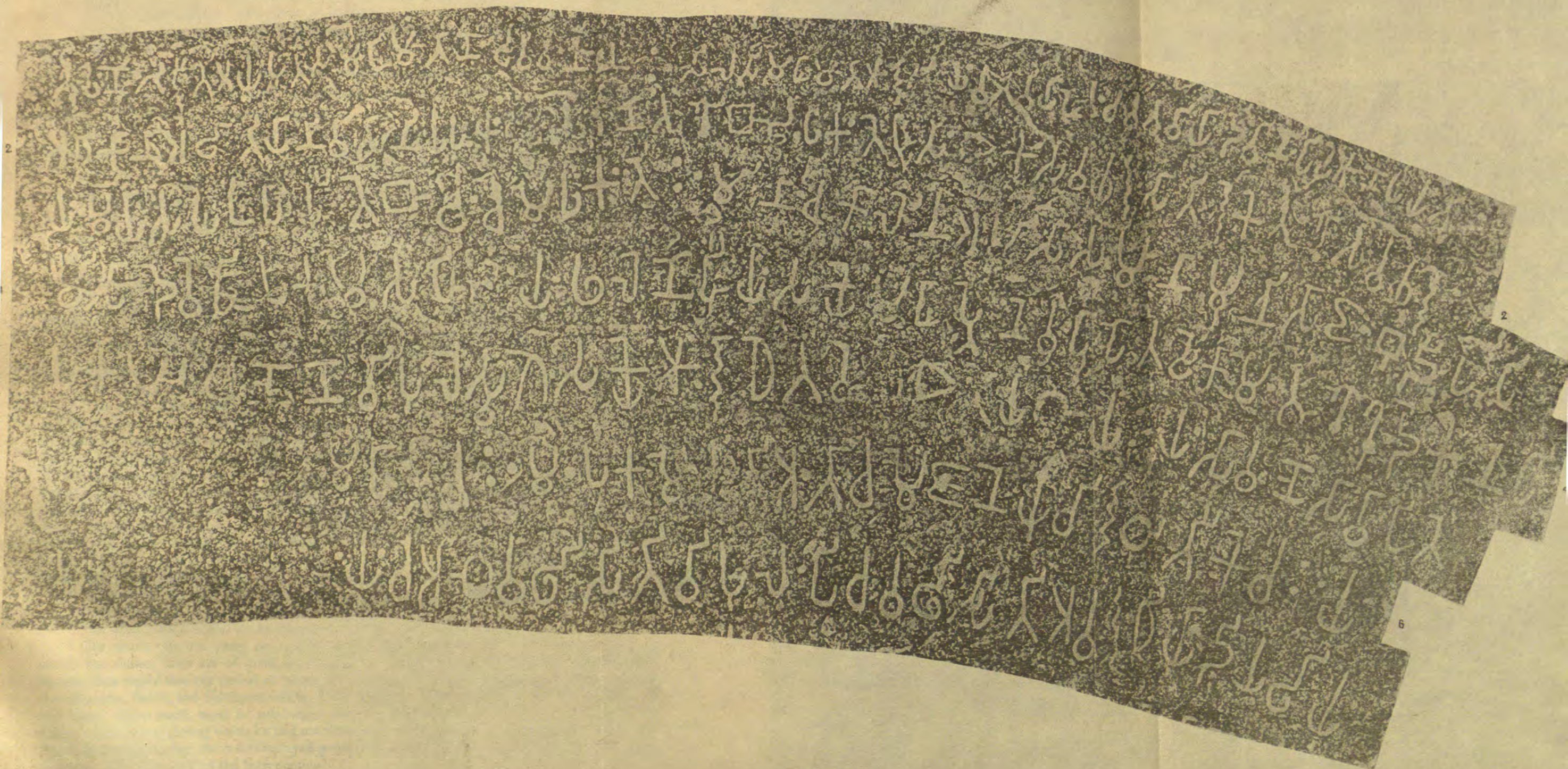
⁷ Read *me*.

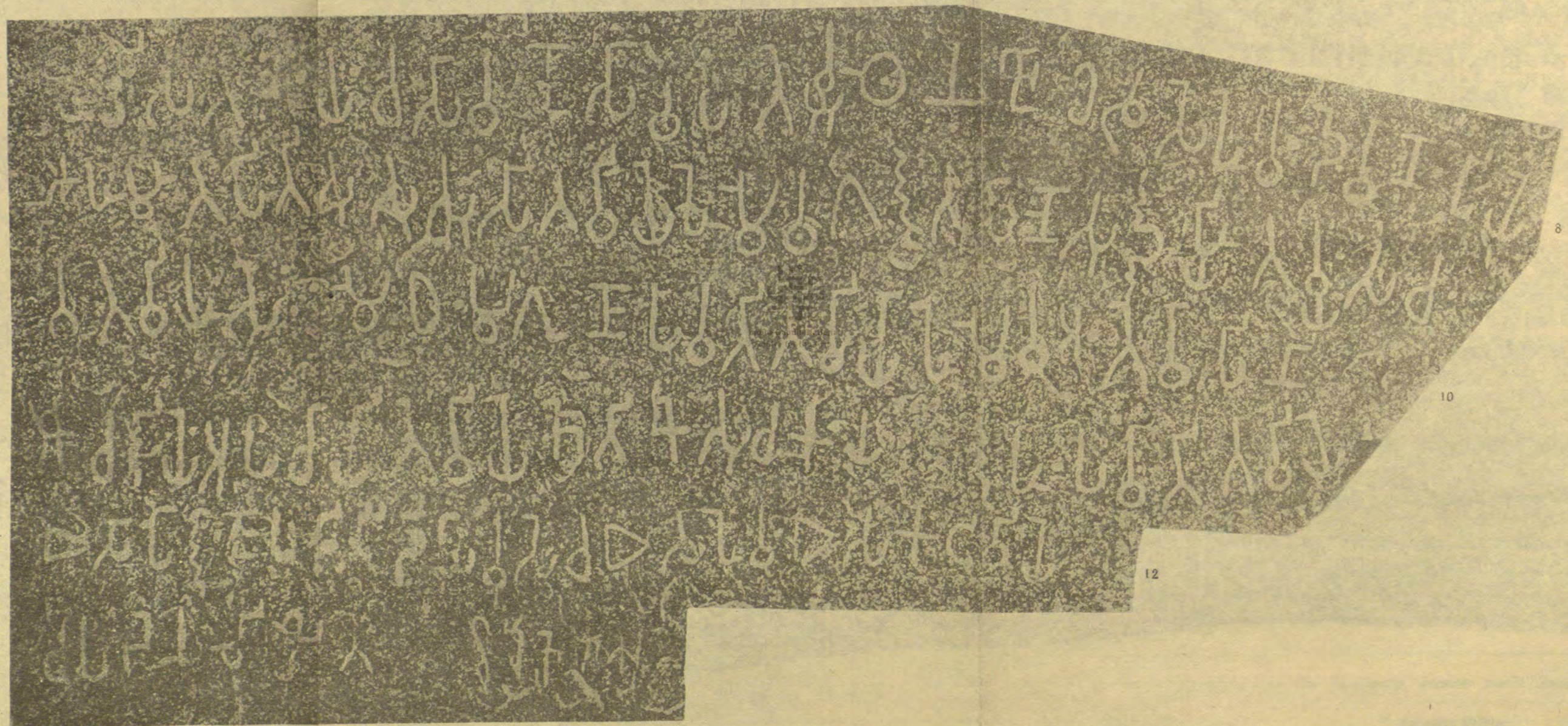
⁸ The Śiddāpura version reads *pakame hoti* (*hotu* at Sahasrām).

⁹ *garut[vaṁ]* Bühler.

¹⁰ *k[u?]* Bühler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.

¹¹ Restore *yathārahaṁ* and cf. the Śiddāpura version, l. 20, and the Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara version, l. 18.





- 12 (P) eṣā porā[ṇ]ā pa[k]itī d[īgh]āvuse¹ cha eṣa (Q) hevaṃ eṣa kaṭiye²
 13 (R) Chapaḍena likhite³ li[pi]kareṇa⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) From Suvarṇagiri,⁵ at the word of the prince (*āryaputra*)⁶ and of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahāmātras* at Isila must be wished good health⁷ and be told this:

(B) Dēvānāmpriya commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am)⁸ a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year.⁹

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the *Samgha* and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods.¹⁰

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued,¹¹ [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner,¹² and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration.

(J) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.

(K) And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.

¹ d[īgh]āvuse Bühler.

² Read *kaṭiye*.

³ li[kh]it[am] Bühler.

⁴ This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.

⁵ This place seems to have been the capital of the province administered by the *Āryaputra* and his *Mahāmātras*. Bühler (EI, 3. 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a *Kumāra* and his *Mahāmātras* resided at Tōsalī. The separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were addressed by the king to the local authorities themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the Suvarṇagiri province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at Isila. In Fleet's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri by Aśoka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sōnagiri, near Rājagriha in Bihār; see JRAS, 1909. 998. H. Krishna Sastri connects Suvarṇagiri, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around Maski, which abounds in ancient gold-workings; see his remarks on the Maski edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara; see Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, plate 34, C, b.

⁶ Bühler (VOJ, 12. 75 f.) traced the word *ayyaputta*, 'a prince', in the *Īṭaka*, vol. VI, p. 146 f.

⁷ Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

⁸ The word *sumi* is added in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts.

⁹ The words 'for one year' are missing at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām. As Senart (JA (8), 19. 481 f.) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Aśoka inscriptions, because they imply that the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Siddāpura edicts, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (or Śākya, as the Rūpnāth and Maski edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the *Samgha*. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.

¹⁰ For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.

¹¹ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M, and above, p. 168, n. 6.

¹² With *imaṃ* supply *pakamaṃ*; cf. *vaḍhi[m*]* *vaḍhisiti* in the Rūpnāth edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.

(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).¹

(M) Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.²

(N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues must be practised.

(O) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.

(P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.

(Q) Thus one must act.³

(R) Written by *Chapaḍa* the writer.

VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवङ्गगिरीते अयपुत्तस महामाता-
- 2 णं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता
- 3 आरोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिये हेवं
- 4 आह (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि
- 5 य हकं उपासके (D) नो तु खो बाढ पकंते हुसं एकं सवद्ध ..
- 6 (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवद्धरे यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं
- 7 च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना मु
- 8 जंबुद मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले H) नो हि इ-
- 9 य सके म नेव पापोत्तवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन
- 10 पि प न विपुले स्वगे सके आराधेतवे
- 11 (I) से य इयं सावणे साविते यथा खु-
- 12 दका च महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अता च
- 13 चिरठितीके च इयं पकमे होति
- 14 (J) वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अ
- 15 यढियं वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे
- 16 (L) २०० ५० ई (M) मा सितविये
- 17 ह्यितथं शचं वत .. यं इमे धंमगु
- 18 (N) हेमेव अं आचरिये अपचायितविये सु
- 19 (O) एसा पोराणा .. किती दीघावुसे च (P) हेमेव ..
- 20 तेविसिने च
- 21 आचरिये थारहं पवतितव म ..
- 22 स तथा कटविये (R) चप
- 23 रा

¹ Cf. section J of the *Sahasrām* edict.

² This section is omitted in the *Śiddhāpura* and *Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara* versions.

³ At the beginning of this section, the *Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara* version inserts: 'This is the morality of *Dēvānāmpriya*'.

- 1 (A) **Suvam̐nagirite** ayaputasa mahāmātā-
 2 ṇaṁ cha vachanena I[s]ilasi mahāmātā
 3 ārogiyaṁ vata[v]i[yā] (B) [Dev]ā[na]m̐piye hevaṁ
 4 āha (C) **adhikāni** a[dhā]t[i]y[āni] **vasāni**
 5 ya ha[kam̐ u]pāsake (D) no tu kho bādha pakam̐te husaṁ **ek[am̐]** sa[vachha] . . .¹
 6 (E) [sātire]**ke** tu kho **sam̐vachhare** [yaṁ mayā sam̐]ghe upayite bādhaṁ
 7 [cha me] p[akam̐]te (F) i[m̐]inā chu kālena [a]misā samā[nā] mu
 8 **Jambū[d]** [mi]sā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no [h]i i-²
 9 ya sake [ma] [ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmam̐ tu kho khudakena
 10 pi [pa] na [v]ipul[e] svage sak[e] ārādhetaṁ
 11 (I) [s]e ya [iya]m̐ sāvaṇe sāvite yathā khu-
 12 [dakā cha ma]hātpā cha imam̐ [pa]kameyu ti atā³ cha
 13 [chira]-thi[t]ik[e]⁴ cha iyaṁ pakame hoti⁵
 14 (J) va[dh]isiti vipu[la]m̐ p[i] cha vaḍhisiti [a]
 15 [yaḍhiya]m̐ vaḍhisiti (K) i[ya]m̐ [cha] sā[va]ṇe
 16 (L) [200] 50 6 (M) [mā] [si]taviye
 17 [hyi]tavyam̐ śa[cha]m̐ va[ta] . . [ya]m̐ im[e] dham̐ma-gu
 18 (N) [heme]va [a]m̐ [ācha]riye apachāyitaviye su
 19 (O) [es]ā [p]o[r]ā[nā] . . . [ki]ti di[ghā]vu[se] cha (P) heme[va]
 . . . m̐[t]evisine⁶ cha
 20 āchariy[e] thārahaṁ pavatitav m . . .
 21 sa⁷ [ta]thā kaṭaviye (R) **Chapa**
 22 [ṇa]⁸

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VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) तान च व
 2 इसि विया (B) देवान
 3 य हकं
 4 खो बाढ (E) . . तिरेके
 5 यं . . या
 6 ए
 7 हि इयं
 8
 9
 10 च दिस . . .
 11 . . पुलं पि यदियं

¹ *sam̐va* Bühler.

⁴ *-thitike* Bühler.

³ . . [te]vāsine Bühler. Read *am̐tevāsine*.

⁶ This syllable is in the Kharōshthī alphabet.

² Bühler omitted *i-*.

⁵ *hot[u]* Bühler.

⁷ *esa* Bühler.

³ *am̐tā* Bühler.

- 12 (K) इ सावणे येन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) हेमेव
 13 मातापितुसु सितविये हेमेव न १२सु
 14 . . ह्यितव्यं सच वतवियं से इमे
 15 हेवं पवतितविया (N) स्वञ्च न ते सतवस
 16 तविय हेमेव आचरिये अंतेवासिना
 17 राणा पकिती सितविया विये
 18 . . चरिये अ आचरियश्चा ज्ञातिका ते . . यथारहं पव-
 19 तितविये (O) एसा पोराणा पकिती दीघा च (P) हेमेव श
 20 च य वतितविये (Q) हेवं धंमे देवाणंपिय
 21 . . वं कटविये (R) डेन लिखितं
 22 . . पिकरेण

- 1 (A) [t]āna [cha va]
 2 Isi [vi]yā (B) Dev[ā]n[a]
 3 ya hakaṁ
 4 kho bādha (E) . . ti[roko]
 5 [ya]m [yā]
 6 [na]
 7 [h]i i[yam]
 8
 9
 10 [cha] [dhi]s
 11 . . [p]ulam pi [ya]dhiyam
 12 (K) i s[āvaṇe] [th]e[na] (L) 200 50 6 (M) [heme]va
 13 [mā]t[ā]-pitusu [s]itav[i]y[e] he[m]e[va] [na] . . ā . es[u]
 14 . . hy[ita]v[y]am sacham vataviyam [se]¹ i[me]
 15 hevam pa[va]titaviyā (N) [svaa]m na te s . t . va[s]
 16 taviya² hemeva āchari[ye] amtevāsin[ā]
 17 [r]ānā paki[tī] sita[v]iy[ā] [v]i[y]e³
 18 . . chari[y]e a⁴ [ā]char[i]yaśa nātikā te . . ya[thāraha]m [pava]-
 19 titaviye (O) eśā [po]rā[nā pa]kiti⁵ d[i]ghā cha (P) [he]me[va] śa e . ā .
 20 [cha] ya vati[tav]iye (Q) hevam [dhamm]e⁶ Devāṇaṁpiy⁷
 21 . . [va]m kaṭaviye (R) ḍena [likhita]m
 22 . . [pika]reṇa⁸

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¹ e Bühler.

³ . a[v]e Bühler.

⁷ . a[y]e Bühler.

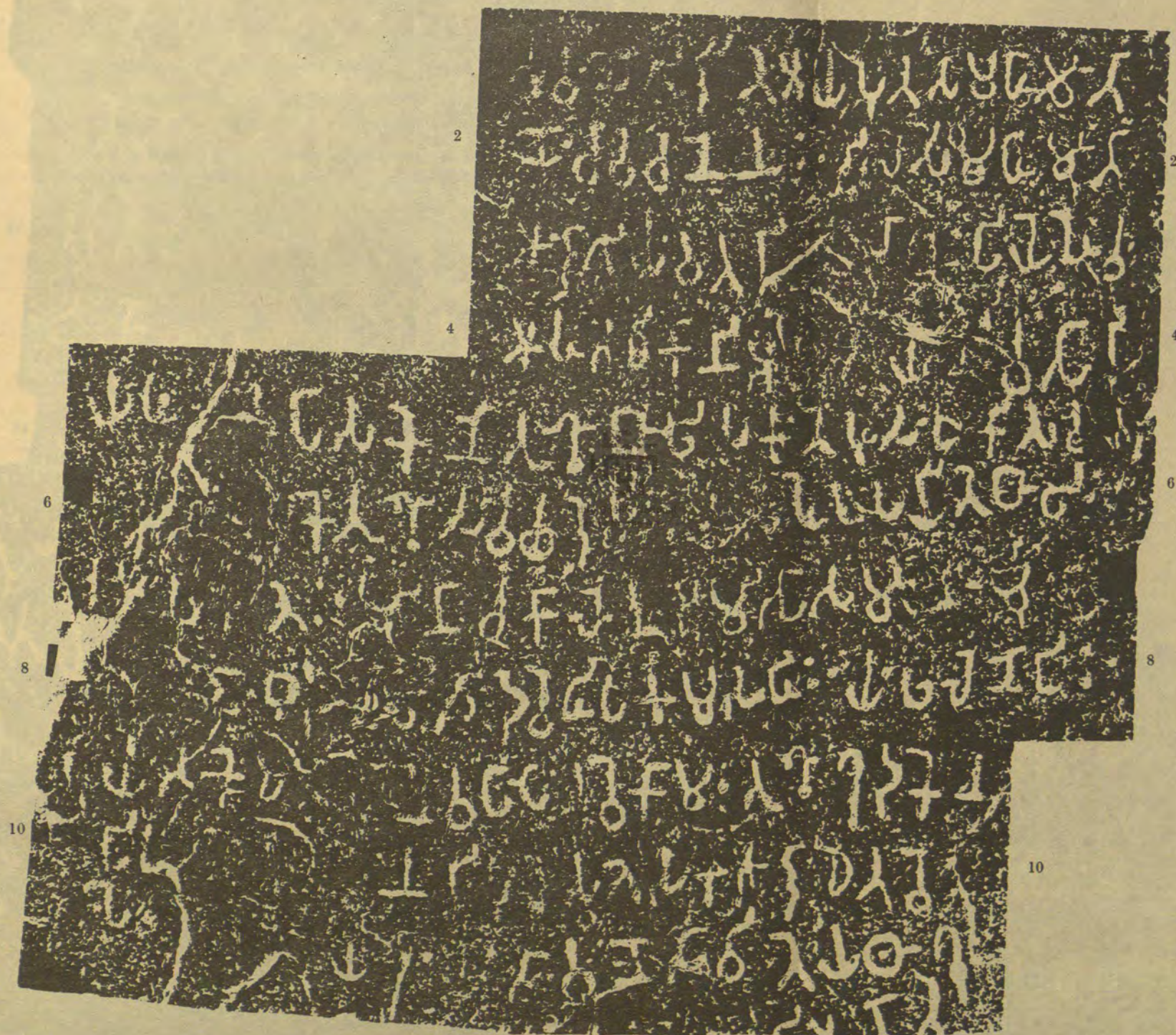
² I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section.

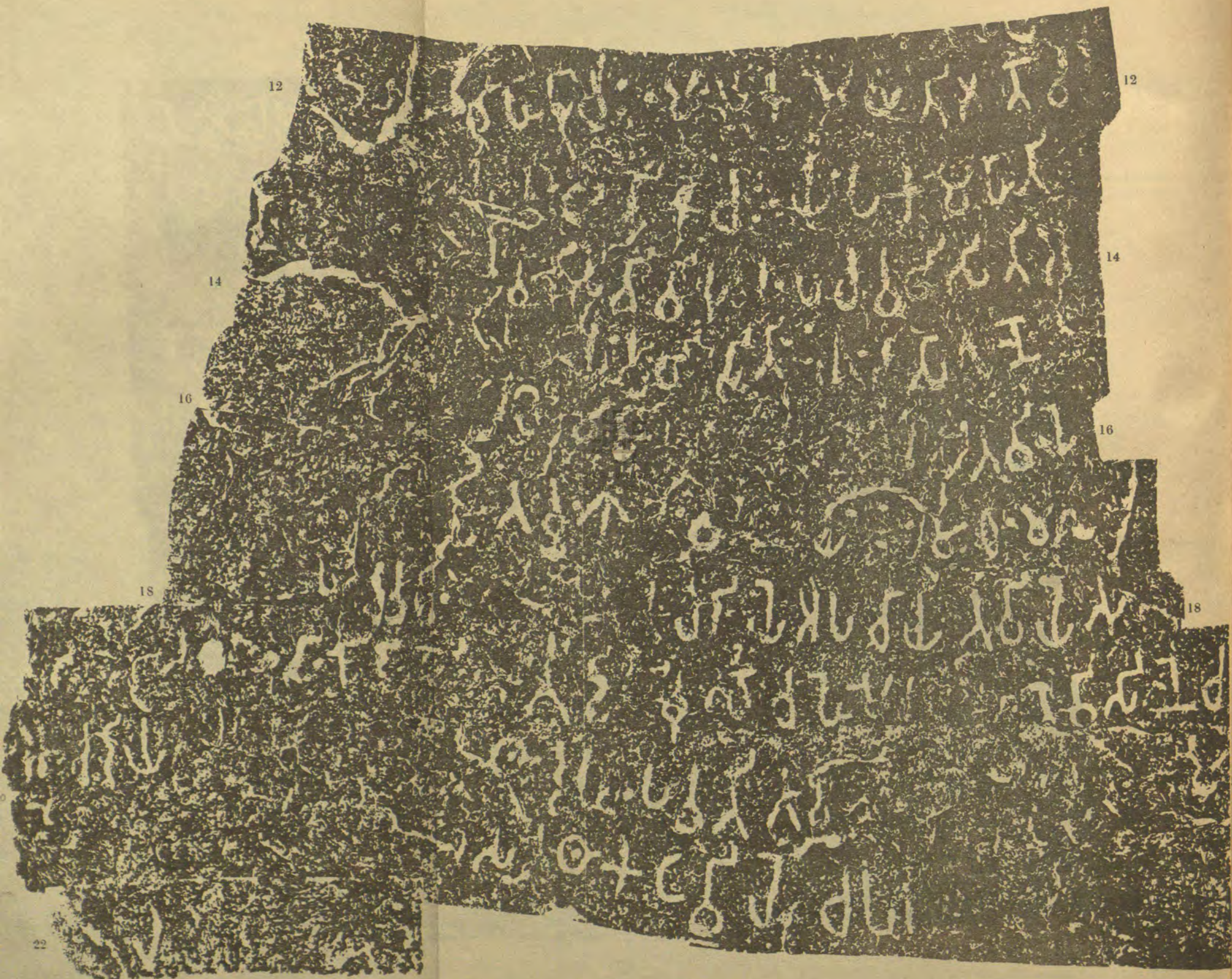
⁴ am Bühler.

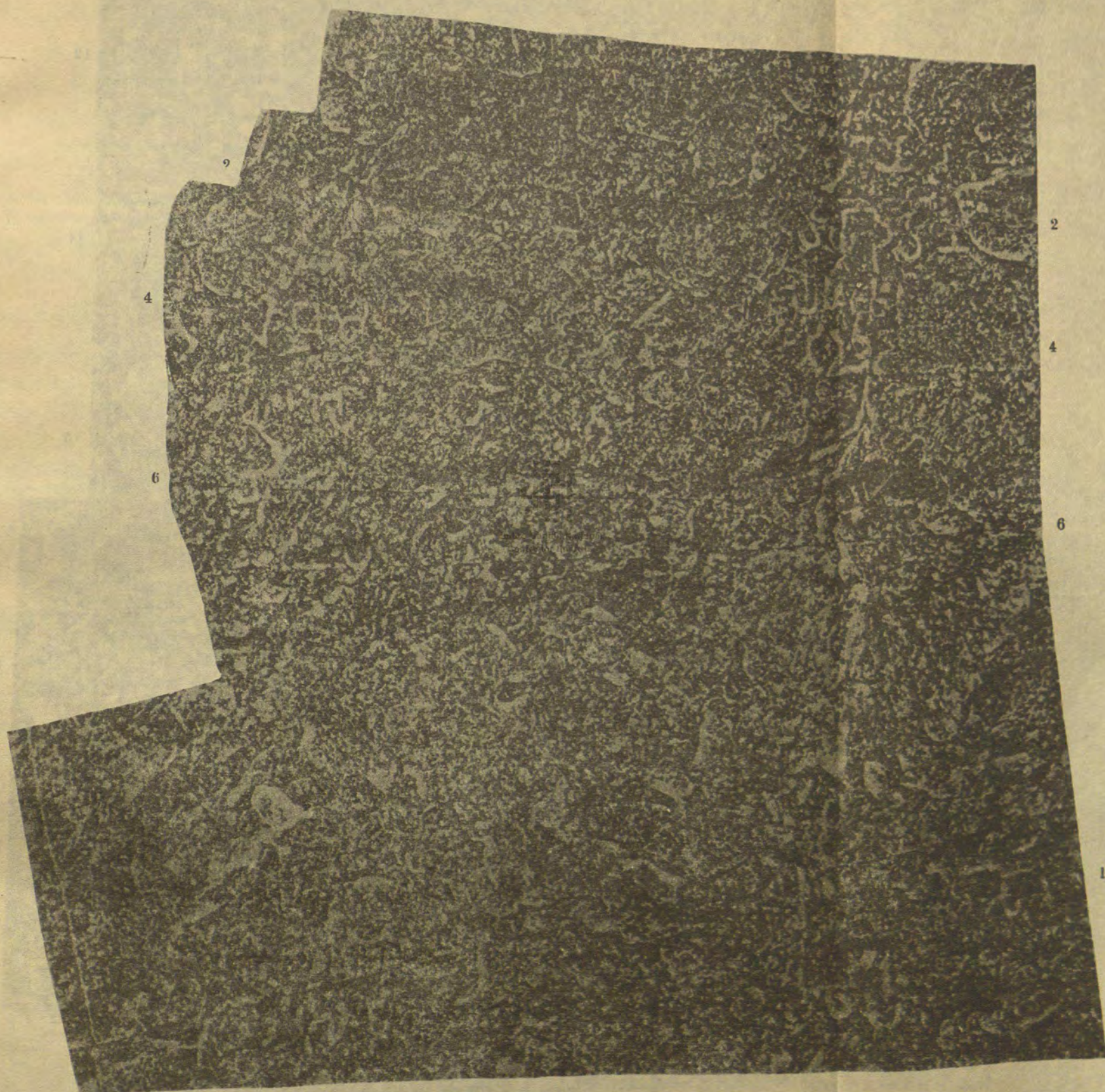
⁶ [pak]iti Bühler.

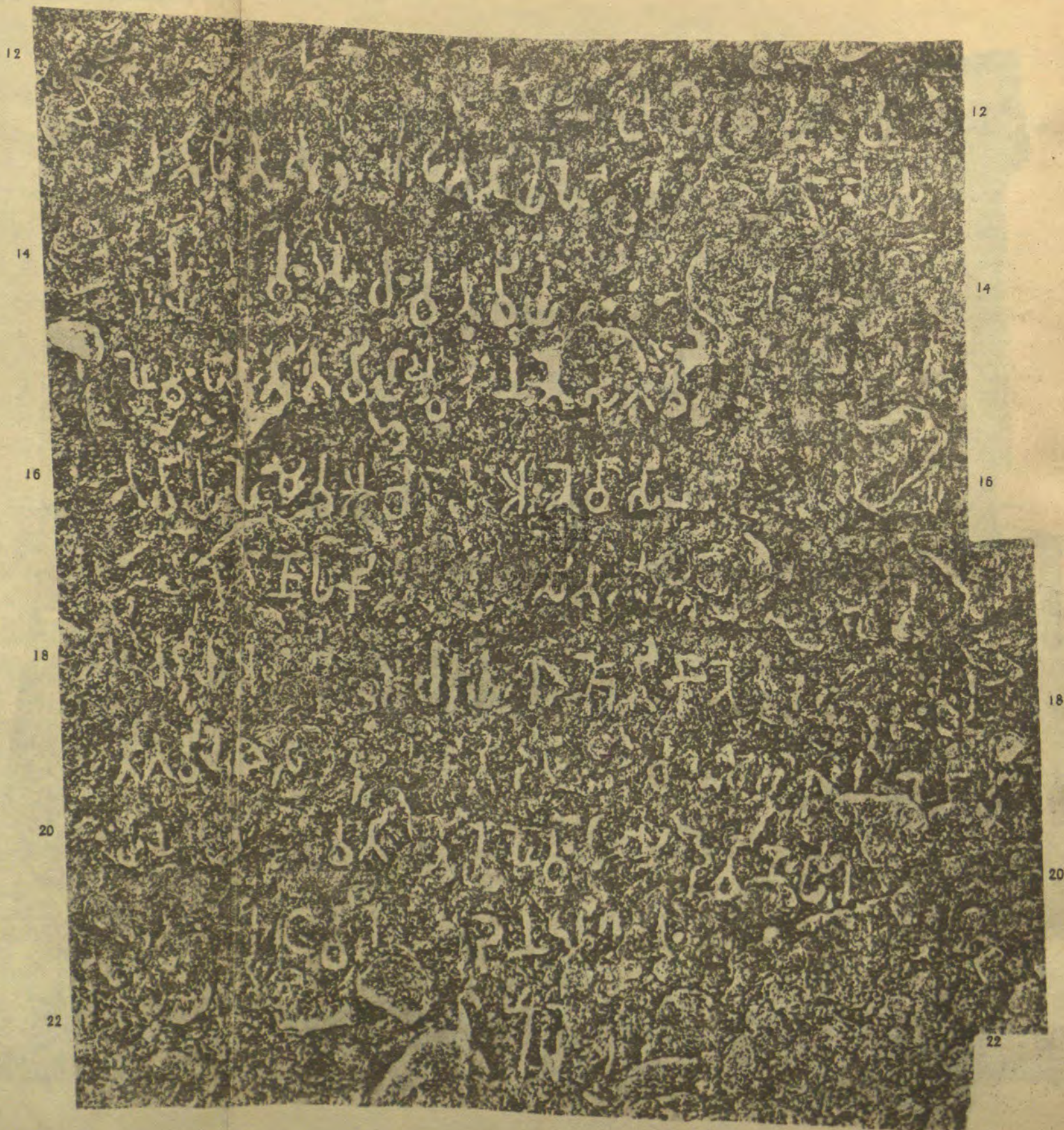
⁸ hevam [m]e Bühler.

⁸ This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.









IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

FIRST CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडसवसाभिसितेना
- 2 इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आजीविकेहि
- 1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvāḍasa-[vasābhisitenā]¹
- 2 [iyam Nigoha]-kubhā¹ di[nā ājivikehi]¹

TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Banyan-cave² was given to the Ājivikas.³

SECOND CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-
- 2 डसवसाभिसितेना इयं
- 3 कुभा खलतिकपवतसि
- 4 दिना आजीविकेहि
- 1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvā-
- 2 ḍasa-vasābhisitenā iyam
- 3 kubhā Khalatika-pavatasi
- 4 dinā [ājivi]kehi⁴

TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this cave in the Khalatika mountain was given to the Ājivikas.

¹ The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.

² This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f.).

³ The Ājivika sect was founded by Gōśāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvira. Kern, with whom Bühler sided, considered the Ājivikas to have been a Vaiṣṇava sect; see IA, 20. 361 f. This view was combated by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 21. 399 ff., and IA, 41. 90, 286 ff. Cf. Neumann's translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 248, n. 139, and Charpentier in JRAS, 1913. 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājivikas' in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

⁴ The bracketed letters are effaced; cf. above, n. 1. In the first of the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *ājivikehi*; see the plate in IA, 20. 365, D.

THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजः पियदसी एकुनवी-
- 2 सतिवसाभिसिते जलघो-
- 3 सागमथात् मे इयं कुभा
- 4 सुपिये ख दि-
- 5 ना

- 1 lāja Piyadasi ekunavi-
- 2 sati-vasā[bh]isi[t]e ja[lagh]o-
- 3 [sāgama]thāta [me] i[yaṁ kubhā]
- 4 su[p]i[y]e Kha¹ [di]-
- 5 nā²

TRANSLATION

When king Priyadarśin had been anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Kha[latika mountain] was given by me³ for (shelter during) the rainy season.⁴

¹ Restore *Khalatika-pavatasi* in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above.

² The end of the inscription is marked by a *svastika* and a dagger, and by a fish below them.

³ This pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor or, with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself. In either case the words *lāja* to °*site* are nominatives absolute.

⁴ Literally: 'for the sake (*athāta* = Skt. *arthataḥ* in the sense of *arthāya*?) of the approach of the roar of waters'. Cf. *vāsha-nishidiyāye*, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f., and EI, 2. 274).

APPENDIX: SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|----------|--------|----------|--------------------|-------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) iy[am] | dhamma-lipī | | | | | | Devānāmpriyena |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) iyaṁ | dhamma-lipī | | | | | | Devānāmpiyenā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) [aya] | dhrama-dipi | | | | | | Devanapriasa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) ayi | dhra[ma]-dip[i] | | | | | | Devanam[priye]na |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | | [si | pava] | tasi | [D]e[v]ā[na]mp[iy] | . . . | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (A) iyaṁ | dhamma-lipī | Khepi[m] | galasi | pavatasi | Devānāmpiyena | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------|-------------|------------|-----------|-----------|--------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | Priyadasinā | rāñā | lekh[ā]pitā | (B) [i]dha | na | kimchi | jivam | ārabhitpā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadas[i]nā | | [lekhit]ā | (B) [h]idā | no | kichhi | jive | ālabbhitu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | rañō | likhapitu | (B) hida | no | kich[i] | jive | ara[bhitsu] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Priya[dra]sina | rajina | li[khapitā | (B) hi[da] | no | kichhi | ji[ve] | ara[bhitsu] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [nā | lājinā | li[khā] | | | | [i]vaṁ | ālabbhitu |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | Piyadasinā | lājinā | likhāpitā | (B) hida | no | kichhi | jivam | ālabbhi[tu] |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|---------|----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | prajūhitavyaṁ | (C) na | cha | samājo | katavyo | (D) bahukaṁ | hi | dosam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pajohitaviye | (C) no | pi ch[ā] | samāje | kaṭaviye | (D) bahuk[ā] | hi | dosā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [p]rayuhotave | (C) no | pi ch[a] | sama[ja] | kaṭava | (D) ba[hu]ka | [hi] | dosha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pra[johi]taviye | (C) no | pi [cha] | samaj[e] | kaṭaviye | (D) bahu[ka] | hi | [dosha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pajo[h] | (C) [no | pi cha | sam]ā[je] | | | | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | pajohitaviye | (C) no | pi cha | samāje | kaṭaviye | (D) bahukaṁ | hi | dosam |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-----------|----------------|------------|------------------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | samājamhi | pasati | Devānāmpriyo | Priyadasī | rājā | (E) asti |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | samājasā | | Devān[am]piye | Pi[ya]dasī | lājā | (E) athi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sa[maya]spi | | Devanapriy[e] | Priadraśi | ray[a da]khati | (E) [a]sti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [samajasa | | Devanam[priye] | Priyadraśi | raja [da]kha[ti] | (E) asti |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [samā]ja . . [d] | | | | | (E) |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | samājasa | drakhati | Devānāmpiye | Piyadasī | lājā | (E) athi |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-------|-----------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | pi | tu | ekachā | samājā | sādhū-matā | Devānāmpriyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pi | ch[ā] | e]katiyā | samājā | sādh[u]-matā | Devānāmpiyasā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | chu | ekatia | samaye | sasu-mate | Devanapiasa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [pi | chu | eka]tiya | samaja | sa[dhu]-mata | Devanapriyasa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [pi | chu] | [t][y]ā | [sam]ā[jā] | s[ā]dhu-matā | Dev |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | pi | chu | ekatiyā | samājā | sādhū-matā | Devānāmpiyasa |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | Priyadasino | rāño | (F) purā | mahānas[amhi] | Devānāmpriyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadasis[ā] | lājine | (F) [p]ule | mahānasasi | Devānāmpiyasā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priadraśisa | raño | (F) pura | mahana[sas]i | [Devana]pr[i]asa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Priyadraśi[sa] | rajine | (F) pura | maha[nasa]si | [Devana]pri[ya]sa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [Piyadasine | lā]j[ine] | (F) | [mah] | |
| <i>Fau.</i> | Piyadrasine | lājine | (F) puluvaṃ | mahā[nasa]si | Devānāmpiyasa |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------|------------|----------|--------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | Priy[a]dasino | rāño | anudivasam | bahūni | prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadasisā | lājin[e] | anudivasam | bahuni | pāta-sahasāni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priadraśisa | raño | anudivaso | bahuni | pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Pri[yadra]śisa | rajine | anudiva[sa | ba]huni | praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Piy[a] | | | [n]i | [p]āna-[sa]ta |
| <i>Fau.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | anudivasam | bah[ū]ni | pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------|-----------|--------|-------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | ārabhisu | sūpāthāya | (G) se | aja | yadā | ayam | dha[m]ma-lip[i] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | alambhiyisu | supaṭhāy[e] | (G) se | i[d]ān† | ya[dā] | iyam | dhamma-lipi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [arabhi]yis[u] | supaṭhay[e] | (G) s[o | i]dani | yada | aya | dhrama-dipi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [arabh]isu | supa[thra]ye | (G) s[e] | | ..[da] | ayi | dhrama-dipi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [ā]labhiyisu | sūpāthāy[e] | (G) se | a[ja] | adā | [iyam | dha[m]ma-lipī |
| <i>Fau.</i> | ālabhiyisu | sūpa[th]āye | (G) se | aja | adā | iyam | dhamma-lipī |

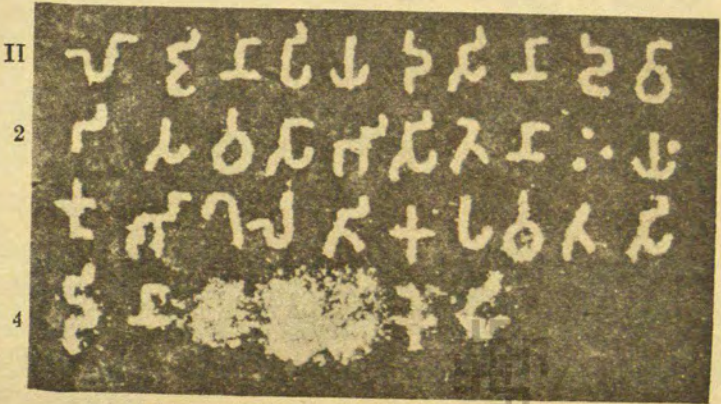
| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|--------|--------|-----------------------|------------------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | likhitā | ti | eva | prāṇā | ārabhare | sūpāthāya | dvo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lekhitā | tadā | timni | yevā | pānāni | alabhi[ya]m]ti | duve |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | likhita | tada | trayo | vo | prana | hamnānt[i] | majura |
| <i>Mān.</i> | likhi[ta] | ta[da] | ti[ni] | y[eva] | pra[na]ni | [ara]bh[iya]m]ti | du[v]e [2] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | likhitā | tim | | | [āla]bh[iy] | | |
| <i>Fau.</i> | likhitā | timni | yeva | pānāni | āla[m]bhiyaṃti | | duve |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|---------|-----------|------|-----|-------|---------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | morā | eko | mago | so | pi | mago | na | dhruvo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | majūl[ā] | eke | mige | se | pi | [chū] | mige | no |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | duv[i] 2 | mrugo | 1 | so | pi | | mrugo | no |
| <i>Mān.</i> | majura | [e]k[e] | m[r]ig[e] | s[e] | p[i | chu] | mrig[e] | no |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | | | | | | dhruva[m] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | majulā | eke | mige | se | pi | chu | mige | no |

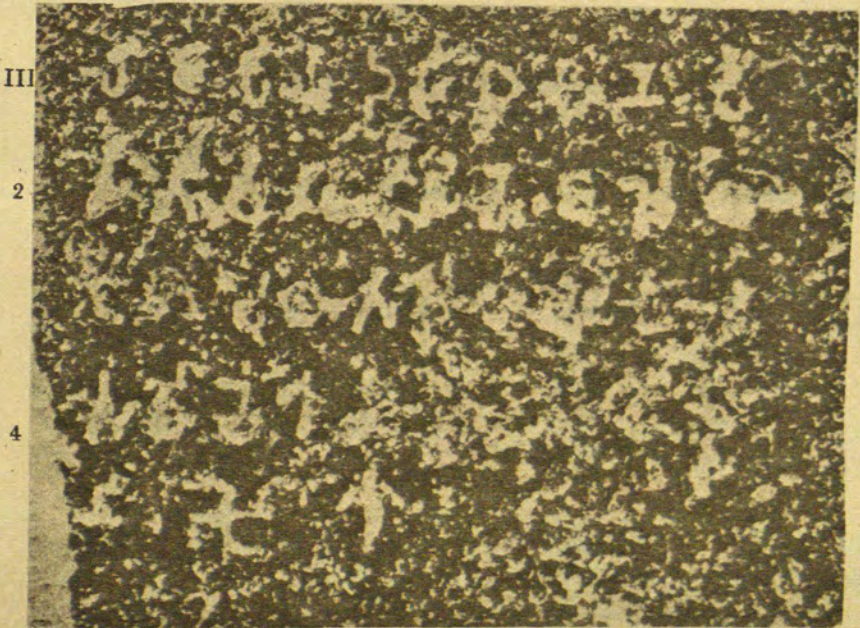
| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----|-------|---------|----------|--------|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (H) ete | pi | trī | prāṇā | pachhā | na | ārabhisare |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (H) e[t]āni | pi | ch[u] | tini | pānā[n]i | no | alābhi[y]isa[m]ti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (H) eta | pi | | praṇa | trayo | pacha | na |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (H) [e]tani | pi | chu | [tini] | praṇani | pacha | no |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | | [t]imni | pānāni | pachhā | n[o] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | (H) etāni | pi | chu | timni | pānāni | pachhā | no |

SECOND ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) sarvata | vijitamhi | Devānāmpriyasa | Piyadasino | rāño |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) sav[a]tā | vijitasi | Devānāmpiyas[ā] | Piyadasis[ā] | lājine |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) sav[r]atra | vijite | [De]va[nam]priyasa | Priyadraśisa | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) sa[vatra | vi]jitasi | Devanapriyasa | Priyadraśisa | rajine |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) [sa]vata | [v]i[ji]tasi | [D]e[v]ānāmpiyasa | Piyadasi[ne | l] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | (A) savata | vijitasi | Devānāmpiyasa | Piyadasine | lājine |



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| <i>Gir.</i> | evamapi | pracharītesu | yathā | Choḍā | Pādā | Satiyaputo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ye cha | am̐tā | [a]thā | Choḍā | Paṁ[di]yā | Sātiyaputo |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | y[e] cha | [a]m̐ta | yatha | [Choḍa] | Paṁḍiya | Satiyaputro |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ye cha | ata | atha | [Choḍa] | Pa[m̐di]ya | Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | [athā] | . | . | . |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | e vā pi | am̐tā | athā | Choḍā | Paṁḍiyā | Satiyapu[t]e |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Ketalaputo | ā | Tambapam̐nī | Am̐tiyako | Yona-rājā | ye vā pi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Ke[lala]puto | | Tam̐ba[pa]m̐ni | Am̐tiyoge | [n]āmā | Yona-lājā ye chā am̐ne |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Keraḍaputro | | Tambapam̐nī | Am̐tiyo[k]o | nama | Yona-rajā ye cha am̐ne |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Keralaputra | | [Tam̐]bapaṇi | [A]tiyoge | nama | Yona-[raja] ye cha [a] . . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | | . . [t]iyoke | nāma | Yo[na]-lājā [e] vā [p]i |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | | ī | Am̐tiyoke | nāma | Yona-lājā [e] vā pi |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | tasa | Am̐tiy[a]kas[a] | sām̐p[am̐] | rājāno | sarvatra | Devānam̐priyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | tas[ā] | A[m̐]tiyogasā | sā[ma]m̐tā | lā[j]āno | [sa]vatā | Devānam̐piyasā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tasa | Am̐tiyokasa | samam̐ta | rajano | savratra | Devanam̐priyasa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . . sa | [gasa] | samata | ra[jane] | sa[vratra] | priyasa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [ta]sa | Am̐tiyo[k]a[sa] | sāmam̐tā | lājāne | savat[a] | D]evā[nam̐]i[ye]na |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | tasa | Am̐tiyokasa | sāmam̐tā | lājāne | savata | Devānam̐piyena |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Priyadasino | rāño | dve | chikīchha | katā | manusa-chikīchhā | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadasisā | lājine | duve | chikisakā | kaṭā | manusa-chikisā | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priyadraśisa | raño | du[vi] 2 | chik[i]sa | [kr]i[ṭa] | manuśa-chikisa | . . |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Priyadraśisa | rajine | [duve 2] | chikisa | [ka]ṭa | manuśa-chik[isa] | cha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | P[i]yadasi[nā] | | | | | [s]ā | cha |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | Piyadasinā | lāji | | | | [ch]ikisā | cha |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | pasu-chikīchhā | cha | (B) osuḍhāni | cha | yāni | m[a]nusopagān[i] | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pasu-chikisā | chā | (B) osadhīn[i] | | | manusopagāni | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pa[śu-ch]ikisa | [cha] | (B) [o]sha[ḍha]ni | | | manuśopakani | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | paśu-[chi]kisa | cha | (B) osha[ḍha]ni | | | manu . . . ka[ni] | cha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā] | cha | (B) dhāni | ān[i] | m]u[nisopa]gāni | | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | pasu-chikisā | cha | (B) osadhāni | āni | munisopagāni | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | pasopagāni | cha | yata | yata | nāsti | sarvatrā | hārāpitāni | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pasopagāni | chā | a[ta]tā | | n[a]th[i] | sa]vatā | [h]ālāpitā | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | paśopakani | cha | yat[r]a | yatra | nasti | savatra | harapita | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pa [kani] | cha | atra | atra | nasti | savra]tra | [ha]rapit[ta | cha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pasu-opagān[i] | cha | atata | | na[thi] | savata | hā]lāpit[ā] | cha |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | pasu-opagāni | cha | atata | | nathi | sava[ta] | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | ropāpitāni | cha | (C) | mūlāni | cha | phalāni | cha | yata yatra |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lo[p]āpit[ā] | chā | (C) [e]vamevā | mulāni | chā | phalāni | chā | a[ta]t[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vuta | cha | | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ropa[pita] | cha | (C) e[va]meva | mulani | [cha] | phalani | [cha] | a[tra a]tra |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [lo]pāp[i]tā | [cha] | (C) | mū[l] | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | | | | | | | cha atata |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | nāsti sarvata | hārāpitāni cha | rop[ā]pitāni cha | (D) paṁthesū kūpā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nathi savatā | hālāp[i]tā chā | lopāpitā [ch]ā | (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [na]sti [savra]tra | harapita | cha ro[pa]pita | cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | v[a]t[a] | hālāpitā | [cha] lo[p]āpitā | cha (D) ma[g]e[su] udu]pānāni |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | nathi s[a]vatra | hālāpitā | cha lopāpitā | cha (D) magesu udupānāni |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | cha khānāpitā | vrachhā | cha ropāpit[ā] | paribhogāya | pasu-manusānam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lopitāni | ud[u]pānā[n]i | chā khānāpitāni | paṭibhogāye | pasu-munis[ā]nam |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (C) kupa | | cha khanapita | pratibh[o]gaye | paśu-manusānam |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [ropa]pi[tani] | | [pi]tani | paṭibhogaye | paśu-m[uni]śanam |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | khānāpitāni | lukhāni | cha lopā[p]itāni | p[a]ṭibhogāye | [na]m |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | khānāpitāni | lukhāni | cha | | |

THIRD ROCK-EDICT

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) Devānampiyo | Piyadasi | r[ā]jā | evam | āha | (B) dbādasa- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) De[vā]nampiye | Piyadasi | lājā | h[e]vam | āhā | (B) du[v]āḍasa- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) Devanampiyo | Priyadraśi | raja | | ahati | (B) badaya- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) Devanapiye | Priyadraśi | raja | eva | a[ha] | (B) duva[ḍa]śa- |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) Devānampiye | Piyadasi | lājā | hevam | āhā | (B) duvādasa- |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | (A) Devā[na]m̐piye | Piyadasi | lājā | hevam | āhā | (B) duvādasa- |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | vāsābhisitena | mayā idam | ān[a]pitam | (C) sarvata | vijite | mama |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | v[a]sābhisitena | me iyam | ānapayite | (C) savatā | vijitasi | [mama] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vashabh[i]si[tena] | | [a]napit[am] | (C) savatra | ma[a] | vijite |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vashabhisetena | me iyam | [ānapayit]e | (C) savrat[r]a | vijitasi | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | vasābhisitena | me iy[a]m | ānāp[ay]i | (C) [ta | v[i]j]it[a]si | m[e] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | vasābhisitena | me iyam | [ā] | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | yutā cha rājūke | cha prādesike | cha paṁchasu | paṁchasu | vāsesu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | yutā laj[ū]k[e] | pādesike | pa[m]cha[s]u | paṁchasu | vasesu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | yuta rajuko | pradeśi[ka] | paṁcha]shu | paṁchashu | 5 vasheshu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . . ta [ra]ju . . | pradeśike | [paṁ]chashu | paṁ[chashu] | 5 vashesh[u] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | yut[ā] la[ji]u[k]e | | paṁchasu | paṁchasu | vasesu |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | cha pād[e]sike | cha paṁchasu | paṁchasu | vasesu |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | anusamy[ā]na[m] | n]iyātu | etāyeva | athāya | imāya | dhammānusastiya |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [a]nusa[m]yānam | nikham[a]m]tu | etāye vā | a[ṭh]āye | imāya | dhammanusathiyā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | anusamyānam | nik[r]amatu | etisa | vo karaṇa | imisa | dhammanusastiye |
| <i>Mān.</i> | anusa[m]yana[m] | nikramatu | etaye | va athraye | imaye | dhramanusastiye |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | anusayānam | nikhamāvū | | | | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | anusayānam | nikhamāvū | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | yathā añāya | pi kaṁmāy[a] | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | yathā am[nāye] | pi kaṁmāye | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [tha] añāye | pi kraṁmāye | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ya[tha] añāye | pi krama[ne] | | | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | athā amnāye | pi [ka]m[ma]ne | hevam | imā[y]e | [dham]mānus[ath]iy[e] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | athā amnāye | pi kaṁma[n]e | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (D) | [s]ādhu | mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā | mitra-saṁstuta-ñātīnaṁ | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (D) | sādhu | māta-pitisu | sususā | mita-saṁthuta-nāṭikyān[am] chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (D) | sadhu | mata-pitushu | suśrusha | mitra-saṁst[u]ta-ñāṭikanam |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (D) | [s]adhu | mata-[pi]tu]shu | [s]u[śrusha | mitra]-sa[m]stuta-ñāṭikanam cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (D) | [s]ād[h]u | māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su | su[s]ūs[ā m] | ... nātisu cha |
| <i>Fau.</i> | . | . | . | [s]ā | mita-saṁthute[s]... nātisu ch[a] |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | bāmhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ | sādh[u d]ānaṁ prāṇānaṁ sādhu | anāraṁbho |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | baṁbhana-sama[nā]naṁ [chā] | sādhu d[ā]ne pāṇānaṁ | anālaṁbh[e] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[nam] | ... [pra]ṇanaṁ | [anaram]bho |
| <i>Mān.</i> | bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[m] | sadhu dane praṇana | [anara]bhe |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | baṁbhana-samanehi | sādhu dāne jīvesu | anālaṁbhe |
| <i>Fau.</i> | baṁbhana-samanehi | sādhu dāne jīvesu | [a]nālaṁbhe |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | apa-vyayatā | apa-bhādatā | sādhu (E) | parisā | pi | yute |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā | [a]pa-[bha]m[da]t[ā] | sādhu (E) | palisā | pi | cha yutāni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sadhu apa-vayata | apa-bhamdata | sadhu (E) | pari | [pi] | yutani |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sadhu apa-[va]yata | apa-bha[data] | sadhu (E) | pārisha | pi | cha yutani |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā] | apa-bh[am]datā | sādhu (E) | p[a]lisā | pi | cha ... [nas]i |
| <i>Fau.</i> | sādhu | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | āṇapayisati | gaṇanāyaṁ | hetuto | cha | vyamjanato | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [ga]ṇanasi | anap[a]yisanti | hetuyatā | chā | viyamjanat[e] | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [ga]ṇanasi | aṇapeṣanti | hetuto | cha | vaṁṇanato | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ga[ṇa]nasi | [aṇapa]yīsa[ti] | he[tute] | cha | vi[yaṁja]nate | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | y[u]t[ān]i | ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti | [he]tut[e] | ch[a] | vi[yaṁja] | |
| <i>Fau.</i> | ... | [y]i ... | hetute | cha | viyamjanate | cha |

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | atikātāṁ | aṁt[a]raṁ | bahūni | vāsa-satāni | vaḍhito | eva |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | atika[m]tām | a[m]ta[la]m | bahuni | vasa-satāni | v[adh]it[e] | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | atikrataṁ | aṁtaraṁ | bahuni | vasha-śatani | vaḍhito | vo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | atikrataṁ | ata[raṁ] | bahuni | vasha-śa[ta]ni | vadhite | vo |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | atikamtaṁ | aṁtalaṁ | bahūni | vasa-satāni | vaḍhite | va |
| <i>Fau.</i> | (A) | a[t]ikamtaṁ | aṁtalaṁ | bahūni | vasa-satāni | vaḍhite | va |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | prāṇāraṁbho | vihimsā | cha | bhūtānaṁ | ñātīsu | a[s]aṁpratipatī |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pā[nā]laṁbhe | vi[h]isā | chā | bhutaṇaṁ | nātinā | asaṁ[pa]tip[a]ti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | praṇaraṁbho | vihisa | cha | bhuta[na]m | ñatina | asaṁpaṭipati |
| <i>Mān.</i> | praṇaram[bh]e | vihi[sa] | cha | bhutanam | ñatina | asapa[t]ipati |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pānā[la]mbhe | vihisā | cha | bhūtānaṁ | nātisu | asaṁpaṭipati |
| <i>Fau.</i> | pānālaṁbhe | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṁ | asaṁpratipatī | (B) | ta | aja | Devānaṁpriyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | samana-b[am]bhanānaṁ | asaṁpaṭipati | (B) | s[e] | ajā | Devānaṁpiyasā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m] | a[sam]paṭipati | (B) | [so | aja | Devana]mpriyasa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | śrama[ṇa]-bramaṇana | asa[m]paṭipati | (B) | se | aja | [De]vanapriyasa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | samana-bābha[ne]su | asaṁpaṭipati | (B) | se | aja | Devānaṁpiyasa |
| <i>Fau.</i> | . | . | (B) | se | aja | Devānaṁpiyasa |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Priyadasino | rāño | dhamma-charaṇena | [bhe]rī-ghoso | aho |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | dhamm[a]-chal[an]enā | bheli-ghose | aho |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priyadraśisa | [raño] | dhrama-charaṇena | bheri-ghosha | aho |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Priyadraśine | rajine | dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]na | bheri-ghoshe | aho |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | dhamma-chalanena | bheli-ghosam | a[h]o |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | dhamma-chalanena | bhe[l] | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | dhamma-ghoso | vimāna-darsaṇā | cha hasti-da[sa]ṇā cha agi-kh[a]m̐dhāni |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dhamma-ghose | vimana-dasan[ā] | [ha]thini agi-kam̐dh[ā]ni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhrama-ghosha | vimanana[m̐]draśanam̐ | [a]stina joti-kam̐dhani |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dhama-ghoshe | vimana-draśana | asti[ne] agi-kam̐dhan[i] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | dhamma-[gho]sam̐ | vimāna-dasanam̐ | hathīni [a]gi-kam̐dhāni |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | [a]ñāni | cha | divyāni | rūpāni | dasayitpā | janam̐ | (C) yārise |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | am̐nāni | chā | divyāni | lupāni | dasayitu | jana[sa] | (C) [ā]disā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | añani | cha | divani | rupani | draśayitu | janasa | (C) yadiśam̐ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | aña[ni] | cha] | di[vani] | rupani | draśeti | janasa | (C) [a]diśe |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | am̐nāni | cha | [di]vi[y]āni | lūpān[i] | dasayitu | munisānam̐ | (C) ād[i]se |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | divi[y]āni | lūpāni | drasayitu | munisānam̐ | (C) ādise |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | bahūhi | v[āsa]-satehi | na | bhūta-puve | tārise | aja | vaḍhite |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ba[h]u[hi] | v[asa]-[sa]tehi | nā | huta-puluve | tādise | ajā | vaḍhite |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bahuhi | vasha-śatehi | na | bhuta-pruve | tadiśe | aja | vaḍhite |
| <i>Mān.</i> | bahuhi | vasha-śa[tehi] | na | [hu]ta-pr[u]ve | tadiśe | [a]ja | vaḍhite |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | b[a]hūhi | vasa-sa[t]ehi | no | hūta-puluve | tādise | aja | va[ḍhite] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | bahūhi | vasa-sate | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Devānam̐priyasa | Priyadasino | rāño | dhammānusastiyā | anāram̐[bh]o |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Devānam̐piyasā | Piyadasine | [lājine] | dhammanusathiye | a[n]ālambhe |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanam̐priyasa | Priyadraśisa | raño | dhrammanuśa[sti]ya | anaram̐bho |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [De]vanapriyasa | Priyadraśine | rajine | dhramanuśastiya | anarabhe |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [De]vānam̐piyasa | Piy[a]dasine | lājīn[e] | dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā | an[āla]mbhe |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | dhammānusastiyā | anālambhe |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | prāṇānam̐ | avihiśā | bhūtānam̐ | ñātīnam̐ | saṃpaṭipatī | bramhaṇa-samaṇānam̐ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pānānam̐ | avihiśā | bhutānam̐ | nāti[nam̐] | saṃpaṭipati | baṃbha[na-sa]manānam̐ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | praṇa[nam̐] | avihisa | bhutanam̐ | ñatina[m̐] | saṃpa[ti]pati | [bra]maṇa-śramaṇana |
| <i>Mān.</i> | praṇana | avihisa | bhutana | ñatina | saṃpaṭipati | bamaṇa-śramaṇana |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pānānam̐ | avihiśā | bhūtānam̐ | nātisu | saṃpaṭipat[i] | sama[na-b[ā]bhanesu |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | pānānam̐ | avihiśā | bhūtānam̐ | nātisu | [saṃpa] | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | saṃpaṭipatī | mātari | pitari | [s]usrusā | thaira-susrusā | (D) | esa | añe |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | saṃpaṭipati | mātā-pitisu | sususā | | | (D) | ese | chā am̐ne |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | saṃpaṭipati | mata-pitushu | | vudhana[m̐] | suśrusha | (D) | e[ta] | añam̐ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sa[m̐]paṭipati | mata-pitushu | suśru[sha] | vudhrana | [su]śrusha | (D) | eshe | añ[e] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | saṃpaṭipati | m[ā]t[i]-pitu- | susūsā | vu[ḍha]- | susūsā | (D) | esa | am̐ne |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | (D) | esa | am̐ne |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | bahuvidhe | [dha]m̐ma-charaṇe | va[dhi]te | (E) vaḍhayisati | cheva |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | chā | ba[h]uvidhe | dham̐ma-chalane | vadh[i]te | (E) vadhīyisati | chevā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha | bahuvidham̐ | dhrama-charaṇam̐ | vaḍhitam̐ | (E) vaḍhiṣati | cha yo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | cha | bahuvidhe | dhrama-charaṇe | vadhrite | (E) vadhrayisati | yeva |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | cha | ba[h]uvidhe | dh[a]m̐ma-chalane | vaḍhite | (E) vaḍhayis[a]ti | cheva |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | cha | bahuvidhe | dham̐ma-chalane | vaḍhite | (E) va[ḍhay]i | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Devānam̐priyo | [Pri*]ya[da]si | rājā | | dham̐ma-[cha]raṇam̐ | idam̐ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Devānam̐piy[e] | Piyadasi | lāja | ima[m̐] | dha[m̐]ma-chalanam̐ | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanam̐priyasa | Priyadraṣisa | raño | | dhrama-charaṇam̐ | ima[m̐] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Devanapriye | Priyadraṣi | raja | | dhama-[cha]raṇa | ima[m̐] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Devānam̐piye | Piyada[s̐]i | l[ā]jā | | dham̐ma-chalanam̐ | imam̐ |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (F) putrā | cha | [p]otrā | cha | prapotrā | cha | Devānam̐priyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (F) putā | cha | kaṁ | natale | chā | panātikyā | ch[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (F) putra | pi | cha | kaṁ | nataro | cha | pranatika |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (F) [putra] | pi | cha | ka | natare | cha | paṇatika |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (F) putā | pi | chu | nati | [panati] | .. | [cha] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Priyadasino | rāño | [pra*]vadhayisaṁti | | idam̐ | [dha]m̐ma-charaṇam̐ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | [pa]v[a]dhayisaṁti | ch]ev[a] | | dham̐ma-chalanam̐ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priyadraṣisa | raño | pra[va]dh[e]ṣaṁti | [yo] | | dhrama-charaṇam̐ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Priyadaṣine | rajine | pavaḍhayisaṁti | yo | | dhrama-charaṇa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | pavaḍhayisaṁti | yeva | | dham̐ma-chalanam̐ |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | pavaḍhayi[s̐a]m̐[t̐i] | [y]e[va] | | dham̐ma-cha[la] |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | āva savaṭa-kapā | dham̐mam̐hi | sīlam̐hi | tistam̐to | [dha]m̐mam̐ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | i[m̐am̐] | āva-kapa[m̐] | dham̐masi | s[ī]lasi | chā | chiṭhit[u] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ima[m̐] | ava]-kapa | dhrame | śīle | cha | tiṭhiti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | imam̐ | [a]va-kapam̐ | dhrame | śīle | cha | [chi]ṭhiti |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | imam̐ | ā-k[a]pam̐ | dham̐masi | [s̐]ilasi | ch[a] | ch[i]ṭh[th]itu |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | anusāsisaṁti | (G) [e]sa | hi | seṭhe | kaṁme | ya | dham̐mānusāsanaṁ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | anusāsisaṁti | (G) ese | hi | seṭhe | kaṁm[am̐] | am̐ | dham̐mānusāsanaṁ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | anusāṣisaṁti | (G) eta | h[i] | s]retham̐ | k[r]ama[m̐] | yam̐ | dhraman[u]śaṣana[m̐] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | anu[śa]ṣisaṁti | (G) eshe | hi | sreṭhe | | a[m̐] | dhramanuśaṣana |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [a]nus[ā]sisam̐[t̐i] | (G) esa | h[i] | se[ṭhe] | kaṁ]me | yā | dham̐mānusāsana |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (H) dham̐ma-charaṇe | pi | na | [bha]vati | aṣilasa | (I) [ta] | imam̐hi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (H) dham̐ma-chalane | pi | chā | no | hoti | (I) se | im[a]s[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (H) dhrama-charaṇa[m̐] | pi | cha | na | bhoti | (I) so | imisa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe] | pi | [cha] | na | hoti | (I) se | imasa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (H) dham̐ma-chalane | pi | chu | no | hoti | (I) se | imasa |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | (H) dham̐ma-chalane | pi | chu | no | ho[t̐]i | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | param | cha | tena | y[a] | me | [a]pacham | | āva samvāṭa-kapā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [chā] | palam | [chā] | tehi | [ye] | apatiye | [m]e | | āva-kapam |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha | para[m] | cha | [tena | y]e | me | apacha vṛakshamti | | ava-kapam |
| <i>Mān.</i> | cha | para | cha | t[e]na | ye | apatiye | me | | [a]va-[ka]pam |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [va] | m | cha | t[e]na | ye | apatiye | me | | āva-kapam |
| <i>Fau.</i> | va | palam | cha | te | . | . | . | . | . |

Gir. anuvatisare tathā so sukataṃ kāśati (*F*) yo tu eta desaṃ
Kāl. tathā anuvaṭisa[ri]ti s[e] s[u]kaṭaṃ kachham[t]i (*F*) e chu het[ā] desaṃ
Shāh. tatha ye an[u]vaṭisamti te s[u]kiṭa[ri] kashariti (*F*) yo chu ato . . kaṃ
Mān. tatha anuvaṭīsati se sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (*F*) ye [chu] atra deśa
Dhau. tathā anuvatisamti s[e] sukaṭaṃ kachh[aṃ]ti (*F*) e heta d[esa]ri
Fau.

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| <i>Gir.</i> | pi hāpesati | so [du]kaṭam kāsati | (G) sukaram hi | pāpa[m] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pi hāpa[y][sat]i | s[e] dukaṭam kachhati | (G) p[ā]pe hi nāmā supadālaye | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi hapeśadi | so dukaṭam kashati | (G) papam h[i] | sukaram |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pi hapeśati | se dukaṭa kashati | (G) pape hi nama supadarave | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pi hāpayisat[i] | se dukaṭam kachhati | (G) pā[p]e hi [nāma] supadālaye | |
| <i>Jau.</i> | . | . | . | s[u]padālaye |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (H) | atikātaṃ | am̐taraṃ | na | bhūta-pruvaṃ | dham̐ma-mahāmātā | nāma |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (H) | se | atikam̐taṃ | am̐talaṃ | no | huta-puluva | dham̐[ma]-mahāmātā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (H) | sa | atikrataṃ | atara | no | bhuta-pruva | dhram̐ma-ma[ha]ma[tra] nama |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (H) | s[e] | atikrata[m̐] | a[m̐]tara[m̐] | na | bhuta-pruva | dhrama-[ma]hamatra |
| <i>Dhan.</i> | (H) | s[e] | at[ikam̐]taṃ | am̐talaṃ | no | huta-puluvā | dham̐ma-mahāmātā |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | (H) | se | [a] | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (I) ta m[a]yā traidasa-vāsābhi[s]i[tena] | dhamm[a]-mahāmātā | katā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā mamayā | dhamma-mahāmāt[ā] | ka[tā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (I) so todaśa-vashabhisitena maya | dharma-mahamatra | kaṭa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (I) se treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya | dharma-mahamatra | kaṭa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (I) se tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena me | dhamma-mahāmātā nāma | kaṭa |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (Ÿ) te | sava-pāsaṁḍesu | -vyāpatā | dhāmadhiṣṭānāya | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (Ÿ) [te] | sav[a]-pāsaṁ[de]su | viyā[pa]tā | dhām[m]ādhithā[nāye | ch]ā | dhāmma- | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (Ÿ) te | savra-prasaṁḍesh[u] | vapaṭa | dhraṁmadhithanaye | cha | dhrama- | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (Ÿ) te | savra-pa[sha]desha | vapuṭa | dhramadhitha[na]ye | cha | dhrama- | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (Ÿ) te | sava-pāsaṁḍe[su] | v[i]y[āpaṭā] | dhāmmādhithān[ā]ye | | dhāmma- | |
| <i>Ÿau.</i> | . | . | . | [dha]m[m]ā[dh]i[th]ānā | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | [dha]m̐ma-yutasa | cha | Yona-K[a]m̐bo[ja]- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vaḍhiyā | hi[da]-sukhāye | vā | dham̐m[a]-yutas[ā] | | Yona-Kam̐b[o]ja- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vaḍhiya | hida-sukhaye | cha | dhrama-yutasa | | Yona-Kam̐boya- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vadhriya | hida-sukhaye | cha | dh[r]ama-yutasa | | Yona-Kam̐boja- |
| <i>Dhan.</i> | [va]ḍhiye | hita-sukhāye | [cha] | dham̐ma-yutas[a] | | Yona-Kam̐bocha- |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Gaṁdhārānaṁ | Riṣṭika-P[e]ṭeṇikānaṁ | ye | vā | pi | a[m̐]ñ[e] | ā]parātā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Gaṁdhālānaṁ | | e | vā | [pi] | aṁne | apalaṁtā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Gaṁdharanaṁ | Raṭhikanaṁ Pitinikanaṁ | ye | va | pi | | aparaṁta |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Gadharana | Raṭhika-Pitinikana | ye | va | pi | añe | aparata |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Gaṁdhālesu | Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu | e | vā | pi | aṁne | āpalaṁtā |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (K) bhatamayesu | va | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (K) bhaṭamayesu | baṁbhanibhesu | anathesu | [v]udhesu | | | hida- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (K) bhaṭamayeshu | bramaṇibheshu | anatheshu | vuḍheshu | | | [hita]- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (K) bha[ṭa]mayeshu | bramaṇibhyeshu | anatheshu | vudhreshu | | | hida- |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (K) bhaṭi[mayesu] | bābha[n]ibhi[yes]u | anāthesu | ma[hāla]kesu | cha | h[i]t[a] | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | .. bhanibhi | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | [su]khā[ya | dhamma]-yutānaṁ | apar[i]godhāya | vyāpatā | te | (L) ba[m̐]dhana- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sukhāye | dhamma-yutāye | apalibodhāye | viyapātā | te | (L) baṁdha[na]- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sukhaye | [dhraṁ]ma-yutasa | apalig[o]dha | vap[a]ṭa | te | (L) badhana- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | su[khaye] | dhrama-yuta- | apalibodhaye | viya[p]uṭa | te | (L) badhana- |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | sukhāye | dhamma-yutāye | a[pa]libodhāye | viyā[pa]ṭā | se | (L) baṁdhana- |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | badhasa | paṭividhānāya | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [badha]sā | paṭividhānāy[e] | apalibodhāye | mokh[ā]ye | chā | eyam | anubadh[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | badhasa | paṭividhanay[e] | apalibodhaye | mo[kshaye] | ayi | anubā | .. |
| <i>Mān.</i> | badha[sa] | paṭivi[dhanay]e | apalibodhāye | mokshay[e | cha | iyaṁ | anubadha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [ba]dhas[a] | p[a]ṭi[vidhānā]ye | apalib[o]dhāye | mokhāye | cha | iya[m̐] | anubamdh[a] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | mokhāye | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | [p]rajā | katābhikāresu | vā | thairesu | vā | vyāpatā | te |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pajāva | ti v[ā] kaṭābhikā]le | ti | vā | m[ah]ā[la]ke | ti v[ā] | viy[ā]patā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | prajava | kiṭābhikaro | va | mahalake | va | viyapāṭa | [t]e |
| <i>Mān.</i> | p[r]aja | t[i] va kaṭrabhikara | ti | va | mahalake | ti va | viyapraṭa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | p[a]jā | [t]i [va ka]ṭābhikā[le] | ti | va | mahālake | ti va | viyāpatā |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | se |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (M) Pāṭalipute | cha | bāhirasu | cha | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (M) hid[ā] | | bā[h]ilesu | chā | naga[l]esu | s[a]ves[u] | olodha[n]esu] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (M) ia | | bahiresu | cha | nagareshu | savreshu | orodhaneshu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (M) hida | | bahiresu | cha | nagaresh[u] | savreshu | [o]rodhaneshu |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (M) hida | cha | bāhilesu | cha | nagalesu | savesu | s[a]vesu |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | olodhanes[u] |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [y]e | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | pi | me |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | añe | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [me] e | vā | pi | bhā[tina]m | cha | ne | bh[agi]ni[nā] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | e | vā |
| | . | . | . | . | . | [pi] | aṁn[e] |
| | . | . | . | . | . | ye | va |
| | . | . | . | . | . | pi | aṁñe |
| | . | . | . | . | . | ye | va |
| | . | . | . | . | . | pi | añe |
| | . | . | . | . | . | amnesu | vā |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | ñātikā | sarvata | vyāpatā | te | (N) yo | ayaṃ | dhamma-nisrito | ti | va |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nātikye | savatā | viyā[pa]tā | | (N) e | iyaṃ | dhamma-nisite | ti | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ñatika | savatra | viyapuṭa | | (N) y[e] | ayaṃ | dh[r]ama-nisite | ti | va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ñatike | savratra | viyapaṭa | | (N) [e] | iyaṃ | dhrama-nisito | to | va |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [nāt]i[su] | sava[tā] | v[i]yāpatā | | (N) e | iyaṃ | dhamm[a-n]isite | ti | va |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhrama[dhitha]ne | ti | va | dana-s[a]yute | ti | va | savata | vijite | maa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dhramadhithane | ti | va | dana-saṃyute | ti | va | savratra | vijitasi | maa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | dhammādhithāne | ti | va | dāna-sayute | | va | sava-putḥaviyaṃ | | dha[m]ma- |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|----------|------|-------------------|---------------|---------|--------|---------|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | yutasi | viyāpatā | te | dhamma-m[a]hāmātā | (O) etāya | athāya | ayaṃ | dhamma- | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | yu[ta]si | viyapaṭa | te | dhrama-mahamatra | (O) etaye | aṭhaye | [i]yaṃ | dhamma- | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | yutasi | vapuṭa | [te] | dhrama-mahamatra | (O) etaye | athraye | ayi | dhrama- | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | yutasi | viyāpatā | ime | dhamma-mahām[ā]tā | (O) [i]m[ā]ye | aṭhāye | iyaṃ | dhamma- | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------|-------------|------------------|---------|---------|-----|------|---------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | lipi | likhitā | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lipi | lekhitā | chi[la]-thitikyā | hotu | [tathā] | cha | me | [pa]jā | [a]nuva[ta]tu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dipi | nipista | ch[i]ra-thitika | bhot[u] | ta[tha] | cha | [m]e | p[r]aja | anuvatatū |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dipi | likhita | chira-ṭhitika | hotu | tatha | cha | me | praja | anuvatatū |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | lip[i] | li[kh]i[tā] | chila-ṭhitik[ā] | ho[tu] | t[athā] | cha | me | pa[jā] | anu[vatatu] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------|------|----------|-------|-----------------|-------------|---|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) [Devā] | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) Dev[ā]naṃpi[y]e | Piyadas[i] | lājā | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) atikrāt[a]m | aṃtara[m] | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) Devanaṃpriyo | Priyadraśi | raya | eva | ahati | (B) atikrataṃ | aṃtara | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | raja | [e]va[m] | aa | (B) atikrataṃ | ataraṃ | | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) Dev[ā]naṃpi[y]e | Pi[yada]sī | lājā | [he]vaṃ | [ā]hā | (B) atikaṃ[taṃ] | a[m]ta[laṃ] | | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (A) [na]ṃpiye | Piyadasī | lājā | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) atikaṃtaṃ | aṃtalaṃ | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | na | bhūta-pru[v] | [s] . [v] . . . [l] . | atha-kaṃme | va | paṭivedanā | vā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | no | huta-puluv[e] | sav[a]m | kalam | aṭha-k[ā]mme | [v]ā | [paṭ]i[veda]nā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | na | bhuta-pruvaṃ | sava[m] | kala[m] | aṭha-kaṃam | va | paṭivedana |
| <i>Mān.</i> | na | huta-pruve | [sa]vraṃ | kala | athra-[ka]ma | va | [pa]ṭivedana |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | no | [h]ū[ta]-puluve | s[a]vaṃ | kālam | aṭha-ka[m]me | va | [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | no | hūta-puluve | savaṃ | kālam | aṭha-kaṃm[e] | | paṭivedanā |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|----------|--------|---------|-------------|---------|----------------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (C) ta | mayā | evaṃ | kataṃ | (D) s[a]ve | kāle | bhumj[a]mānasa | me |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (C) s[e] | ma[may]ā | hevaṃ | kaṭe | (D) s[a]vaṃ | kālam | adamānas[ā] | me |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (C) ta[m] | maya | eva[m] | kiṭa[m] | (D) savraṃ | kalam | aśamanasa | me |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (C) ta | maya | evaṃ | kiṭaṃ | (D) savra | kalam | aśatasa | me |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (C) se | mamayā | | kaṭe | (D) sa[va]m | [kālam] | [māna]sa | me |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (C) se | mamayā | | kaṭe | (D) savam | kālam | [sa m]e | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------|------------|---------------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | orodhanamhi | gabhāgāramhi | vachamhi | va | vinītamhi | cha | uyānesu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | olodhanasi | gabhāgālas[i] | va[chas]i | | vin[itasi | u]y[ānasi] | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | orodhanaspi | grabhagaraspi | vrachaspi | | vinitaspi | uyanaspī | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | orodhane | grabhagarasi | vrachaspi | | vinitaspi | uyanaspī | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | amte | olodh[a]nasi | ga[bhā]g[āla]si | v[achas]i | [v]initasi | [u]y[ā]n[asi] | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | amte | olodhanasi | gabhāgālasī | vachasi | vinītas[i] | uyānasi | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------|-----------|------------------|-------|---------|-------|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | savatra | paṭivedakā | sṭitā | athe | me | [ja]nasa | paṭivedetha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | [sava]t[ā | paṭive]dakā | | aṭha[m] | | janasā | ... vedetu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | savatra | paṭivedaka | | aṭham | | janasa | paṭivedetu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | savratra | pa[t]i[ve]da[ka] | | athra | | janasa | paṭivedetu |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [cha | sa]vata | paṭivedakā | | janasa | aṭham | [pa]ṭived[a]yāmtu | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | cha | savata | paṭivedakā | | janasa | aṭham | paṭivedayaṃtu | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------|-----|-----|----------|-------|----------|---------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | iti | (E) | sarvatra | cha | janasa | athe | karomi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [m]e | | (E) | sa[va]tā | [ch]ā | ja[nas]ā | aṭham | kachhāmi hakam |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | me | | (E) | savatra | cha | ja[na]sa | aṭh[r]a | karomi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | me | | (E) | savratra | cha | janasa | athra | kar[o]mi aham |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | m[e] | ti | (E) | sava[ta] | ch[a] | j[a]nasa | aṭham | kalāmi h[aka]m |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | me | ti | (E) | savata | cha | janasa | | [ka]m |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-------|-----|--------|-----------|-------------|-------------|---------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (F) | ya | cha | kimchi | mukhato | ānapayāmi | svayam | dāpakam | vā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (F) | yam | pi | ch[ā | k]i[chhi | m]u[kha]t[e | ānapayā]mi | [ha]kam | dā[pakam] v[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (F) | ya[m] | pi | cha | ki[chi] | mukhato | anapayami | a[ham] | dapa[ka] va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (F) | yam | pi | cha | kichhi | mukhato | anapemi | aham | dapakam va |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (F) | am | pi | cha | ki[m]chhi | mukh[a]te | ānapay[ā]mi | | dāpakam v[ā] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | (F) | am | pi | cha | kimchhi | mukhate | ānapayāmi | | dāpakam vā |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----|----|------|--------|--------------|---------------|------------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | srāvāpakam | vā | ya | vā | puna | mahāmātresu | āchāyi[ke] | aropitam | bhavati |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [sāvaka]m | vā | ye | vā | punā | mahāmat[e]hi | a[tiyāyike | ālopite | h[o]t[i] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | śravaka | va | ye | va | p[a]na | mahamatrana | a[cha]yika | a[ro]pitam | bhoti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | śravakam | va | ye | va | puna | mahamatrehi | achayike | aropite | hoti |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [sā]v[a]kam | vā | e | vā | | mahām[āteh]i | atiyāyike | ālopite | hoti |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | sāvaka]m | vā | e | v[ā] | | mah[ā]mātehi | a[t]i[yā]yike | [ā]lopite | hoti |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|---------|----------|-----------|-----------|---------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | tāya | athāya | vivādo | nijhati | v[a | s]amto | parisāyam | ānamtaram |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | tā[yeṭh]ā[ye] | | vivāde | n[i]jhati | v[ā] | sa]mtam | palisā[ye | anam[ta]l[i]yenā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | taye | aṭhaye | viva[de] | nijha[t]i | va | sata]m | parishaye | anamtariyena |
| <i>Mān.</i> | taye | athraye | vivade | nijati | va | sa]mta | par[isha]ye | a[na]taliyena |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | tasi | aṭhasi | v[i]vāde | va | [n]ijhati | vā | sa]mtam | palisāyā |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | tasi | aṭhasi | vivāde | va | | | lisāy[am | ā]nam[ta]liyam |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------|------------|---------|-------|------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yam | me | sa[r]vatra | sarve | kāle | (G) | evam | mayā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | paṭ[i] | viye | me | sav[a]t[ā] | savam | kālam | (G) | hevam ānapayite |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | paṭivedetavo | me ¹ | savatra | savam | kala[m] | (G) | eva | anapita[m] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | paṭivedetaviye | me | savratra | savra | kala | (G) | evam | anapita |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] | me | ti | savata | savam | kālam | (G) | heva[m] me |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | paṭivedetaviye | me | ti | savata | savam | kālam | (G) | hevam me |

¹ The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) savatra cha aṭham janasa karomi a[ham] (F) ya]m cha kichi mukhato anapemi aham dapaka[m] va śravaka va ye va pana maha-

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----|---------|----|-----|--------|------------|-----------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | āñapitaṃ | (H) | nāsti | hi | me | to[s]o | uṣṭānamhi | atha-saṃtīraṇāya | va |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | m[a]mayā | (H) | nathi | hi | me | dose | uṭhān[a]sā | aṭha-saṃtil[a]nāye | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | maya | (H) | [na]sti | hi | me | tosho | uṭhanas[i] | aṭha-sa[m]tiraṇāye | [cha] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | maya | (H) | nasti | hi | me | toshe | [uṭhanasi] | ath[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇāye | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | anusathe | (H) | nath[i] | hi | m]e | [tos]e | uṭhāna]si | aṭha-saṃtilanāya | cha |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | anusathe | (H) | nathi | hi | me | tose | uṭhānasi | aṭha-saṃtilan[ā]y[a] | cha |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----------------|----|----|--------------------|-----|--------|------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (I) | katavya-mate | hi | me | sa[rva]-loka-hitam | (Ḥ) | tasa | cha | puna |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (I) | kaṭ[a]viya-mute | hi | me | s[a]va-loka-hi[te] | (Ḥ) | t[asā] | ch]ā | [p]u[n]ā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (I) | kaṭava-mataṃ | hi | me | sava-loka-hitam | (Ḥ) | ta[sa] | cha] | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (I) | kaṭaviya-mate | hi | me | savra-loka-h[i]te | (Ḥ) | [ta]sa | chu | puna |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (I) | kaṭaviya-m[at]e | hi | me | sava-loka-hite | (Ḥ) | tasa | cha | pana |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | (I) | | | me | sava-loka-hite | (Ḥ) | tasa | cha | pana |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|------|------------|-----|---------------------|-----|-----|---------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | esa | mūle | uṣṭānam | cha | atha-saṃtīraṇā | cha | (K) | nāsti | hi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | es[e] | mule | uṭh[āne] | | [a]ṭha-saṃtilanā | chā | (K) | [na]thi | hi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mulam | etra | uthanam | | aṭha-saṃtiraṇa | cha | (K) | na[sti] | hi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | eshe | mule | uṭhane | | athra-satiraṇa | cha | (K) | nasti | hi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | iyam | mūle | [u]ṭhān[e] | cha | a]ṭha-saṃtil[a]n[ā] | cha | (K) | nathi | hi |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | iyam | mūle | uṭhāne | cha | aṭha-saṃtilanā | cha | (K) | nathi | hi |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------------|-----|-------|-------|----------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | kaṃmataram | sarva-loka-hitatpā | (L) | ya | cha | kimchi | parākramāmi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | kaṃ[ma]talā | sava-lo[ka]-hitenā | (L) | yam | cha | kichhi | palakamāmi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | k[r]amatara[m] | sava-loka-hite[na] | (L) | yam | cha | kichi | parak[r]amami |
| <i>Mān.</i> | kramatara | savra-loka-hitena | (L) | ya[m] | cha | [kichhi] | pa[rakra]mami |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | kaṃmata . . | [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena | (L) | [am] | ch[a] | kichhi] | p[a]lakamāmi |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | k[am]matalā | sava-loka-hiten[a] | (L) | am | cha | kichhi | p[a]lakamāmi |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-----|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | aham | kimti | bhūtānam | ānamṇam | gachheyam | idha | cha | nāni |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | hakam | kiti | bhutānam | [a]naniyam | ye[ham] | hi]da | cha | [kā]ni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | kiti | bhutanam | anaṇiyam | v[r]acheyam | ia | cha | sha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | aam | k[i]t[i] | bh[u]tanam | aṇaniyam | ye[ham] | ia | cha | she |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | hakam | kimti | bhūtānam | ā[na]niyam | yeha[m] | ti [h]i[da] | cha | [k]ān[i] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | hakam | | | [n]iyam | yeham | ti hida | cha | kāni |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----------|-----|----------|-------------|-----|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | sukhāpayāmi | paratrā | cha | svagam | ārādhayaṃtu | (M) | ta ¹ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sukhāyāmi | palata | chā | svagam | ālādhayitu | (M) | s[e] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sukhayami | paratra | cha | spagram | aradhetu | (M) | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sukhayami | paratra | cha | spagra | a[ra]dhetu | ti | (M) se |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | sukhāyāmi | pal[a]ta | cha | svag[am] | ālādhayaṃtū | ti | (M) |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | su[kha]yāmi | palata | cha | svagam | ālādhayaṃtū | ti | (M) |

matranam achay[i]k[am] aropita[m] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[m]tam nijati va parishaye
anamāriyena paṭivedetavo me.

¹ On p. 12 above, l. 7, place *ta* after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, l. 11, read '(M)
Now, for the following purpose', &c.

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------|--------|----------------|-----------|-------------------|--------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | etāya | athāya | ayaṁ | dha[r̥]ma-lipī | lekhāpitā | kimti | chiraṁ | tisṭeya |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | etā[y]eṭhāye | | iyam | dhama-lipī | lekhitā | chila-ṭhitikyā | | hotu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | etaye | aṭhaye | ayi | dhrama | nipista | chira-ṭhitika | | bhotu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | etaye | athraye | iyam | dhrama-dipī | likhita | chira-ṭhitika | | hotu |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | et[ā]y[e] | aṭhāye | i[yam] | dhamma-lipī | likhitā | ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā | | hotu |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | etāye | aṭhāye | i[ya]m | dhamma-lipī | likhitā | chila-ṭhitika | | hotu |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|---------|------|----|-----------|---------|-----|----------|-----|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | iti | tathā | cha | me | putrā | potā | cha | prapotrā | cha | anuvataṛam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | tathā | cha | me | puta-dāle | | | | | palakamātu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | tatha | cha | me | putra | nataro | | | | parakramaṁtu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | ta[tha] | cha] | me | pu[tra] | nata]re | | | | para[kra]mate |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | ta[th]ā | cha | | putā | | | papotā | me | palakama[m̐]t[ū] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | | | | | | | | [t]ā | me | [pa]lakamaṁtu |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|-----|----------|-------|-------|--------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | sava-loka-hitāya | (N) | dukaraṁ | [t]u | | idaṁ | añatra |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sava-loka-hitā[ye] | (N) | dukale | ch[u] | | iyam | anat[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sava-lo[ka-hita]ye | (N) | [du]kara | tu | [kh]o | imaṁ | añat[r]a |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sa[vra-lo]ka-hitaye | (N) | dukare | cha | kho | | [a]ñatra |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [sava-loka]-hitāye | (N) | dukale | chu | | iyam | aṁnat[a] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | sava-loka-hitāye | (N) | dukale | chu | | i[ya]m | aṁnata |

| | | |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | agena | parākramena |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | agenā | palakam[e]nā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | agre | parakramena |
| <i>Mān.</i> | a[g]rena | para[kra]mena |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | a[g]en[a] | pa]lakamena |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | agena | palakamena |

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SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----------------|------------|------|----------|-----------|-------------------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | Devānaṁpiyo | Piyadasi | rājā | sarvata | ichhati | save | pāsaṁḍā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lājā | [savat]ā | [i]chhati | sava-[pāsa]mḍa | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devanaṁpriyo | Priyaśi | raja | savatra | ichhati | savra-[p]rashamḍa | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | Devanapriyo | Priyadraśi | raja | savratra | ichhati | savra-pashaḍa | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | [D]evānaṁ[p]iye | Piy[a]dasi | lājā | savata | ichhat[i] | sava-p]āsaṁ[ḍā] | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (A) | ... | da[sī] | lājā | savata | ichhati | sava-p[ā]saṁḍā | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|------|------------|------|---------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vaseyu | | (B) save | te | sayamaṁ | cha | bhāva-sudhim |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vas[e]vu | | (B) [sa]ve | hi | te | sayama[m̐] | bhāva-sudhi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vaseyu | | (B) save | hi | te | sayame | bhava-sudhi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vaseyu | | (B) savre | hi | te | sa[ya]ma | [bha]va-śu[dh]i |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [va]sevū | ti | (B) save | h[i] | t[e] | sa[yamaṁ] | [bh]āv[a]-sudhi |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | va[s]e . . | [t]i | (B) [sav]e | hi | te | sa[yama]m̐ | bhāva-[su]dhī |

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|--------------|------|-----------|-----|----------|-------|----------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | ichhati | (C) | jano | tu | uchāvacha-chhamdo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | chā | ichhamti | (C) | jane | [ch]u | uchāvuchā-chh[a]mde |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha | ichhamti | (C) | jano | chu | uchavucha-chhamdo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [cha | ichham]ti | (C) | jane | chu | uchavucha-chhade |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | cha | ichhamti | (C) | mun[i]sā | ch[a | u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | cha | ichhamti | (C) | munisā | cha | uchāvucha-chhamdā |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | uchāvacha-rāgo | (D) | te sarvaṃ va kāsanti | eka-desam | va | kasa[m]ti. |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | uchāvucha-lā[g]e | (D) | te savaṃ | eka-des[a]m | pi | k[a]chham[t]i |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | uchavucha-rago | (D) | te savraṃ va | eka-deśam | va | pi kashanti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | uchavucha-rage | (D) | te savraṃ | eka-deśam | va | pi kashati |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | uchāvucha-lāgā | (D) | te savaṃ vā | ek[a]-de[sam] | va | kachham[t]i |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | uchāvuch[a]-lāgā | (D) | | [sa]m | va | kachhamti |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (E) vip[ul]e | tu | pi | dāne | yasa | nāsti | sayame | bhāva-sudhitā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (E) vipule | pi | chu | dān[e] | asā | nathi | sayame | bhā[va]-sudh[i] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (E) vipule | pi | chu | dane | yasa | nasti | sayama | bhava-sudhi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (E) [v]ipule | pi | ch[u] | dane | yasa | nasti | sayeme | bhava-śuti |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (E) vipul[e] | pi | chā | dāne | asa | n[athi] | sa[yame] | [bh]āva-sudhī |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | (E) [v]i[pul]e | [p]i | chā | [d]ā[ne] | . | . | . | [dhi] |

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|--------------|----|------------|----|-----------------|-----|---------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | va | katamñātā | va | daḍha-bhati[t]ā | cha | nichā | bāḍham |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | kiṭanāt[ā] | | d[ic]ha-bhatitā | chā | ni[che] | bāḍham |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | kiṭrañata | | driḍha-bhatita | | niche | paḍham |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | kiṭanata | | driḍha-bhatita | cha | niche | bāḍham |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | | | cha | niche | bāḍham |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | | | | cha | niche | [b]āḍham |

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

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|--------------|-------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) atikātaṃ | aṃtaraṃ | rājāno | vihāra-yātāṃ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) atikaṃtaṃ | a[m]taraṃ | Devānaṃpiyā | [vihāla-yātāṃ nāma] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) atikrataṃ | ataraṃ | Devanaṃpriya | vihara-yatra nama |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) a[ti]krataṃ | ataraṃ | Devanapri[ya] | vihara-yatra nama |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) [atika]m[ta]m | aṃt[ala]m | lāj[ā]n[e] | v[i]h[ā]la-yātāṃ nāma |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | ñayāsu | (B) eta | magavyā | añāni | cha | etārisani |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nikhamisu | (B) hidā | migaviyā | aṃnāni | chā | heḍisānā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | nikramishu | (B) atra | mrugaya | añani | cha | ediśani |
| <i>Mān.</i> | nikramishu | (B) ia | mrigaviya | añani | cha | ediśani |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u] | (B) . . [ta | miga]viy[ā] | a[m]nāni | ch[a] | edisāni |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | [v]i[y]ā | [a]mñāni | cha | e[d]i |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | abhīramakāni | ahuṃsu | (C) so | Devānaṃpriyo | Piyadasi | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | abhilāmān[i] | husu | (C) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | abhiramani | abhuvasu | (C) so | Devanaṃpriyo | Priyadraśi | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | abhiramani | husu | (C) s[e] | Devanap[r]iy[e] | P[r]iyadraśi | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | a[bh]i[l]āmāni | huvaṃti | naṃ | (C) se | Devānaṃpiye | P[i]y[a]dasi |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | [m]āni | huvaṃti | naṃ | (C) se | Devānaṃpiye | [Piya] |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|------|------------------------|----------|------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | rājā | dasa-varsābhisito | saṁto | ayāya | Saṁbodhiṁ | (D) tenesā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lājā | das[a]-vasābhisite | saṁtaṁ | nikhamithā | Saṁbodhi | (D) tenatā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | raja | daśa-vashabhisito | sataṁ | nikrami | Sabodhi | (D) tenada |
| <i>Mān.</i> | raja | daśa-vashabhisite | saṁta[m] | nikrami | Sabodhi | (D) tenada |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | lājā | d[ā]sa-[vas]ābhisit[e] | | [n]ikhami | Saṁbodh[i] | (D) [t]e[n]atā |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | [dasa] | | | | |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | | | | nikhamitha | Sa | |

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|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dhamma-yātā | (E) etayaṁ | hoti | bāmhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ | dasane | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dhamma-yātā | (E) [h]etā | iyam | hoti | samana-bāmbhanānaṁ | dasane |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhramma-yatra | (E) atra | iyam | hoti | śramaṇa-bramaṇanaṁ | draśane |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dhrama-yada | (E) atra | iya | hoti | śamaṇa-bramaṇana | dra[śa]ne |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | dha[m]ma-yātā | (E) [tat]esa | [ho]ti | samana-bābhanānaṁ | d[a]s[a]n[e] | |
| <i>Fau.</i> | [tā] | (E) [ta]tesa | hoti | [sa] | . | . |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | | (E) heta | iyam | [ho]ti | baṁ[bha] | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | dāne | cha | thairānaṁ | dasane | ch[a] | hiraṁṇa-paṭivīdhāno | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | chā | dāne | cha | vudh[ā]naṁ | dasa[n]e | ch[a] | hilaṁṇa-paṭi[v]īdhāne | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | danam | | vudhana[m] | daśana | | hiraṇa-p[r]aṭivīdhane | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | dane | cha | vudhrana | dra[śa]ne | [cha | hi]ṇa-paṭivī[dhane | cha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | ch[a] | d[āne] | cha | v[u]dhānaṁ | dasane | cha | h[i]lāmna-p[a]ṭivīdhāne | cha] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | cha | dāne | cha | vudhānaṁ | dasane | cha | hilaṁṇa-paṭivī[dh[ā]ne | [cha] |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | | | | vudhānaṁ | dasane | [cha] | hiraṁṇa-paṭivīdhāne | cha |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | jānapadasa | cha | janasa | daspanam | dhammānus[a]stī | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [jā]napadasā | | [ja]n[a]sā | das[a]ne | dhammanusathi | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [jana]padasa | | janasa | draśana | dhramanuśasti | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | janapadasa | | janasa | draśane | dhramanuśasti | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [jāna]padasa | | janasa | [dasa]ne | cha | dhammānu[sath]i |
| <i>Fau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [cha] |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [dha*]mmānusa[thi] |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | dhama-paripucchā | cha | tadopayā | (F) esā | bhuya | rati |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dhama-palipucchā | chā | tatopa[yā] | (F) [e]se | bh[u]ye | lāti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhrama-pa[ri]p[ru]chha | cha | tatopayaṁ | (F) eshe | bhuy[e | ra]ti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dhrama-[pa]r[i]pucchha | cha | tatopaya | (F) eshe | bhuye | rati |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [p]u[chh]ā | cha | [ta]d[o]payā | (F) e[sā | bhuy]e | abhilāme |
| <i>Fau.</i> | [dha]mma-p[al]i[pucch]ā | | | | | ilāme |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | dhamma | | | | ye | [ra]ti |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | bhavati | Devānaṁpiyasa | Priyadasino | rāṇo | bhā[g]e | amñe |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | hoti | Devānaṁpiyasā | Piyadas[i]sā | lājine | bh[ā]g[e] | amne |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bhoti | Devanaṁpriyasa | Priyadraśisa | raṇo | bhago | amñi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | hoti | Devanapriyasa | Priyadraśisa | rajine | bhage | aṇe |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | hoti | Devānaṁpiyasa | Piyada[s]ine | lājine | bhāge | [am]ne |
| <i>Fau.</i> | hoti | De[v]ānaṁpiyasa | Piyadasine | lājine | bhāge | [a] . . . |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | hoti | De | | n[e] | bhāge | am . |

NINTH ROCK-EDICT

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | Devānāmpiyo | Priyadasi | rājā | eva | āha | (B) | asti | jano |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | Devānāmpiye | Piy[a]da[s]i | lā[jā] | | āhā | (B) | | jan[e] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devanāmpiyo | Priyadraśi | r[a]ya | evam | ahati | (B) | | jano |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | Devanāpriye | Priyadraśi | raja | evam | aha | (B) | | jane |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | Devānāmpiye | Piyadasī | lājā | hevam | āhā | (B) | [athi] | ja]ne |
| <i>Fau.</i> | (A) | Devān[am]piye | Piyadasī | lā[jā] | | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | uchāvacham | maṅgalam | karote | ābādhesu | vā | āvāha-vivāhesu | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | uch[āv]ucham | maṅgalam | ka[l]eti | ābādhasi | | av[āha]si vivāhasi | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | uchavucham | maṅgalam | karoti | abadhe | | avahe vivahe | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | uchavucha[m] | ma]gala[m] | karoti | abadhasi | | a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi | | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | uchāvucham | maṅgalam | kal[e]ti | [āb]ādha | | [v]i[vāha].. | | |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | | | | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | vā | putra-lābhesu | vā | pravāsammi | vā | etamhī | cha | añamhi | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | pajopadāne | | pavāsasi | | e[tā]ye | | amñāye | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | pajupadane | | pravase | | ataye | | añaye | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | prajopadaye | | pravasaspi | | etaye | | añaye | [cha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | [ju]padāye | | pavās[a]si | | etāye | | amñāye | ch[a] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | [pa]jupadāye | | pavāsasi | | etāye | | amñāye | cha |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | jano | uchāvacham | maṅgalam | karote | (C) | eta | tu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | edisāye | jane | bahu | magala[m] | k[a]leti | (C) | heta | [ch]u |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ediśiy[e] | jano | ba | maṅgalam | karoti | (C) | atra | tu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [ed]iśa[ye] | jane] | bahu | maṅga[la]m | ka]ro[t]i | (C) | atra | tu |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | hedisāye | j[a]n[e] | bahukam | maṅgalam | k[a].... | (C).... | | [chu] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | hedisāye | jane | [ba]hu[ka]m | | | | | |

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|--------------|----------------|-----------|-----|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | mahidāyo | bahukam | cha | bahuvidham | cha | chhudam | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | abaka-jani[yo] | bahu | chā | bahuvidham | chā | khudā | [ch]ā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | striyaka | bahu | cha | bahuvidham | cha | putika | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | abaka-janika | bahu | cha | bahuvidha | cha | khuda | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | ithī | b[ahuka]m | cha | [ba]hu[v]idh[am] | ch[a] | kh]ud[am] | cha] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | | | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | nirath[am] | cha | maṅgalam | karote | (D) | ta | katavyameva | tu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nilathiyā | chā | magalam | ka[la]nti | (D) | se | kaṭavi cheva | kho |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | nirathiyam | cha | maṅgalam | karo[ti] | (D) | so | kaṭavo cha [va] | kho |
| <i>Mān.</i> | nirathriya | cha | magalam | karoti | (D) | se | ka[ṭaviye ch]eva | kho |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [nilaṭhi]yam | cha | maṅgalam | kaleti | (D) | se | kaṭ[a]viye che[va] | kh]o |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | [cha | ma]m[gala]m | k[a]leti | (D) | se | kaṭaviye cheva | kho |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | magalam | (E) | apa-phalam | tu | kho | etarisam | maṅgalam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | maṅgale | (E) | apa-phale | [ch]u | kho | [e]s[e] | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | maṅgala | (E) | apa-phala[m] | tu | kho | eta | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | magale | (E) | apa-phale | chu | [kho | e]she | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | m[a]ṅgale | (E) | [a]pa-phale | chu | kho | esa | h[e]dise ma[m]ga].. |
| <i>Fau.</i> | maṅgale | (E) | apa-[pha]le | chu | [kh]o | e[sa] | he[d]ise ma |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (F) | ayam | tu | mah[ā]-phale | maṅgale | ya | dhamma-maṅgale |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (F) | [i]yam | chu | kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le | | ye | dhamma-magale |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (F) | imam | [t]u | kho maha-phala | | ye | ma-maṅgala |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (F) | iyam | chu | kho maha-phale | | ye | dhrama-magale |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (F) | [ya]m | [ch]u | kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le | | e | [dha]mma-maṅgale |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | (F) | [i]ya[m] | [chu] | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (G) | ta[te]ta | dāsa-bhatakamhi | samya-pratipatī | gurūnam | apachiti |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (G) | he[tā] | iyam | dāsa-bhaṭakasi | s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti | gulunā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (G) | [a]tra | ima | dasa-bhaṭakasa | samma-paṭipati | garuna |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (G) | atra | iyam | dasa-bhaṭakasi | samya-paṭipati | guruna |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (G) | [ta]te[sa] | d[ā]sa-bhaṭakas[i] | sammyā-paṭipat[i] | gulūnam | a[pa].... |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | | [sa-bha]ṭakasi | sammyā-paṭipati | gulūnam | apachiti |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | sādhū | pāṇesu | sayamo | sādhū | bamhaṇa-samaṇānam | sādhū |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | [p]ā[n]ān[am] | samyame | | s[a]man[a]-bamghanānam | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | praṇanam | sa[m]yamo | | śamaṇa-bramaṇana | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | pra[ṇa]na | [sa]yame | | śramaṇa-bramaṇana | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | [me] | | samana-bābhan[ā]nam | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | pāṇesu | say[a]me | | saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[na]m | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | dānam | et[a] | cha | añ'a] | cha | etārisam | dhamma-maṅgalam | nāma |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dāne | ese | | amne | chā | heḍise | dhamma-magale | nāmā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dana | etam | | añam | cha | | dhrama-maṅga[la]m | nama |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [dane] | eshe | | aṇe | cha | ediṣe | dhrama-magale | nama |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | dāne | esa | | amne | ch[a] | | [dhamma]-maṅga[le] | nāma |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | [d]ā[n]e | [esa] | | a[m]n[e] | | | | |

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|--------------|-----|------|------------|-----------|----|---------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (H) | ta | vata vyam | pitā | va | putena | vā bhātrā | vā svāmikena |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (H) | se | vata[v]iye | pitinā | pi | putena | pi bh[ā]tinā | pi suvāmiken[a] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (H) | [s]o | vata vo | pituna | pi | putrena | pi bhratana | pi spamik[e]na |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (H) | se | vata viye | pi[tu]na | pi | putrena | pi bhratuna | pi spamikena |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (H) | [se] | vata[vi]ye | pi[it]inā | pi | pute]na | pi bhātinā | pi suvāmike[na] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | | | [pi]tinā | pi | putena | pi bhātinā | pi suvāmike[na] |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------|--------------------|-------|---------------|------|------|-------|--------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vā | | | | | | idam | sādhū | idam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pi | mita-samthuten[ā] | ava | paṭivesiyenā | [p]i | iyam | sādhū | iyam | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | mitra-sastutena | ava | pratīveśiyena | | imam | sadhu | [imam] | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pi | mitra-sa[m]stutena | [a]va | paṭīveśiyena | pi | iyam | sadhu | iyam | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [p]i | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | pi | | | | | iyam | sādhū | iyam | |

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|--------------|----------|------------|-------|--------|----------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | katavya | maṅgalam | āva | tasa | athasa | nistānāya | (I) asti |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | kaṭaviye | [ma]g[a]le | āva | [ta]sā | athas ā | ni[v]utiyā | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | kaṭa[vo] | maṅgala[m] | yava | tasa | aṭhrasa | nivutīya | nivutaṣpi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | kaṭaviye | magale | ava | tasa | athrasa | nivutīya | nivutaṣi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | [l]e | [ā]va | tasa | aṭhas[a] | niphatiy[ā] | (I) [a]thi |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | kaṭaviye | | | | | | |

Gir. cha pi vutaṃ sādhu dana iti (Ț) na tu etārisaṃ astā
Kāl. imaṃ kachhāmi ti (I) e hi i[ta]le magale
Shāh. va p[u]na imaṃ kashaṃ (I) ye hi etake magale
Mān. va puna ima [ka]shami ti (I) e hi [i]tare maga[le]
Dhau. [cha heva]ṃ v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (Ț) [s]e [na]thi
Țau. [s]e

Gir. dānaṃ va ana[ga]ho va yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ va dhamanugaho va
Kāl. sa[m]sayikye se (Ț) siyā va taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭe[ā] siyā punā no
Shāh. saśayike taṃ (Ț) siya vo taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeyati siya puna no
Mān. śa[śa]yike se (Ț) s[i]ya va taṃ athraṃ nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no
Dhau. [anu]ga[h]e v[ā] ād[i]se dha[m]ma-dāne dham[mānugahe]
Țau. dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dāne dhammānugahe cha

Gir. (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhodayena [v]ā ñatikena va sahāyana va
Kāl. (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se (L) iyaṃ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e]
Shāh. (K) ialoka cha vo taṃ (L) ida puna dhrama-magalaṃ akalikaṃ
Mān. (K) hida[o]kike cheva se (L) iyaṃ puna dhrama-magale akalike
Dhau. (K) [m]i [t]i[k]ena sahāye[na p]i
Țau. (K) se chu kho mitena

Gir. ovāditavyaṃ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe [i]daṃ kachaṃ idaṃ sādha iti
Kāl. (M) haṃche pi taṃ aṭhaṃ no niṭeti hida aṭhaṃ palata anantaṃ
Shāh. (M) yadi puna taṃ aṭhaṃ na nivaṭ[e] ia atha paratra anantaṃ
Mān. (M) [ha]che pi taṃ athraṃ no nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra anata
Dhau. viyovadita i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ṃ
Țau. yaṃ sād[h]ū

Gir. iminā sak[a] svagaṃ ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataraṃ
Kāl. punā pavasati (N) haṃche puna taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeti hida tato
Shāh. puṇaṃ prasavati (N) haṃche puna taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeti tato
Mān. puṇa prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athraṃ nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato
Dhau. [l]ādhayitave (L) ṭa[v]
Țau. imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kim hi imena kaṭaviyatalā

Gir. yathā svagāradhī
Kāl. ubhaye[sa]ṃ ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata chā anantaṃ
Shāh. u[bha]y[e]sa ladhaṃ bhoti ia cha so aṭho paratra cha anantaṃ
Mān. ubhayesaṃ [ara]dhe hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata
Dhau. [svagasa] āl[adh]i
Țau.

Kāl. punā pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]
Shāh. puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramaṃgalena
Mān. puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramagalena

TENTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|---------------|--------------|------|---------|----|--------|----|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiyo | Priyadasi | rājā | yaso | va | kīti | va | na |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | Devā[naṃ]piye | Piy[a]dashā | lajā | y[a]sho | vā | kiti | vā | no |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | raya | yaśo | va | kiṭri | va | no |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | [Devana]priye | Priyadraśi | raja | yaśo | va | kiṭi | va | no |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | [Devānaṃ]piye | Piyad[a]s[i] | lājā | yaso | vā | [k]iṭi | vā | n . |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|---------------|----------|---------|-------|----|-----------|----|--------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | mahāthāvah[ā] | mañate | añata | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [ma]hathāvā | manati | an[a]tā | [ya]m | pi | yaso | vā | ki[t]i | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mahaṭhavaha | mañati | añatra | yo | pi | yaśo | | kiṭri | va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | mahathravaham | mañati | añatra | yam | pi | ya[śo va] | | kiṭi | va |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [ha]m | man[ate] | . | . | i | [yaso] | vā | k[iṭ]i | [v]ā |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [ya]so | vā | ki[t]i | vā |

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|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----|--------|--------|-------------------|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | tadātpano | dighāya | cha | me | [ja]no | dhamma-susru[m]sā | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ichh[at]i | tadatvāye | ayatiye | chā | jane | | dhamma-susushā | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ichhati | tadatvaye | ayatiya | cha | jane | | dhrama-suśrasha | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ichhati | tadatvaye | ayatiya | cha | jane | | [dhra]ma-suśrusha | | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | ichhati | tadatvāye | [ā] | . | [ja]ne | . | [sūsa]m | | |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | ichh[a]ti | tadatvāye | ā[ya]tiye | cha | jane | | dhamma-susūsam | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | susrusatā | | dhamma-vutam | cha | anuvīdhiyatām | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | susushātu | me ti | dhamma-vatam | vā | anuvī[dh]iya[m]tu | ti | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | suśrushatu | me ti | dhrama-vutam | cha | anuvī[dhi]yatu | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | suśrushatu | me ti | dhrama-[vutam | cha] | anuvīdhiyatu | ti | | | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [susū]s[at]u | [m]e | dhamma | . | . | . | [me] | | |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | susūsatu | me | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|-----|-------------|---------------|--------------|------|-------|----|-------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (B) | etakāya | Devānaṃpiyo | Piyadasi | rājā | yaso | va | kiti | va |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (B) | dhata[k]āye | Devāna[m]piye | Piyadasi | lājā | yasho | vā | kiti | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (B) | etakaye | Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | raya | yaśo | | kiṭri | va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (B) | etakaye | Devanapriye | Priya[dra]śi | raja | yaśo | va | kiṭi | va |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (B) | etakāye | | | | [yaso | vā | kiṭi | v]ā |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | i[chha]ti | (C) | ya[m] | tu | kich[i] | parik[a]mate | Devānaṃ | Priyadasi | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ichna | (C) | am | ch[ā] | kichhi | lakamati | Devanaṃpiye | Piyadashi | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ichhati | (C) | ya[m] | tu | kichhi | parakramati | Devanaṃpiyo | Priyadraśi | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | i[chha]ti | (C) | . | . | [k]ichhi | parak[r]ama[ti] | Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | i | . | . | . | i | [pa]lakama[t]i | Devānaṃpiye | | |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [t]i | Devānaṃpiye | | |

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|--------------|------|-----|----------|----------------|-------|---------|-----------------|-------------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | rājā | ta | savam | pāratrikāya | kiṃti | sakale | a[pa]-parisrave | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lajā | ta | [sha]va | pālamtikyāye | vā | kiti | sakale | apa-p[a]lāshave | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | raya | tam | sav[r]am | paratrikaye | va | kiti | sakale | aparisrave | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | raja | tam | savam | parat[r]ikay[e | va | k]i[ti] | sa[kale | apa]-pa[r]isav[e] | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | | pāl[atik]ā[y]e | . | kiṃti | saka[le | apa-pal]isave | |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | | | | pālatikāye | vā | ki[m]ti | [sa]kale | apa-palisave | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | asa | (D) | esa | tu | parisave | ya | apumñam | (E) | dukaram |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | shiyāti | ti | (D) | [e]she | chu | palisave | e | apune | (E) dukale |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | siyaṭi | (D) | eshe | tu | parisrave | yam | apuñam | (E) | dukare |
| <i>Mān.</i> | siyati | ti | (D) | eshe | chu | pa[ri]save | e | apu[ṇe] | (E) dukare |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [hu]v[eyā] t[ṣi] | (D) | pa[l]isa | . | . | . | . | . | (E) [du]ka[le] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | [h]uveyā | ti | (D) | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|------|-----|------|------------|--------|------------|-----------|-----|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | tu | kho | etaṁ | chhudakena | va | janena | usaṭena | va | añatra |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | chu | kho | eshe | khudakena | vā | vagenā | ushuṭena | vā | ana[ta] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [tu] | kho | eshe | khudrakena | | vagrena | usaṭena | va | añatra |
| <i>Mān.</i> | chu | kho | eshe | khudakena | [va | va]gr[e]na | [u]saṭena | va | ana[tra] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . | . | . | t[a | agena] | . | . | [na | sa]vaṁ cha |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | agena | parāk[r]amena | savaṁ | parichajitpā | (F) | et[a] | t[u] | kho |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | agen[ā] | pa[l]akamenā | śhava[m] | palitiditu | (F) | [h]e[ta] | chu | kho |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | agrena | parakramena | sava[m] | paritijitu | (F) | at[r]a | chu | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | a[gre]na | para[krame]na | sav[raṁ] | pariti[ji]tu | (F) | atra | tu | [kho] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | paliti[ji]tu | khudakena | v[ā] | usaṭena | vā | (F) | | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | .. [l]itijit[u] | khudakena | [v]ā | u[sa]ṭena | vā | (F) | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | usaṭena | dukaram | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [u]shaṭe[na] | vā | dukale |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | usaṭe | . | . |
| <i>Mān.</i> | usaṭeneva | du[ka]re | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | u[saṭena] | chu | [dukalatale] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | usaṭena | chu | dukalatale |

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|----------------|------------|--------|-------------|-----|-------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | Devināmpriyo | Piyadasi | rājā | ev[a]m āha | (B) | nāsti | etārisaṁ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | Devānāmp[i]ye | Piyadashi | [l]ājā | hevaṁ hā | (B) | nathi | h[e]ḍise |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devana[m]priyo | Priyadraśi | raya | evaṁ hahati | (B) | nasti | ed[i]śaṁ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | Devanapri[y]e | Priyadraśi | raja | evaṁ aha | (B) | nasti | ediśe |

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|--------------|-------|---------|---------------|-------------------|----|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dānaṁ | yārisaṁ | dhamma-dānaṁ | dhamma-saṁstavo | vā | dhamma- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dāne | adisha | dha[m]ma-dāne | | | dhama- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | danam | yadiśaṁ | dhrama-dana | dhrama-saṁstav[e] | | dh[r]ama- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dane | [a]ḍise | dhrama-dane | dhrama-saṁtha[v]e | | dhrama- |

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|--------------|--------------|------|------------------------|----|-----|--------|------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | saṁvibhāgo | [vā] | dhamma-saṁbadho | va | (C) | tata | idaṁ | bhavati |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | shav[i]bhage | | dhamma-shaṁbadh[e] | | (C) | ta[ta] | eshe | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | saṁvibhago | | dh[r]ama-saṁba[m]dha | | (C) | tatra | etaṁ | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | saṁvibhaga | | dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e] | | (C) | tatra | eshe | |

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|--------------|------------------|-------------------|--------|-----------|-------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dāsa-bhatakamhi | samya-p[r]atipati | mātari | pitarā | sādhu | sus[r]usā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dāsha-bhaṭakashi | shamyā-paṭipati | mātā | pitishu | | shushushā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dasa-bhaṭakanam | saṁmma-paṭipati | mata | pitushu | | suśrusha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si | samya-paṭipati | mata | [pitu]shu | | su[śru]sha |

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|--------------|----------------------------|------------------------|-------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṃ | bāhmaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[naṃ] | sādhu | dā[naṃ] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | mita-shamthuta-nātikyānaṃ | samanā-[ba]mbhanānā | | [dā]ne |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mi[t]ra-samstuta-ñātikanaṃ | śramaṇa-bramaṇana | | dana |
| <i>Mān.</i> | mitra-sam[stuta]-ñātikana | śramaṇa-bramaṇana | | dan[e] |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | prāṇānaṃ | anārambho | sādhu | (D) eta | vatavyaṃ | pitā | va | putrena |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pānānaṃ | anāl[am]bhe | | (D) eshe | vatav[i]ye | pi[t]inā | pi | pute[na] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | praṇana | anara[m]bho | | (D) etaṃ | vatavo | pituna | pi | putrena |
| <i>Mān.</i> | praṇana | [ana]rabhe | | (D) [e]she | vataviye | pituna | pi | putrena |

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|--------------|----|-----------|----|-----------------------------|----|----------------------|----|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | va | bhāt[ā] | va | mīta-sastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na | | | va | āva |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pi | bhā[t]inā | pi | sh[a]vām[i]kyena | pi | mita-śamthutānā | | avā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | bhratuna | pi | [spa]mikenā | pi | mitra-samstutana | | ava |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pi | bhratuna | pi | spamike[na] | pi | mitra-sam[stu]t[e]na | | ava |

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|--------------|-------------------|----------|---------|------|--------------|----------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | paṭivesiyehi | ida | sādhu | ida | ka[tav]ya[m] | (E) so | t[a]thā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā] | iy[a]m | shādhu | iyam | kaṭaviye | (E) [ś]e | tathā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pratīveshiyena | [i]ma[m] | sadhu | imam | kaṭavo | (E) so | tatha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | paṭīveshiyena | iyam | sa[dhu] | iyam | kaṭaviye | (E) se | tatha |

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|--------------|-----------|------------|-------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | karu | ilokachasa | ārādho hoti | parata | cha | amnamtam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | kala[m]ta | hidlokikye | cha kam āladhe hoti | palata | ch[ā] | anata |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | karata[m] | ialoka | cha a[ra]dheti | paratra | cha | anataṃ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | karata[m] | hi[dalo]ke | [cha] kam aradhe ho[ti] | pa[ra]tra | cha | ana[m]tam |

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|--------------|--------|-------------|--------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | puiṇam | bhavati | tena | dhamma-dānena |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | punā | paśavati | tenā | dhamma-dānenā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | puṇa | prasavati | [te]na | dhrama-danena |
| <i>Mān.</i> | puṇam | p[r]asavati | te[na] | dhra[ma]-danena |

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|---------------|------|--------------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) Devānaṃpiye | Piyad[a]si | rājā | sava-pāsaṃdāni | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) [D]evānāpiye | [P]iyadash[i] | lājā | shāvā-pāshaṃ[dān]i | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) Devanaṃpriyo | Priyadraśi | raya | savra-prashaṃdani | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) Devanapiye | Priyadraśi | raja | savra-pashaḍani | |

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|--------------|-----------------|-----|------------|-----|----------|----------|-----|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [pa]vajitāni | cha | gharastāni | cha | pūjayati | d[ā]nena | cha | vivādhāya |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pav[a]jitā[n]i | | gahathāni | vā | pujeti | dānena | | vividh[aye] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pravrajita[ni] | | grahathani | cha | pujeti | danena | | vividhaye |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [p]rava[ji]tani | | gehathani | cha | pujeti | danena | | vividhaye |

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|--------------|-------|----------|-------------|----------|-------|-------|--------|----|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [cha] | pūjāya | pūjayati ne | (B) na | tu | tathā | dānaṃ | va | pū[jā] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | cha | puj[ā]ye | | (B) n[o] | ch[u] | tathā | dāne | vā | pujā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha | pujaye | | (B) no | chu | tatha | [da]na | va | puja |
| <i>Mān.</i> | cha | pujaye | | (B) no | chu | tatha | dana | va | puja |

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|--------------|----|------------------|----------|-------|--------|----------------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | va | D[e]vānampiyo | maññate | yathā | kiti | sāra-vaḍhi | asa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | Devāna[m]piye | m[a]nati | athā | k[i]ta | ś[ā]lā-v[a]ḍhi | śiyāti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | Devanampiyo | maññati | yatha | kiti | sa[la]-vaḍhi | siya |
| <i>Mān.</i> | va | [De]vana[m]priye | maññati | atha | kiti | sala-vaḍhi | siya |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|-----|--------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------|------|------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | sa[va-pā]samḍanam | (C) | sār[a]-vaḍhi | tu | bahuvidhā | (D) | tasa | tu | idam | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ś[a]va-pāśaḍana | (C) | śālā-vaḍhi | nā | bahuvidhā | (D) | taśa | chu | inam | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | savra-prashamḍanam | (C) | sala-vaḍhi | tu | bahuvidha | (D) | tasa | tu | iyo | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | savra-pashaḍana | ti | (C) | sala-vruḍhi | t[u] | bahuvidha | (D) | tasa | chu | iyam |

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|--------------|-------|-----|--------------|-------|------|----------------------|----|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | mūlam | ya | vachi-guti | kimti | | ātpa-pāsamḍa-pūjā | va | para- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | mule | a | va[cha]-guti | kiti | t[i] | ata-paśaḍa-[v]ā puja | vā | pala- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mula | yam | vacha-guti | kiti | | ata-prashamḍa-puja | va | pa[ra]- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | mule | am | vacha-guti | kiti | | ata-prashaḍa-puja | va | para- |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----|----|--------|--------------------|--------|----|------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | pāsamḍa-garahā | va | no | bhave | aprakaraṇamhi | lahukā | va | asa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pāsamḍa-galahā | va | no | [śa]yā | ap[a]k[a][a]naś[i] | lahakā | vā | śiya |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pashamḍa-garana | va | no | siya | [a]pakaraṇasi | lahuka | va | siya |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pashaḍa-garaha | va | no | siya | apakaraṇasi | lahuka | va | siya |

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|--------------|--------|-------|----------------|-----|--------------|-----|-----|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | tamhi | tamhi | prakaraṇe | (E) | pūjetayā | tu | eva | para-pāsamḍā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [ta]gi | taśi | pakalan[a]ś[i] | (E) | pujetav[i]ya | chu | | p[a]lā-pā[śa]ḍā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tasi | tasi | prakara[n]e | (E) | pujetaviya | va | chu | para-prasha[mḍa] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | tasi | tasi | pakaraṇasi | (E) | pujetaviya | va | chu | para-p[r]ashaḍa |

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|--------------|------|------|-------------|-----|--------|---------|------------------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | tena | tana | prakaraṇena | (F) | evam | karum | ātpa-pāsamḍam | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | tena | tena | akālana | (F) | heva | kalata | ata-pāśaḍā | baḍham |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tena | tena | akarena | (F) | e[v]am | karatam | ata-p[r]ashamḍam | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | tena | tena | akarena | (F) | evam | karatam | atva-pashaḍa | baḍham |

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|--------------|-----------|-------------------|----|-----|-----------|-----|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vaḍhayati | para-pāsamḍasa | | cha | upakaroti | (G) | tad-amñathā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vaḍhiyati | pala-pāśaḍa | pi | vā | upakaleti | (G) | tadā anatha |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vaḍheti | para-prashamḍamsa | pi | cha | upakaroti | (G) | tada añatha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vaḍhayati | para-pashaḍasa | pi | cha | upakaroti | (G) | tad-amñatha |

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|--------------|--------------|-----------------|-----|----------|-------------------|-----|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | karoto | ātpa-pāśaḍam | cha | chhaṇati | para-pāsamḍasa | cha | pi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | kalata | ata-pāśaḍa | cha | chhanati | pala-pāśaḍa | pi | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ka[ra]min[o] | ata-p[r]ashamḍa | | kshaṇati | para-[pra]shaḍasa | cha | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | karatam | ata-pashaḍa | cha | chhaṇati | para-pashaḍasa | pi | cha |

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|--------------|-----------|-----|----|------|--------|----------------|----------|----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | apakaroti | (H) | yo | hi | kochi | ātpa-pāsamḍam | pūjayati | para-pāsamḍam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | apakaleti | (H) | ye | [h]i | kechha | [a]ta-pāśaḍa | punāti | pala-pāśaḍa |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | apakaroti | (H) | yo | hi | kachi | ata-prashamḍam | pujeti | [para]-p[r]ashaḍa[m] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | apakaroti | (H) | ye | hi | kechhi | atva-pashaḍa | pujeti | para-pashaḍa |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | v[a] | garahati | savam | ātpa-pāsamḍa-bhatiyā | kiṁti | ātpa-pāsamḍam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | ga[la]hati | shave | ata-pāsham[ḍa]-bhatiyā | vā | kiti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | garahati | savre | ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya | va | kiti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | va | garahati | savre | atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya | va | kiti |

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|--------------|------------|-----|-----|------|-------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------|------------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dipayema | iti | so | cha | puna | tatha | karāto | ātpa-pāsaṁḍa[m] | bāḍhatarām | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [d]ipayema | she | cha | punā | tathā | kalam̐taṁ | bāḍhatale | up[a]ham̐ti | i | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dipayami | ti | so | cha | puna | tatha | karam̐taṁ ¹ | ba[ḍhata]raṁ | upaham̐ti | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dipayama | ti | . | . | . | puna | tatha | karataṁ | bāḍhatarām | upaham̐ti |

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|--------------|-----------------|-----|----|-----------|-----|--------|--------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | upahanāti | (I) | ta | samavāyo | eva | sādhu | kim̐ti | [a]ñamam̐ñasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ata-pāshaṁḍashi | (I) | | shamavāye | vu | shādhu | kiti | añnamanashā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ata-prashaḍaṁ | (I) | so | sayamo | vo | sadhu | kiti | añnamañasa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | atva-pasha[ḍa] | (I) | se | samavaye | vo | sadhu | ki[ti] | añamañasa |

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|--------------|----------|-------------|-----|--------------|--------|-----------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dham̐maṁ | sruṇāru | cha | susum̐sera | cha | (ḥ) evaṁ | hi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dham̐maṁ | shune[y]u | chā | shushusheyu | chā ti | (ḥ) hevaṁ | hi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhramo | śruṇeyu | cha | suśrusheyu | cha ti | (ḥ) evaṁ | hi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dhramam̐ | śruṇ[e]y[u] | cha | suśrushe[yu] | cha ti | (ḥ) evaṁ | hi |

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|--------------|------------------|-------|--------|-----------------|------------|-------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | D[e]vānam̐piyasa | ichhā | kim̐ti | sava-pāsaṁḍā | bahu-srutā | cha | asu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Devānam̐piyashā | ichhā | kim̐ti | sava-pāshaṁḍa | baha-shutā | chā | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanam̐priyasa | ichha | kiti | savra-prashaṁḍa | bahu-śruta | ch[a] | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Devanapriyasa | ichha | kiti | savra-pashaḍa | bahu-śruta | cha | |

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|--------------|--------------|-----|----------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | kal[ā]nāgamā | cha | [a]su | (K) ye | cha | tatra | tata | prasam̐nā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | kayānāgā | cha | huveyu | ti | (K) e | [cha] | tata | t[a]t[a] p[a]sh[am̐]nā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | kal[āṇa]gama | cha | siyasu | (K) ye | cha | tatra | tatra | prasana |
| <i>Mān.</i> | kayaṇagama | cha | [hu]veyu | ti | (K) e | cha | tatra | tatra |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | tehi | vataavyam̐ | (L) | Devānam̐piyo | no | tathā | dānam̐ | va | pūjām̐ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | te[hi] | va[taviye] | (L) | Devānāpiye | no | tathā | dānam̐ | vā | pujā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tesha[m̐] | vataavo | (L) | Devanam̐priy[o] | na | [tatha] | da[na[m̐]] | va | p[u]ja |
| <i>Mān.</i> | tehi | vataviye | (L) | Devanapriye | no | tatha | danam̐ | va | puja[m̐] |

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|--------------|----|-----------|---------|--------|-----------------|--------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | va | maṁñate | yathā | kim̐ti | sāra-vaḍhī | asa | sarva-pāsaḍānam̐ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | maṁnat[i] | athā | kiti | sh[ā]lā-v[a]dhi | śiyā | shava-pāshaṁḍatim̐ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | mañati | ya[tha] | kiti | sala-vaḍhi | siyati | savra-prashaḍanam̐ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | va | maṇati | atha | kiti | sala-vaḍhi | siya | savra-pashaḍa[na] |

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|--------------|--------------|-------|------------|---------|----------|----------------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (M) bahakā | cha | etāya | athā | vyāpatā | dham̐ma-mahāmātā | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (M) bahukā | ch[ā] | etāyāthāye | | viyāpatā | dha[m̐]ma-mahāmātā | i |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (M) bahuka | cha | etaye | a[tha] | vap[a]ṭa | dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (M) [ba]huka | cha | etaye | athraye | vapuṭa | dhramā-mahamatra | |

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|--------------|------------------------------|-----|------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | ithijhaksha-mahāmātā | cha | vacha-bhūmīkā | cha | añe | cha | nikāyā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ithidhiyaksha-mahāmātā | | vacha-bh[u]mikyā | | ane | vā | [n]iky[ā]y[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | i[stridhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra | | [vra]cha-bhumika | | añe | cha | nikaye |
| <i>Mān.</i> | istrijaksha-mahamatra | | vracha-bh[u]mika | | añe | cha | nikay[e] |

¹ The five last words are repeated thus: *so cha puna tatha karataṁ.*

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|--------------|-----|------|-----|--------|----------|-----|--------------------|-----|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (N) | ayaṁ | cha | etasa | phala | ya | ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-vaḍhī | cha | hoti |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (N) | iyam | cha | etishā | phale | yam | ata-pāshaṁḍa-vaḍhi | chā | hoti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (N) | imam | cha | etisa | [pha]lam | yam | ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi | | [bh]o[ti] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (N) | iyam | cha | etisa | phale | yam | atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi | cha | bh[o]t[i] |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | dhammasa | cha | dīp[a]nā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | dhammasha | chā | dipanā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | dhramasa | cha | di[pana] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | dhramasa | cha | [di]pana |

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

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|--------------|-----|-------------------------|-----------|-----|-------------------|---------------|--------|--|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | | | | | | | | ño |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | aṭha-[va]shā- | bhishita- | shā | [De]vānāmpiyasha | Piyadashine | lājine | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | [aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita | [sa] | | Devana[pri]a[sa] | Pri[a]draśisa | ra[ño] | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | [aṭha]-vashabhisita | [sa] | | De[va]na[priyasa] | Priyadraśine | rajine | | |

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|--------------|--|----------|------------|-----|---------------------|--|------------------------|------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | Kalimḡā | [v . j .] | (B) | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | Kaligyā | vijitā | (B) | diyaḍha-mite | | pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e | ye | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | Ka[liga] | vi[j]ita | (B) | diadha-mat[r]e | | praṇa-śata-[saha]sre | y[e] | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | [Ka]liga | [v]i[j]ita | (B) | [di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e | | praṇa-[śata-sa] | | |

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|--------------|--|---------|-----------|------------------------|-------|-------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | [v . dh]e | [sa]ta-sahasra-mātram | tatrā | hataṁ | bahu-tāvatakaṁ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | [ta]phā | apavuḍhe | [śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite | tata | hate | bahu-tāvatake |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | tato | apavuḍhe | śata-sahasra-matre | tatra | hate | bahu-tavata[ke] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | | | |

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|--------------|--|------|--------|------|--------|----------|----------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | mata | (C) | tatā | pachhā | adh[u]nā | ladhesu | Kalimḡesu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | vā | maṭe | (C) | tat[o] | pa]chhā | adhunā | ladhesha |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | [va] | m[uṭe] | (C) | tato | [pa]cha | a[dhu]na | ladh[e]shu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | [ma]ṭe | (C) | [tato] | pacha | adhuna | la[dhe]shu |

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|--------------|--|---------|----------------|-----------------|--|-------------------|-------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | tī[v]o | dhammavāyo | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | tive | dhamma[vāy]e | dhamma-k[ā]matā | | dhammānushathi | chā | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | [tivre | dhrama-śilana] | dhra[ma-ka]mata | | dhramanuśasti | cha | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | ti[vr]e | dhrama[va]jye | | | [dhra]manu[śa]sti | [cha] | |

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|--------------|--|----------------|-----|-------|--------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | | [sa]yo | Devānāmpriyasa | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | Devānāmpiyashā | (D) | sh[e] | athi | anushaye | Devānāmpiya[sh]ā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | Devanapriyasa | (D) | so | [a]sti | anusochana | Devanap[ria]sa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | [De]vana[pri] | (D) | | | | |

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|--------------|--|------------|------------|-----|----------|------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | [v . j .] | | | | | [va]dho |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | vijin[i]tu | Kaligyāni | (E) | avijitam | hi | vijinamane |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | vijiniti | Kaliga[ni] | (E) | avijitam | [hi] | vi]jinamano |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | | | yo |

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|--------------|----|---------|----|---------|------|-----------|-------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | va | marañam | va | apavāho | va | janasa | ta | bāḍham |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | malane | vā | apavahe | [vā] | jan[a]shā | [sh]e | bāḍha |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | marañam | va | apavaḥo | va | janasa | tañ | baḍham |
| <i>Mān.</i> | .. | [maraṇe | va | apavahe | va | janasa] | se | [baḍham] |

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|--------------|----------------------|-----|-----------------|------|-------------------|-----|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vedana-mata | cha | g[u]r[u]-mata | cha | Devā[naṃpi]..[sa] | (F) | ... |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vedaniya-mute | | g[u]l[u]-mut[e] | chā | Devānaṃ[pi]yashā | (F) | iyam |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | v[e]dani[ya]-ma[tam] | | guru-mata[m] | cha | Devanaṃpriyasa | (F) | idam |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vedaniya-mate | | guru-mate | [cha | Devanapriyasa] | (F) | [i]yam |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | pi | chu | tato | galu-matatale | D[e]vānaṃpiyashā | (G) | [ya] | tatā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pi | chu | [tato] | guru-matataram | [Devanaṃ]priyasa | (G) | ye | tatra |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | chu | [tato] | guru-matataram | [Devanaṃ]priyasa | (G) | ye | tatra |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [pi] | chu | tato | | | | | |

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|--------------|---------|-----------|----|-----------|----|--------|----|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | .. | bāmhaṇā | va | samaṇā | va | aṇe | .. | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vashati | b[ā]bhanā | va | shama | vā | ane | vā | pāsaṃḍa |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vasati | bramaṇa | va | śrama[ṇa] | va | a[m]ṇe | va | prashaṃḍa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | gra[ha]tha |

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|--------------|----|--------|----------|----------|-------------------------|------|------------------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | [s]ā | mātr[i] | pitari |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | yeṣu | vihitā | [e]sh[a] | a[grabhu]t[i]-shushushā | | m[ā]tā-piti- | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | yesu | vihita | esha | agrabhuṭi-suśrusha | | mata-pitushu | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | .. | [ye]su | [vihi]ta | esha | [a]grabhu[ṭi]-suśrusha | | mata-pi[tu]sh[u] | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | susumsā | guru-susumsā | mita-saṃstata-sahāya-ñātike[su] | dāsa- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | shushushā | galu-shushā | mita-shaṃthuta-shahāya-ñātikeshu | dāśa- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | suśrusha | guruna suśrusha | mitra-saṃstuta-sahaya-ñātikeshu | dasa- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | su[śru]sha | guru-suśrusha | mit[r]a-sa[m]stu | |

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|--------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|--------|-------|-------|----|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [bha] | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | bha[ta]kash[i] | sha[m]yā-paṭipati | diḍha-bhatitā | tesham | tatā | hoti | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bhaṭaṇam | samma-pratipa[ti] | driḍha-bhatita | tesha | tatra | bhoti | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |

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|--------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|------------------|-----|----------|----|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [upa]ghāte | vā vadhe | vā abhīlatānaṃ | vā vinikhamane | (H) | yesam | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [a]pag[r]atho | va vadho | va abhiratana | va nikramaṇam | (H) | yesha | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | .. | [va]dh[e] | va abh[iratanam] | va vini[k]ramaṇi | (H) | yesha[m] | | |

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|--------------|----|------|-----------------|----------|------------|----|---------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vā | [p.] | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | pi | shuvihi[t]ānaṃ | shinehe | avipahine | e | tānaṃ | mita-saṃth[u]ta- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | pi | suvihitanam | [si]ho | aviprahino | [e | te]sha | mitra-saṃstuta- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | va | pi | s[u]vih[itanam] | si[ne]he | avipahin[e | e] | ta[naṃ] | mitra-[saṃ].... |

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|--------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|------|------|--------------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | .. | [h]āya-ñātikā | vyasanam | prāpuṇati | tata | so | pi | tesa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya | viyashanam | pāpunāta | tatā | she | [p]i | t[ā]namev[ā] | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sahaya-ñatika | vasana | prapuṇati | [ta]tra | tañ | pi | tesha | vo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |

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|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------------|------------|----------------------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [u]paghāto | hāti | (I) paṭibhā[g]o | chesā | s[ava] | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | upaghāt[e] | hoti | (I) paṭibhāge | chā esh[a] | sh[a]va-manu[shāna]m | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | apaghratho | bhoti | (I) pratibhagam | cha [e]taṁ | savra-manuśanam | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | [esha] | savra-manuśanam | |

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|--------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|-------------|-----------|---------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | gul[u]-m[a]te | chā | Devāna[m]piyashā | (Y) n[a]thi | chā | she jan[a]pade yatā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | guru-mataṁ | cha | Devanaṁpriya[sa] | (Y) nasti | cha | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | guru-mate | cha | Devanaṁpriyasa | (Y) nasti | cha | se janapade yatra |

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|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . . sti | ime | nikāyā | añatra | Yone[su] | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nathi | ime | nikāyā | ānatā | Y[o]nesh[u] | bañhmane ch[ā] shamane chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | nasti | ime | ni[ka]ya | a[ña]tra | Yoneshu | [bramaṇe cha] śra[maṇe] . . |

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|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | [mh]i | yatra | nāsti | mānusānam | ekatarāmi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nathi | chā | kuvāpi | jan[a]padashi | [ya]tā | n[a]thi | m[a]nushān[a] ekatalash[i] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | | | | | | ekatare |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | pi | [janapada]si | ya[t]ra | | |

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|--------------|-----------|-------------|----|--------|-----------|-----|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | pāsaṁdamhi | na | nāma | prasā[d]o | (K) | y[ā]vata[k]o | j[ano] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [p]i | pāshaḍashi | no | n[ā]ma | pashāde | (K) | she | ava[ta]ke jane |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | prashaḍaspi | na | nama | prasado | (K) | so | yamatro [ja]no |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | na | nama | prasade | (K) | se | yavatake jane |

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|--------------|----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [ta]d[ā] | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | t[a]dā | Kali[m]geshu | [ladheshu | hā]te | ch[ā] | mat[e] | chā [apavudhe] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tada | Kalige | | [ha]to | cha | mu[ṭ]o | cha apav[uḍha] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | tada | Kaligeshe[u] | | hate | cha | | apavudhe |

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|--------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|-----------|------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | sra-bhāgo | va | garu-mat[o] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [chā] | tato | shat[e] bhāge | vā | shah[a]sha-bhāge | vā aja gulu-mate |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha | tato | śata-bhage | va | sahasra-bhagam | va [a]ja guru-mataṁ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | cha | ta[to] | śata-bhage | va | sahasra-bhage | va aja guru-ma[te] |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | Devānam | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | Devāna[m]piyashā | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | v[o] | Devanaṁpriyasa | (L) yo | pi | cha | apakarēyati kshamitaviya-mate va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [va] | Devanapriya[sa] | (L) | | pa[ka] | [mi]tavi |

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|--------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | na | ya | saka | chhamitave | (M) yā | cha | pi aṭaviyo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanaṁp[r]iyasa | yaṁ | śako | kshamanaye | (M) ya | pi | cha | aṭavi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | (M) | [pi | cha] | aṭavi |

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|--------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | D[e]vānaṁpiya[sa] | pijite | pāti | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanaṁpriyasa | vijite | bhoti | ta | pi | anuneti anunijapeti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Devanapriyasa | vijitasi | hoti | [ta] | pi | a[nuna]ya[ti] a[nu[nijha]paya[ti] |

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|--------------|-----|-----------|----|-----|----------|----------------|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ..chate | te[sa]m | Devānāmpriyasa | ... |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (N) | anutape | pi | cha | prabhava | Devanāmpriyasa | vuchati | tesha | kiti | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (N) | [anu]tape | pi | cha | prabhava | Devanapriyasa | vuchati | [te]sha | [ki] | .. | |

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|--------------|------------|----|-----|-------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|--------|---|----------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | sava- | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | . | . | . | . | [ney]u | (O) ichha | . | . | . | sha[va]- | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | avatrapeyu | na | cha | [ha]mñeyasu | (O) ichhati | hi | D[e]vanāmpriyo | savra- | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | (O) .chha | . | vanapri[y.] | . | . | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | bhūtānām | achhatim | cha | sayamam | cha | samachairam | ch[a] | mādava | cha | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [bhu] | . | . | [shayama | shamacha] | liya[m] | madava | ti | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bhutana | akshati | sa[m]yamam | sama[cha]riyam | rabhasiye | | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (P) | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (P) | iyam | vu | mu | . | . | Devānāmpriyeshā | ye | dha[m]ma- | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (P) | ayi | cha | mukha-mut[a] | vijaye | Devanāmpriya[sa] | yo | dhrama- | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | [mukha]-mute | v[i]jaye | D[e]vanapriyasa | ye | dhrama- | | | |

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|--------------|---------|-----------|-----|--------|-----------|-------------------|------------|------|-----|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | [la]dh[o] | ... | nampriyasa | idha | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vijaye | (Q) sh[e] | cha | punā | ladhe | Devāna[m]pi | . | . | cha | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vijayo- | (Q) so | cha | puna | ladho | Devanāmpriyasa | iha | cha | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vijaye | (Q) se | cha | [puna] | la[dh]e | [Deva]napri[ya]sa | hida | cha | | | |

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|--------------|------------|-------|----------|-----|--------|----|----------------------|-------|---|---|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [sa]vesu | [ch.] | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | shaveshu | cha | ateshu | a | shashu | pi | [yo]jana-shateshu | at[a] | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | saveshu | cha | arnteshu | [a] | shashu | pi | yojana-śa[t]eshu | yatra | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sa[vr]eshu | cha | arnteshu | a | shashu | pi | y[o]ja[na-śa]t[eshu] | ... | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | [Yo]na-rāja | param | cha | tena | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Atiyoge | nām[a] | Yo[na-lā] | .. | [pa]lam | chā | tenā | A[m]tiyogenā | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Arntiyoko | nama | Y[o]na-rāja | param | cha | tena | Atiyok[e]na | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | .. tiyo[ge] | nama | Yo[na-[rāja] | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | chatpāro | rājāno | Turamāyo | cha | [A]mt[ek]ina | cha | Magā | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | chatāli | 4 | lajāne | Tulamaye | [nā]m[a] | Arnteki[ne | nā]ma | Makā | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | chature | 4 | rajani | Turamaye | nama | Arntikini | nama | Maka | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | Arnt[e] | | [nama | Ma]ka | | |

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|--------------|--------|---------------|------|--------|---------------|------|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nāma | Alikyashudale | nāma | nicham | Choḍa-Pamḍiyā | avam | | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | nama | Alikasudaro | nama | nicha | Choḍa-Pamḍa | ava | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | na[ma] | Alikasudare | nama | nicha | Choḍa-Pamḍiya | a | | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Tambapamniyā | hevamev[ā] | (R) hevamevā | [hi]dā | lā[ja]-viśavashi | | | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Ta[m]bapam[ni]ya | (R) [e]vameva | [hi]da | raja-vishavaspi | | | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Tambapa[m]niya | (R) evameva | [hida] | raja-vishava[si] | | | | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | [Y]o[na]-Kaṃbo | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Yona-Kaṃbojeshu | Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṃtishu | Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu | Nabhaka-Nabhitina | Bhoja-Pitinikeshu | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Y[o]na-Kaṃ[bojeshu] | Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu | [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | ṃdhra-Pāriṃdesu | savata | Devānaṃpiyasa | dhammānus[a]stīm |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u | [sha]vatā | [D]evā[na]ṃpi[ya]shā | dhammānu[sha]thi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Aṃdhra-Palideshu | savatra | Devanaṃpriyasa | dhramanuṣasti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Adha-[Pa] | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | anuv[a]tare | (S) yata | pi dūti | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | anuvataṃti | (S) y[a]ta | pi dutā | Devāna[ṃp]iyasā | no | yaṃti | t[e] | pi | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | anuvataṃti | (S) yatra | pi | Devanaṃpriyasa | duta | na | vrachāṃti | te | pi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | (S) [yatra | pi | du]ta | [De]vanapriyasa | na | yaṃti | te | pi |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | | | [na]ṃ | dhamānusastīm | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sutu | Dev[āna]ṃp[i]naṃya | dh[aṃma]-vutaṃ | v[i]dh[a]na[ṃ] | | | dhammānusa[th]i | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | śrutu | Devanaṃpriyasa | dhrama-vutaṃ | vidh[a]naṃ | | | dhramanuṣasti | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | śrutu | Devanaṃpriyasa | dhrama-vuta | vidhana[ṃ] | | | dhramanuṣasti | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | dhamāṃ | anuvīdhiyare | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | dha[ṃ]ma[ṃ] | anuvīdhiyaṃa | [a]nuvīdhiyaṃa | [ch]ā | (T) ye | se | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | dhramaṃ | [a]nuvīdhiyaṃti | anuvīdhiyaṃti | cha | (T) yo | [sa] | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | dhra[ṃ]ma[ṃ] | anuvīdhiyaṃti | [a]nuvīdhiyaṃti | cha | (T) [ye | se] | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | | | [v]ijayo | savathā | puna | vijayo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [la]dhe | etakenā | hoti | savatā | | vi[ja]ye | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ladhe | etakena | bho[ti] | savatra | | vijayo | sava[tra] | pu[na] | vijayo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ladhe | e[ta]ke[na] | ho[ti] | savra[tra] | | vi[jaye] | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | pīti-raso | sā | (U) ladhā | sā | pīti | hoti | | dhamma-vijayamhi | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | piti-lase | se | (U) gadhā | sā | hoti | piti | piti | dhamm[a]-vijayashi | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | priti-raso | so | (U) ladha | | bh[oti] | priti | | dhrama-vijayaspi | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (V) lahukā | v[u] | kho | sā | piti | (W) pālaṃtikyameve | maha-phalā | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (V) lahuka | tu | kho | sa | priti | (W) paratri[ka]meva | maha-phala | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | | (W) paratrikameva | maha-phala | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | maṃnam[ti] | Dev[e]naṃ[pi]ne | (X) etāye | chā | aṭhāye | iyam | dha[ṃ]ma- | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | meṇati | Devana[ṃ]priyo | (X) etaye | cha | aṭhaye | ayi | dhrama- | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [ma]ṇati | De[va]napri[ye] | (X) e[ta]ye | cha | [a]thray[e] | iyam | dhramma- | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | [l] | | | | | | [va]ṃ | vijayaṃ | mā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lipi | likhitā | kiti | putā | papotā | me | a[su] | nava[ṃ] | vijay[a] ma |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dipi | nipi[sta] | kiti | putra | papotra | me | asu | navaṃ | vijayaṃ ma |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dipi | li[khi]ta | kiti | putra | prap[o]tra | me | a[su] | nava[ṃ] | v[i]. . . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | vijetavyam | maññā | sarasake | eva | vijaye | chhāti | cha | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vijayataviya | manishu | shayakashi | no | vi[ja]yashi | khamti | chā | la | hu- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vijetav[i]a | mañishu | spa[kaspi] | yo | vijay[e | ksham]ti | cha | lahu- | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [tavi]yam | mañ[ishu | saya] | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | damḍatā | [chā] | lochetu | tameva | chā | vijayam | manatu | ye | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | da[m]ḍata | cha | rochetu | tañ | cha | yo | vija | maña[tu] | yo |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | da[m]ḍata | cha | rochetu | tañ | cha | yo | vija | maña[tu] | yo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | kik[o] | ch[a | pā[r[alo]ki[ko] | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dhamma-vijaye | (Y) she | hidalokikya | . | . | palalokiye | (Z) shavā | . | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhrama-vijayo | (Y) so | hidalokiko | . | . | paralokiko | (Z) sava- | . | . |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | (Y) .. | hidaloke | . | . | paralokike | (Z) sava | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | ka | nilati | hot[u] | uyāma-lāti | (AA) shā | hi | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | cha | ka | nilati | hot[u] | uyāma-lāti | (AA) shā | hi | . | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | chati-rati | . | . | bhotu | ya [dh]rañma-rati | (AA) sa | hi | . | . |
| <i>Mān.</i> | cha | [ka] | nirati | hotu | ya dhrama-rati | (AA) sa | hi | . | . |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----|---------------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | ilokikā | cha | pāralokikā | cha | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | hī[da]lokika | . | pa[la]lokikyā | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | hidalokika | . | paralokika | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [i]aloki[ka] | . | paraloki[ka] | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------|----------|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) ayam | dhamma-lipī | Devānañpriyena | Priyadasinā | r[ā]ññā | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) iyañ | dhama-lipi | Dev[ānañp]i[y]e[n]ā | [P]iyadasinā | lajinā | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) ayi | dhrama-dipi | Devanañpriyena | Priśi[na] | rañña | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) [i]yañ | dhrama-dipi | De[va]ñapriyena | Pri[ya] | [jina] | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) iyañ | dhamma-lipī | De[v]ānañpiyena | Piyada[sin]ā | lāj[inā] | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|------|------|--------------|--------|---------------|--------|------------|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | l[e]khāpitā | asti | eva | sañkhit[e]na | asti | majhamena | asti | vistatana | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | likhāpitā | athi | yevā | sukhitenā | [a]thi | majhimenā | athi | vithaṭenā | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | nipesapita | asti | vo | sañkshitena | asti | yo | . | vistriṭena | . |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [likhapita] | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [likhā] | . | . | . | athi | ma[jh]imena] | . | . | . |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [ma]jhime[na] | ath[i] | vithaṭena | . |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|------|---------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----|---------|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (B) na | cha | sarvañ | [sa]rvata | ghaṭitañ | (C) mahālake | hi | vijitañ | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (B) no | hi | savatā | save | [gha]ṭite | (C) mahālake | hi | vijite | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (B) na | hi | savatra | sasavre | gaṭite | (C) mahalake | hi | vijite | . |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (B) .. | [h]i | save | sav[a]ta | ghaṭite | (C) mahamte | hi | vijaye | . |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | (B) [no] | hi | save | savata | ghaṭite | (C) mahamte | hi | vijaye | . |

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|--------------|----------|-----|----------|----------------|---------|----------|------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | bahu | cha | likhitam | likhāpayisam | cheva | (D) | asti | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | bahu | cha | likhite | lekhāpeśami | cheva | nikyam | (D) | athi chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bahu | cha | likhite | likha[p]eśami | cheva | | (D) | asti chu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | [likhite | likha]pe[śa]mi | che[va] | ni . . . | (D) | [asti chu] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | bahu[k]e | cha | likhite | likhiyis | . | . | (D) | [a]thi . . |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|--------|-----|------|--------|------------|--------|--------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | eta | kam | puna | puna | vutam | tasa | tasa | athasa | mādhuratāya |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | hetā | . | puna | pun[ā] | la[p]it[e] | tasha | tashā | athashā | madhuliyāye |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | atra | . | puna | puna | [la]pitam | tasa | tasa | [a]ṭhasa | madhuriyaye |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [a]tra | . | puna | puna | la[pite] | tasa | ta[sa] | a[thra]sa | [madhu]riyaye |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . | . | . | . | [vu]te | ta[sa] | . | . | [y]āy[e] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | [sa] | mādhuliyāye |

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|--------------|---------|-----|--------|---------|----------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | kimti | . | jano | tathā | paṭipajetha | (E) | . | tatra |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | yena | . | jane | tathā | paṭipajeyā | (E) | she | shāyā ata |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ye[na] | . | jana | tatha | paṭipajeyati | (E) | so | siya va atra |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [ye]na | . | jane | ta[tha] | paṭipaje[ya]ti | (E) | se | [si]ya atra |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [k]imti | cha | j[a]ne | tathā | paṭipajeyā ti | (E) | e | pi chu heta |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | kimt[i] | cha | jane | tathā | paṭipajeyā ti | (E) | e | pi chu heta |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|------------|------------|----------|--------|----|-------------|-----------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | ekadā | asamāt[a]m | likhita[m] | asa | desam | va | sachhāya | [kā]raṇam | va |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | k[i]chhi | asamati | likhite | . | dishā | vā | shamkheye | kālanam | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | kiche | asamatam | likhitam | . | deśam | va | samkhaya[a] | karaṇa | va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ki[chhi] | . | [t]i | likhi[t] | . | va | [samkha]ya | . | . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . | asamati | likhit[e | s] | .. sam | .. | [lochay]itu | . | . |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [a]lochetpā | lipikarāparadhena | va |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | alochayitu | li[p]ikalapalādhena | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | alocheti | dipikarasa | va aparadhena |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . | k[a][ā] | [t]i |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . |

II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | [Devāna]m[pi]y[asa | vacha]nena | Tosaliyam | ma[hā]māta |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (A) | Dev[ā]nampiye | he[va]m [ā]hā | (B) Sam[ā]pāyam | mahāmāta |

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|--------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----|-----|--------|----------|
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [naga]la-[v]i[yo]hālaka[ā | va]taviya | (B) | [am | kichhi | dakhā]mi |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | [na]gala-viyohālaka | he[va]m va]tav[i]y[ā] | (C) | am | kichhi | dakhāmi |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|-------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------------------|
| <i>Dhau.</i> | hakam | tam | ichhāmi | k[i]m[t]i | kam[mana | pa]ṭi[pāday]eham |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | ha[k]am | [tam] | ichhām[i | k]im[t]i | kam | kamana pa]ṭipātayeham |

Dhau. duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la]
Ṣau. duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam

Dhau. [etasi aṭha]si am tuph[esu] anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-
Ṣau. a[m] tuphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-

Dhau. sahasesum ā[yata] p[a]na[yam] ga]chh[e]ma su munisānam
Ṣau. sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[yam] gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m]

Dhau. (E) save munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m]
Ṣau. (F) sava-mu[n]ā me pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i]

Dhau. [kimti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena hidal[o]kika]-pālalokike[na] y[ū]jev[ū]
Ṣau. [kim]t[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena

Dhau. [t]i [tathā muni]sesu pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no cha
Ṣau. [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu tu[phe]

Dhau. pāpunātha āv[a]-ga[m]u[k]e [iyam aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-
Ṣau. [e]tam [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e [i]yam aṭh[e] (I) kechā eka-

Dhau. puli[se] nāti e[ta]m se pi desam no savam (I) de[kha]t[a] hi
Ṣau. [muni]s[e] pā[p]unāti se pi desam no savam (J) dakhattha hi

Dhau. [t]u[phe] etam suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyam eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e]
Ṣau. [tuphe] pi suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi ye eti eka-munise

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Dhau. baridhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā pāpunāti (K) tata hoti akasmā
Ṣau. ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]sam [p]i pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i] aka]sm[ā]

Dhau. tena badhana[m]tik[a] amne cha hu jane da[v]jiye
Ṣau. ti ten[a] badhana[m]ti[ka] anye] cha [va]ge bahuke

Dhau. dukhīyati (L) tata ichhitaviye tuphehi kimti m[a]jham paṭipādayemā
Ṣau. vedayati (M) tata tuphe[hi] ichhi]taye kimti majham [pa]ṭipādayem[a]

Dhau. ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṃpaṭipajati isāya āsulopena
Ṣau. (N) imehi jāte[hi] no [pa]ṭipa[ja]ti i[s]ā[ya] āsulopena

Dhau. ni[ṭhū]liyena tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena
Ṣau. [ni]ṭhū[li]ye[na] t[ul]āya [a]nā[v]uti[ya] āla[s]y[e]na ki]lamath[e]na

Dhau. (N) se ichhitaviye kitim ete [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]jā
Ṣau. (O) hevam ichhit[a]vi[y]e kimti me et[ā]ni jāta[ni n]o hveyū

Dhau. ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū][a]nā cha
Ṣau. ti (P) savasa chu iyam mū[le] a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e] atulanā] cha

Dhau. (P) niti[ya]m e kilaṃte siyā [na] te uga[chha]
Ṣau. (Q) ni[tiya]m [e]y[am] k[i]l[am]te [siya] saṃchalitu uthāy[ā]

Dhau. sañchalitaviy[e] tu va[t]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevañmeva
Jau. sañchalitavye tu v[a]ṭitaviya [pi] etaviye pi nīt[i]yañ (R) eve

Dhau. e da[kheya] t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye ānañne dekhata
Jau. dakh[e]yā āna[r]ne ñijhap[e]ta[vi]ye

Dhau. hevañ cha hev[a]ñ cha [D]evāñapiyasa anusathi (R) se
Jau. heva[r]ñ hevañ cha Devāñ[p]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]ñ

Dhau. mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [sañpa]ṭipāda mahā-apāye asañpaṭipati
Jau. [sañpaṭipā]ta[yañ]tañ mahā-phale hoti asañpaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti

Dhau. (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi etañ nathi svagasa [ā][a]dhi no lāj[ā]la[dh]i
Jau. (T) vipaṭipādayamtañ no svag[a]-ālādhi no lājādhi

Dhau. (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kañm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke
Jau. (U) du[ā]hale etasa [kañ]masa sa me k[u]ṭe ma[n]-[o-ati]le[ke]

Dhau. (U) sa[r]ñpaṭipajam[i]ñ[e] chu [etañ] svaga[r]ñ ālādha[yi]sa[tha]
Jau. (V) [etañ] sañpaṭipajamīne mama] cha ānaneyañ esatha

Dhau. [mama cha ā]ñaniyañ ehatha (V) iyañ cha l[i]p[i] t[i]sa-na[kha]tena
Jau. svagañ cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (W) iyañ chā li[p]i anutisañ

Dhau. so[ta]viy[ā] (W) añta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na kha]ñasi kha[nas]i
Jau. sot[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā [p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā

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Dhau. ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevañ cha kalañtañ tuphe chaghatha
Jau. ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y) m[i]ñe ch[aghatha]

Dhau. sampa[ṭi]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye iya[m] l[i]p[i] likhit[a h]ida ena
Jau. tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyañ [li]khitā [l]ipī ena

Dhau. nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]atañ samayañ yūjevū t[i] . . .
Jau. mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[r]ñ sama[ya]ñ [etañ] yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena

Dhau. . . [na]sa akasmā [pa]libodhe va [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā
Jau. [muni]s[ā]ñam [a] ne [pal]i[k]i

Dhau. ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[r]ñ mate p[a]ñchasu pañchasu
Jau. ye [pa]ñchasu pañchasu

Dhau. [va]sesu [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[chañ]d[e]
Jau. va[sesu] anu[s]a[yā]ñam nikhāma[y]isāmi mahāmātā[r]ñ achamda[r]ñ

Dhau. s[a]khinālañbhe hosati etañ aṭhañ jāñitu [ta]thā kala[r]ñti
Jau. apha[usa]ñ ta

Dhau. atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a]
Jau. pi kumāle [v]

Dhau. Devānaṃpiye [aph]ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṃ [va]
Ṣau. lājā e s[a]kiye khamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ

Dhau. cha dhammaṃ chalevū hidaloka palaloka[m] cha
Ṣau. cha dhamma[m] chaley[ū] ti hidalog[am] cha palalogam cha

Dhau. ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe
Ṣau. ālādhayey[ū] (I) etāye cha aṭhāye hakaṃ tupheni anusāsāmi

Dhau. ana[n]e [e]takena hakaṃ anusāsitu chhamdaṃ cha veditu
Ṣau. ana[ne] eta]kena [ha]kaṃ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhamda[m] cha] vedi[t]u

Dhau. ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭimñā cha mamā [a]jalā (I) s[e] hevaṃ kaṭu
Ṣau. ā mama dhiti paṭimñā cha achala (Ṣ) sa hevaṃ [ka]ṭu

Dhau. kaṃme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] i [cha] tāni ena
Ṣau. k[am]me [cha]litaviye asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te

Dhau. pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha Devānaṃpiy[e] aphāka athā cha
Ṣau. pāpuneyu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṃ [n]e lājā ti atha

Dhau. atānaṃ hevaṃ Devānaṃpiye [a]nukaṃpati aphe athā cha pajā
Ṣau. [a]tānaṃ anukaṃpat[i] he]vaṃ a[ph]eni anuka[m]pa]ti athā pajā

Dhau. hevaṃ may[e] D[e]vānaṃpiyasa (Ṣ) se hakaṃ anusāsitu [chha]mda[m]
Ṣau. hevaṃ [may]e lā[j]ine (K) tupheni hakaṃ anusāsita [chh]āmdaṃ

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Dhau. ch[a] veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike
Ṣau. [cha v]e[di]ta [ā ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m]nā chā achala [saka]la-desā-āy[ut]jike

Dhau. hosāmi etāye aṭhāye (K) paṭibalā hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-
Ṣau. hosāmi et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]lam [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-

Dhau. sukhāye cha [tesa] hidalokika-pālalo[k]kāye (L) hevaṃ cha
Ṣau. sukhāye [cha te]sa[m] hidalogi[ka]-p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṃ cha

Dhau. kalaṃtaṃ tuphe svagaṃ ālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyaṃ
Ṣau. kalaṃtaṃ svaga[m] cha ā]lādhayisa[tha] mama cha āna[n]eyam

Dhau. ehatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṃ lipi likhitā hida e[na]
Ṣau. es[a]tha (N) etāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]m lipi li[kh]i[ta] hi]da e[na]

Dhau. [ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa]ma yujisaṃti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-
Ṣau. [ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvaraṃ samam yujeyū asvāsanāye cha dhamma-

Dhau. chala[n]āye cha tes[a] aṃtānaṃ (N) iyaṃ cha lipi [anu]chātum[m]āsaṃ
Ṣau. chala[nā]ye [cha] aṃtā[na]m (O) iyaṃ cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m]āsaṃ

Dhau. tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmaṃ chu [kha]ṇas[i] khanasi
Ṣau. s[ota]viyā tisena (P) aṃta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā

Dhau. aṁtalā pi tisena ekena [p]i [so]taviya (P) hevaṁ kala[r̥]taṁ
Fau. (Q) khane saṁtaṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[r̥] cha [ka]laṁ[ta]r̥

Dhau. [t]uphe chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayitave
Fau. chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayit[av]e

III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
Ar. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
Nand. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
Rām. (A) Devānaṁpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
All. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

Tōp. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusam̐paṭipādaye
Ar. me iyaṁ dhamma-li[p]i likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusam̐paṭipādaye
Nand. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusam̐paṭipādaye
Rām. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusam̐paṭipādaye
All. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusam̐paṭipāda[y]e

Tōp. aṁnata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]sāyā
Ar. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāy[a] agāya susūsāya
Nand. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya
Rām. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya
All. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāyā

Tōp. aṁnata bhayenā aṁnata usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
Ar. aṁnata bhayena aṁnata usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Nand. aṁnata bhayena aṁnata usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Rām. aṁnata bhayena aṁnata usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
All. aṁnata bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

Tōp. dhammāpekhā dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati chevā
Ar. dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
Nand. dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
Rām. dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
All. dhammāpekhā dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati ch[e]vā

Tōp. (E) pulisā pi chā me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā
Ar. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Nand. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Rām. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
All. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha

Tōp. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti chā alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Ar. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Nand. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Rām. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
All. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|----|---------|----|-------|----|--------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (F) hemevā | aṁta-mahāmātā | pi | (G) esa | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam | dhammena |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (F) hemeva | aṁta-mahāmātā | pi | (G) esā | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam | dhammena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (F) hemeva | aṁta-mahāmātā | pi | (G) esā | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam | dhammena |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (F) hemeva | aṁta-mahāmātā | pi | (G) esā | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam | dhammena |
| <i>All.</i> | (F) hemmeva | aṁta-mahāmātā | pi | (G) esā | hi | vidhi | yā | [i]yam | dhammena |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | pālanā | dhammena | vidhāne | dhammena | sukhiyanā | dhammena |
| <i>Mīr.</i> |[naṁ] | dhammen[a] | v[i]dh[āne] | dha[me] | | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | pālana | dhammena | vidhāne | dhammena | sukh[i]yana | dhammena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | pālana | dhammena | vidhāne | dhammena | sukhiyana | dhammena |
| <i>Rām.</i> | pālana | dhammena | vidhāne | dha[m]m[e]na | sukhiyana | dhammena |
| <i>All.</i> | pālanā | dhammena | vidhāne | dhammena | sukhiyanā | dhammena |

| | | |
|--------------|--------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | gotī | ti |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | gotī | ti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | gotī | ti |
| <i>Rām.</i> | gotī | ti |
| <i>All.</i> | [gut]i | [ti cha] |

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|----------|------|--------|------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (A) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āhā | (B) dhamme | sādhū |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | (A) De[vā]n[a]ṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | [hevaṁ | ā].. | (B) dh[am]me | s[ā]dh[u] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (A) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) dhamme | sādhū |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (A) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) dhamme | sādhū |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (A) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) dhamme | sādhū |
| <i>All.</i> | (A) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lājā | hevaṁ | āhā | (B) dhamme | sādhū |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|-----|--------|------|-----|-----------|-------------|--------|--------|------|-------|-------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | kiyaṁ | chu | dhamme | ti | (C) | apāsinave | bahu | kayāne | dayā | dāne | sache | |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | k[īya]m | . | . | [m]e | ti | (C) | a[pā]sinave | bahu | kayāne | dayā | dāne | sache |
| <i>Ar.</i> | kiyaṁ | chu | dhamme | ti | (C) | apāsinave | bahu | kayāne | daya | dāne | sache | |
| <i>Nand.</i> | kiya | chu | dhamme | ti | (C) | apāsinave | bahu | kayāne | daya | dāne | sache | |
| <i>Rām.</i> | kiyaṁ | chu | dhamme | ti | (C) | apāsinave | bahu | kayāne | daya | dāne | sache | |
| <i>All.</i> | kiyaṁ | chu | dhamme | ti | (C) | apāsinave | bahu | kayāne | dayā | dāne | sache | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|-----|---------------|-------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-------|-----------|---------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | sochaye | (D) | chakhu-dāne | pi | me | bahuvidhe | dimne | (E) | dupada- | |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | sochaye | (D) | [chakhu-dā]nā | [pi | me] | bahuvidhe | dimne | (E) | du[pa]da- | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | socheye | ti | (D) | chakhu-dāne | pi | me | bahuvidhe | dimne | (E) | dupada- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | socheye | ti | (D) | chakhu-dāne | pi | me | bahuvidhe | dimne | (E) | dupada- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | socheye | ti | (D) | chakhu-dāne | pi | me | bahuvidhe | dimne | (E) | dupada- |
| <i>All.</i> | sochaye | (D) | chakhu-dāne | pi | me | bahuvidhe | dimne | (E) | dupada- | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------|----|----------|------|---|-------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | chatupadesu | pakhi-vālichalesu | vividhe | me | anugahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | ch[a]tu[pa]desu | pakhi-vālichalesu | viv[i]dhe | me | anu]gahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | chatupadesu | pakhi-vālichalesu | vividhe | me | anugahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chatupadesu | pakhi-vālichalesu | vividhe | me | anugahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | chatupadesu | pakhi-vālichalesu | vividhe | me | anugahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>All.</i> | chatupadesu | pakhi-vālichalesu | vividhe | me | anugahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----|----------|----|-----|----|---------|-----------|--------|-----|-------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | dākhināye | (F) | aṁnāni | pi | cha | me | bahūni | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | etāye |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | dākhināye | (F) | a[m]nāni | pi | cha | me | bah[ūni | kayānāni] | kaṭāni | (G) | etāye |
| <i>Ar.</i> | dakhināye | (F) | a[m]nāni | pi | cha | me | bahūni | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | etāye |
| <i>Nand.</i> | dakhināye | (F) | aṁnāni | pi | cha | me | bahūni | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | etāye |
| <i>Rām.</i> | dakhināye | (F) | aṁnāni | pi | cha | me | bahūni | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | etāye |
| <i>All.</i> | dakhināye | (F) | aṁnāni | pi | cha | me | bahūni | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (G) | etāye |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----|--------|------|-------------|-------------|---------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā | hevaṁ | anupaṭipajamtu | chilaṁ- |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | li[khāpitā] | | anupaṭipajamtu | chil[am]- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhama-lipi | likhāpita | hevaṁ | anupaṭipajamtu | chilaṁ- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | hevaṁ | anupaṭipajamtu | chilaṁ- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | hevaṁ | anupaṭipajamtu | chilaṁ- |
| <i>All.</i> | me | aṭhāye | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā | hevaṁ | anupaṭipajamtu | chila- |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----|--------|----|----|-----|----|-------|-----------|-----------------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | thitikā | cha | hotū | tī | ti | (H) | ye | cha | hevaṁ | saṁpaṭipajisati | se |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | [th]itikā | cha | hot[ū] | | ti | (H) | ye | [cha] | | [sa]ti | se |
| <i>Ar.</i> | thitikā | cha | hotū | | ti | (H) | ye | cha | hevaṁ | saṁpaṭipajisati | se |
| <i>Nand.</i> | thitikā | cha | hotū | | ti | (H) | ye | cha | hevaṁ | saṁpaṭipajisati | se |
| <i>Rām.</i> | thitikā | cha | hotū | | ti | (H) | ye | cha | hevaṁ | saṁpaṭipajisati | se |
| <i>All.</i> | thitikā | cha | hotū | | ti | (H) | ye | cha | hevaṁ | saṁpaṭipajisati | se |

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|--------------|---------|------------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | sukaṭam | kachhatī | ti |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | sukaṭam | ka[chha]tī | ti |
| <i>Ar.</i> | sukaṭam | kachhatī | ti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | sukaṭam | kachhatī | |
| <i>Rām.</i> | sukaṭam | kachhatī | ti |
| <i>All.</i> | sukaṭam | kachhatī | ti |



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THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

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|--------------|-----|-------------|----------|------|-------|-----|-----|--------------|-------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | ahā | (B) | kayānaṁmeva | dekhati |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āhā | (B) | kayānaṁm[eva | de] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) | kayānaṁmeva | dekhamti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) | kayānaṁmeva | dekhamti |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) | kayānaṁmeva | dekhamti |
| <i>All.</i> | (A) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lājā | hevaṁ | āhā | (B) | kayānameva | dekhati |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|----|--------|------|----|-----|----|--------|---------|-----------|------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kaṭe | ti | (C) | no | mina | pāpam | d[e]khati | iyam | me |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | | | kayāne | kaṭe | tī | (C) | no | min[ā] | pāpam | dekhati | iyam | me |
| <i>Ar.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kaṭe | ti | (C) | no | mina | pāpam | dekhamti | iyam | me |
| <i>Nand.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kaṭe | ti | (C) | no | mina | pāpam | dekhamti | iyam | me |
| <i>Rām.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kaṭe | ti | (C) | no | mina | pāpam | dekhamti | iyam | me |
| <i>All.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kaṭe | ti | (C) | no | mina | pāpakam | dekhati | iyam | me |

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|--------------|--------|------|----|------|-----|---------|------|----|-----------|---------------|-----|-----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | pāpe | kaṭe | ti | iyam | vā | āsinave | nāmā | ti | (D) | dupaṭivekhe | chu | kho |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | pāp[e | kaṭe | ti | iyam | va] | āsinave | nāmā | ti | (D) | [du]paṭivekhe | chu | kho |
| <i>Ar.</i> | pāpe | kaṭe | ti | iyam | va | āsinave | nāmā | ti | (D) | dupaṭivekhe | chu | kho |
| <i>Nand.</i> | pāpe | kaṭe | ti | iyam | va | āsinave | nāmā | ti | (D) | dupaṭivekhe | chu | kho |
| <i>Rām.</i> | pāpe | kaṭe | ti | iyam | va | āsinave | nāmā | ti | (D) | dupaṭivekhe | chu | kho |
| <i>All.</i> | pāpake | kaṭe | ti | iyam | vā | āsinave | nāmā | ti | | | | |

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|--------------|-----|-----|-------|-----|-----|----------|---------|-----|-------|------------------|------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | esā | (E) | hevaṃ | chu | kho | esa | dekhiye | (F) | imāni | āsinava-gāmīni | nāma |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | esā | (E) | hevaṃ | chu | kho | [esa de] | khiye | (F) | imāni | āsinav[a-gāmīni] | nāma |
| <i>Ar.</i> | esa | (E) | hevaṃ | chu | kho | esa | dekhiye | (F) | imāni | āsinava-gāmīni | nāmā |
| <i>Nand.</i> | esa | (E) | hevaṃ | chu | kho | esa | dekhiye | (F) | imāni | āsinava-gāmīni | nāmā |
| <i>Rām.</i> | esa | (E) | hevaṃ | chu | kho | esa | dekhiye | (F) | imāni | āsinava-gāmīni | nāmā |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----|------|------------|---------------|---------|------|------|----------|------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | | atha | chaṃḍiye | niṭhūliye | kodhe | māne | isyā | kālanena | va |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | | atha | chaṃḍ[i]ye | ni[ṭhū]li[y]e | k[o]dhe | māne | isyā | kālanena | [va] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | ti | atha | chaṃḍiye | niṭhūliye | kodhe | māne | isya | kālanena | va |
| <i>Nand.</i> | ti | atha | chaṃḍiye | niṭhūliye | kodhe | māne | isya | kālanena | va |
| <i>Rām.</i> | ti | atha | chaṃḍiye | niṭhūliye | kodhe | māne | isya | kālanena | va |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----|--------------------|-----|-----|----------|---------|---------|------|------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | hakam | mā | palibhasayisaṃ | (G) | esa | bāḍha | dekhiye | (H) | iyam | me | |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | hakam | mā | palibha[sa]yi[sa]m | (G) | ... | bā[ḍham] | dekhiye | (H) | iyam | me | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | hakam | mā | palibhasayisaṃ | ti | (G) | esa | bāḍham | dekhiye | (H) | iyam | me |
| <i>Nand.</i> | hakam | mā | palibhasayisaṃ | ti | (G) | esa | bāḍham | dekhiye | (H) | iyam | me |
| <i>Rām.</i> | hakam | mā | palibhasayisaṃ | (G) | esa | bāḍham | dekhiye | (H) | iyam | me | |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------|----|------------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | hidatikāye | iyammana | me | pālatikāye | |
| <i>Mir.</i> | [hi]dat[i]kāye | iyam | me | pālatikāye | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | hidatikāye | iyammana | me | pālatikāye | ti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | hidatikāye | iyammana | me | pālatikāye | ti |
| <i>Rām.</i> | hidatikāye | iyammana | me | pālatikāye | ti |

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FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-------------|----------|-------|-------|-----|-----|----------------------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | [ā]ja | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) | saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āha | (B) | saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āha | (B) | saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āha | (B) | saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena |

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|--------------|----|------|-------------|-----------|-----|--------|----|--------|--------------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | me | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā | (C) | lajūkā | me | bahūsu | pāna-sata-sahasasu |
| <i>Ar.</i> | me | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | (C) | lajūkā | me | bahūsu | pāna-sata-sahasasu |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | (C) | lajūkā | me | bahūsu | pāna-sata-sahasasu |
| <i>Rām.</i> | me | iyam | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | (C) | lajūkā | me | bahūsu | pāna-sata-sahasasu |

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|--------------|--------|-------|-----|-------|----|----------|----|---------|----|------------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | janasi | āyatā | (D) | tesam | ye | abhihāle | vā | daṃḍe | vā | ata-patiye | me |
| <i>Ar.</i> | janasi | āyata | (D) | tesam | ye | abhihāle | va | d[a]ṃḍe | va | ata-patiye | me |
| <i>Nand.</i> | janasi | āyata | (D) | tesam | ye | abhihāle | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye | me |
| <i>Rām.</i> | janasi | āyata | (D) | tesam | ye | abhihale | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye | me |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------|-------|--------|---------|--------|---------|------------|----|--------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | kaṭe | kiṃti | lajūkā | asvatha | abhītā | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū | | janasa |
| <i>Ar.</i> | kaṭe | kiṃti | lajūka | asvatha | abhīta | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū | ti | janasa |
| <i>Nand.</i> | kaṭe | kiṃti | lajūka | asvatha | abhīta | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū | ti | janasa |
| <i>Rām.</i> | kate | kiṃti | lajūka | asvatha | abhīta | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū | ti | janasa |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----|-----|------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | jānapadasā | hita-sukhaṃ | upadahevū | anugahinevu | chā | (E) | sukhīyana- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | jānapadasa | hita-sukhaṃ | upadahevū | anugahinevu | cha | (E) | sukhīyana- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | jānapadasa | hita-sukhaṃ | upadahevū | anugahinevu | cha | (E) | sukhīyana- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | jānapadasa | hita-sukhaṃ | upadahevū | anugahinevu | cha | (E) | sukhīyana- |

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| <i>Tōp.</i> | dukhīyanaṃ | jānisamti | dhamma-yutena | cha | viyovadisamti | janaṃ | jānapadaṃ |
| <i>Ar.</i> | dukhīyanaṃ | jānisamti | dhamma-yutena | cha | viyovadisamti | janaṃ | jānapadaṃ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | dukhīyanaṃ | jānisamti | dhamma-yutena | cha | viyovadisamti | janaṃ | jānapadaṃ |
| <i>Rām.</i> | dukhīyanaṃ | jānisamti | dhamma-yutena | cha | viyovadisamti | janaṃ | jānapadaṃ |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|---------|-----|---------|-----|------------|----|-----|--------|----|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | kiṃti | hidataṃ | cha | pālataṃ | cha | ālādhayevū | ti | (F) | lajūkā | pi | laghaṃti |
| <i>Ar.</i> | kiṃti | hidataṃ | cha | pālataṃ | cha | ālādhayevū | | (F) | lajūkā | pi | laghaṃti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | kiṃti | hidataṃ | cha | pālataṃ | cha | ālādhayevū | ti | (F) | lajūkā | pi | laghaṃti |
| <i>Rām.</i> | kiṃti | hidataṃ | cha | pālataṃ | cha | ālādhayevū | ti | (F) | lajūkā | pi | laghaṃti |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----|-----|------------|----|----|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | paṭichalitave | maṃ | (G) | pulisāni | pi | me | chhamdamnāni | paṭichalisamti |
| <i>Ar.</i> | paṭichalitave | maṃ | (G) | pulisāni | pi | me | chhamdamnāni | paṭichalisamti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | paṭichalitave | maṃ | (G) | pulis[ā]ni | pi | me | chhamdamnāni | paṭichalisamti |
| <i>Rām.</i> | paṭichalitave | maṃ | (G) | pulisāni | pi | me | chhamdamnāni | paṭichalisamti |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|----|----|-----|------|---------------|------|-----|--------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (H) | te | pi | cha | kāni | viyovadisamti | yena | maṃ | lajūkā | chaghaṃti |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | | | | | | | | | [ka] | chaghaṃti |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (H) | te | pi | cha | kāni | viyovadisamti | yena | maṃ | lajūka | chaghaṃti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (H) | te | pi | cha | kāni | viyovadisamti | yena | maṃ | lajūka | chaghaṃti |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (H) | te | pi | cha | kāni | viyovadisamti | yena | maṃ | lajūka | chaghaṃti |

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|--------------|--------------------|-----|------|----|-------|----------|---------|----------|------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | ālādhayitave | (I) | athā | hi | pajaṃ | viyatāye | dhātiye | nisijitu | asvathe |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | [ā]lādha[y]i[tave] | (I) | | | | | | | tu asvathe |
| <i>Ar.</i> | ālādhayitave | (I) | athā | hi | pajaṃ | viyatāye | dhātiye | nisijitu | asvathe |
| <i>Nand.</i> | ālādhayitave | (I) | athā | hi | pajaṃ | viyatāye | dhātiye | nisijitu | asvathe |
| <i>Rām.</i> | ālādhayitave | (I) | athā | hi | pajaṃ | viyatāye | dhātiye | nisijitu | asvathe |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------|--------|-------|----------|----|--------|--------|--------------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | hoti | viyata | dhāti | chaghati | me | pajaṃ | sukhaṃ | palihaṭave | hevaṃ |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | [ho]ti | vi[ya] | | | | | | [i]i[ha]ṭave | hev[am] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | hoti | viyata | dhāti | chaghati | me | paṃjaṃ | sukhaṃ | palihaṭave | ti hevaṃ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | hoti | viyata | dhāti | chaghati | me | pajaṃ | sukhaṃ | palihaṭave | ti hevaṃ |
| <i>Rām.</i> | hoti | viyata | dhāti | chaghati | me | pajaṃ | sukhaṃ | palihaṭave | ti hevaṃ |

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|--------------|--------|------------|------|------------|--------------|-----|------|-----|---------------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | mamā | lajūkā | kaṭā | jānapadasa | hita-sukhāye | (Y) | yena | ete | abhītā |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | [mam]ā | [la]jūk[a] | | | | | ye | (Y) | yen[a] ete a[bh]itā |
| <i>Ar.</i> | mama | lajūka | kaṭa | jānapadasa | hita-sukhāye | (Y) | yena | ete | abhīta |
| <i>Nand.</i> | mama | lajūka | kaṭa | jānapadasa | hita-sukhāye | (Y) | yena | ete | abhīta |
| <i>Rām.</i> | mama | lajūka | kaṭa | jānapadasa | hita-sukhāye | (Y) | yena | ete | abhīta |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|--------|-----------|---------|----------------|----|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | asvatha | saṃtaṃ | avimanā | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū | ti | etena |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | asvatha | saṃ | | | [pa]vataye[v]ū | ti | [e]te[na] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | asvathā | saṃtaṃ | achhimana | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū | ti | etena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | asvathā | saṃtaṃ | avimana | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū | ti | etena |
| <i>Rām.</i> | asvathā | saṃtaṃ | avimana | kaṃmāni | pavatayevū | ti | etena |

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|--------------|----|-----------------|------------|----|-------|----|----------------|--------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | me | lajūkānaṃ | abh[i]hāle | va | daṃḍe | vā | ata-patiye | kaṭe |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | me | [laj]ū[kā]n[am] | . | . | . | . | ata-patiye | kaṭ[e] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | me | lajūkānaṃ | abhihāle | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye | kaṭe |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | lajūkānaṃ | [a]bhihāle | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye | kaṭe |
| <i>Rām.</i> | me | lajūkānaṃ | abhihāle | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye | kaṭe |
| <i>All.</i> | . | [kānaṃ | abhihāle | vā | daṃḍe | vā | ata-pa]ṭ[i]y[e | kaṭe] |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----------------------|------|-------|-----------|-------------------|-------|------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | ' | (K) ichhitaviye | [h]i | esā | kiṃti | viyohāla-samatā | cha | siya |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | (K) | ichhitavi | . | . | . | [h]āla-samatā | ch[a] | siyā |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (K) | ichhitaviye | hi | esa | kiṃti | viyohāla-samatā | cha | siya |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (K) | ichhitaviye | hi | esa | kiṃti | viyohāla-samatā | cha | siya |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (K) | ichhitaviye | hi | esa | ki[m]ti | viyohāla-samatā | cha | siya |
| <i>All.</i> | (K) | [i]chh[i]ṭ[a]v[i]y[e] | h[i] | e[s]a | k[iṃ]ṭ[i] | la-sama[t]ā | cha | siyā |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|------|-------|-------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | daṃḍa-samatā | chā | (L) | ava | ite | pi | cha | me | āvuti | baṃdhana- |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | daṃḍa-sa[ma] | . | . | . | . | . | . | [me] | āvuti | [ba]ṃdhana- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | daṃḍa-samatā | cha | (L) | āvā | ite | pi | cha | me | āvuti | baṃdhana- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | daṃḍa-samatā | cha | (L) | āvā | ite | pi | cha | me | āvuti | baṃdhana- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | daṃḍa-samatā | cha | (L) | āvā | ite | pi | cha | me | āvuti | baṃdhana- |
| <i>All.</i> | da[m]ḍa-samatā | cha | (L) | āva | ite | pi | cha | me | āvuti | baṃdhana- |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------|-------|------------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | badhānaṃ | munisānaṃ | tīl[i]ta-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | divasā[n]i |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | [badh]ānaṃ | munisā[naṃ] | . | . | . | tiṃni di[va]sāni |
| <i>Ar.</i> | badhānaṃ | munisā[na]ṃ | tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | divasāni |
| <i>Nand.</i> | badhānaṃ | munisānaṃ | tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | divasāni |
| <i>Rām.</i> | badhānaṃ | munisānaṃ | tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | divasāni |
| <i>All.</i> | badhānaṃ | munisānaṃ | tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | divasāni |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------|--------|-------|-----|----------|----|------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | me | yote | diṃne | (M) | nātikā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jīvitāye |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | [m]e | y[o]te | diṃne | (M) | . | . | . | payisa[m]ti | j[i]v[i]tāye |
| <i>Ar.</i> | me | yote | diṃne | (M) | nātikā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jīvitāye |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | [yo]te | diṃne | (M) | nātikā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jīvitāye |
| <i>Rām.</i> | me | [y]ote | diṃne | (M) | nātikā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jīvitāye |
| <i>All.</i> | | yote | diṃne | (M) |[k]ā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jīvitāye |

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|--------------|---------|----------|------|-------------|-------|---------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | tānaṃ | nāsaṃtaṃ | vā | nijhapayitā | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | tāna[m] | nāsaṃtaṃ | [v]ā | ni | . | . | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Ar.</i> | tānaṃ | nāsaṃtaṃ | va | nijhapayitā | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | tānaṃ | nāsaṃtaṃ | va | nijhapayitā | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Rām.</i> | tānaṃ | nāsaṃtaṃ | va | nijhapayitā | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>All.</i> | tānaṃ | nāsaṃtaṃ | vā | nijhapayitā | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |

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|--------------|------------|----|---------------|-----|-------|------|----|-------|-----------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | upavāsaṃ | va | kachhaṃti | (N) | ichhā | hi | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | u[pa]vāsaṃ | vā | k[a].... | (N) | . | . | . | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Ar.</i> | upavāsaṃ | va | kachhaṃti | (N) | ichhā | hi | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Nand.</i> | upavāsaṃ | va | kachhaṃti | (N) | ichhā | hi | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Rām.</i> | upavāsaṃ | va | kachhaṃti | (N) | ichhā | hi | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>All.</i> | upavāsaṃ | vā | [ka]chha[m]ti | (N) | | [h]i | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----------|--------------|------|------------|-----|-----------|---------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | kālasī | pālatam | ālādhayevū | ti | (O) janasa | cha | vaḍhati | vividhe |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | [k]ālasī | pā[la]tam | ālādha[ye] | . | . | . | vaḍhati | vividhe |
| <i>Ar.</i> | kālasī | pālatam | ālādhayevū | ti | (O) janasa | cha | va[ḍha]ti | vividhe |
| <i>Nand.</i> | [kālas]i | pālatam | ālādhayevū | t[i] | (O) janasa | cha | vaḍhati | vividhe |
| <i>Rām.</i> | kālasī | pālatam | ālādhayevū | ti | (O) janasa | cha | vaḍhati | vividhe |
| <i>All.</i> | kālasī | pālatam | ālādhayev[u] | | (O) janasa | cha | vaḍhati | vividhe |

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| <i>Tōp.</i> | dhamma-chalane | saṁyame | dāna-savibhāge | ti |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | dhamma-chal[a]ne | saṁyame | dā[na] | . |
| <i>Ar.</i> | dha[m]ma-chalane | sayame | dāna-saṁvibhāge | ti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | dhamma-chalane | sayame | dāna-savibhāge | ti |
| <i>Rām.</i> | dhamma-chalane | sayame | dāna-savibhāge | ti |
| <i>All.</i> | dhamma-chalane | sayame | dāna-savibhāge | |

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|--------------|----------------------|----------|------|-------|-----|--------------------------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (A) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āhā | (B) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (A) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (A) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (A) Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (B) saḍuvīsati-[va]sābhisitena |
| <i>All.</i> | (A) [p]iye | Piyadasi | lājā | hevaṁ | āhā | (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena |

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|--------------|----|-------|--------|------------|------------|---------|-----------|--------|--------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | me | imāni | jātāni | avadhiyāni | kaṭāni | seyathā | suke | sālikā | alune |
| <i>Ar.</i> | me | imāni | pi | jātāni | avadhiyāni | kaṭāni | seyatha | suke | sālika |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | imāni | pi | jātāni | avadhiyāni | kaṭāni | seyath[ā] | suke | sālika |
| <i>Rām.</i> | me | imāni | pi | jātāni | avadhiyāni | kaṭāni | seyatha | suke | sālika |
| <i>All.</i> | me | imāni | jātāni | avadhiyāni | kaṭāni | seyatha | suke | sālikā | alune |

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|--------------|-------------|-------|----------------|--------|----------|---------------|------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | chakavāke | haṁse | naṁdīmukhe | gelāṭe | jatūkā | ambā-kapilikā | daḷi |
| <i>Ar.</i> | chakavāke | haṁse | naṁdīmukhe | gelāṭe | jatūka | ambā-kapilika | duḷi |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chakavāke | haṁse | naṁdīmukhe | gelāṭe | jatūka | ambā-kapilika | duḷi |
| <i>Rām.</i> | chakavāke | haṁse | naṁdīmukhe | gelāṭe | jatūka | ambā-kapilika | duḷi |
| <i>All.</i> | chaka[v]āke | . | [naṁdī]m[u]khe | gelāṭe | jatūk[ā] | ambā-kipilikā | duḍi |

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|--------------|-----------------|------------|--------------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | anaṭhika-machhe | vedaveyake | Gaṁgā-pupuṭake | saṁkuja-machhe | kaphaṭ[a]- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | anaṭhika-machhe | vedaveyake | Gaṁgā-pupuṭake | saṁkuja-machhe | kaphaṭa- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | anaṭhika-machhe | vedaveyake | Gaṁgā-pupuṭake | saṁkuja-machhe | kaphaṭa- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | anaṭhika-machhe | vedaveyake | Gaṁgā-pupuṭake | saṁkuja-machhe | kaphaṭa- |
| <i>All.</i> | anaṭhika-machhe | vedaveyake | Gaṁgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake | saṁkuja-machhe | kaphaṭa- |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|--------------|--------|---------|----------|----------|-------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | sayake | paṁna-sase | simale | saṁḍake | okapiṁḍe | palasate | seta-kapote |
| <i>Ar.</i> | seyake | paṁna-sase | simale | saṁḍake | okapiṁḍe | palasate | seta-kapote |
| <i>Nand.</i> | seyake | paṁna-sase | simale | saṁḍake | okapiṁḍe | palasate | seta-kapote |
| <i>Rām.</i> | seyake | paṁna-sase | simale | saṁḍake | okapiṁḍe | palasate | seta-kapote |
| <i>All.</i> |k[e] | p[a]ṁna-sase | simale | saṁḍa | . | . | [ta]-kapote |

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|--------------|-------------|--------|-------------|----|--------------|------|-----|----|-----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | gāma-kapote | save | chatupade | ye | paṭibhogam | no | eti | na | cha |
| <i>Ar.</i> | gāma-kapote | save | chatupade | ye | paṭipogam | no | eti | no | cha |
| <i>Nand.</i> | gāma-kapote | save | chatupade | ye | paṭibhogam | no | eti | na | cha |
| <i>Rām.</i> | gāma-kapote | save | chatupade | ye | paṭibhogam | no | eti | na | cha |
| <i>All.</i> | gāma-kapote | sa[v]e | chatu[pa]de | ye | paṭ[i]bhogam | [no] | . | . | . |

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|--------------|-------------|-----|---------|---------|-------|--------|--------|---------|---------|------------|----------|
| <i>Top.</i> | khādiyati | (C) | i | [e]lakā | chā | sūkali | chā | gabhinī | va | pāyamīnā | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | khādiy[a]ti | (C) | ajakā | nāni | edakā | cha | sukali | cha | gabhinī | va | pāyamīnā |
| <i>Nand.</i> | khādiyati | (C) | ajakā | nāni | edakā | cha | sūkali | cha | gabhinī | va | pāyamīnā |
| <i>Rām.</i> | khādiyati | (C) | ajakā | nāni | eḷakā | cha | sūkali | cha | gabhinī | va | pāyamīnā |
| <i>All.</i> | . | . | . | nā | . | . | . | . | . | [p]ā[ya]mī | . |

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| <i>Top.</i> | va | avadhi[y. | p.ta]ke | pi | cha | kāni | āsaṁmāsike | (D) | vadhi-kukuṭe | |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | . | . | [potake | pi | cha] | k[ā]n[i] | . | ke | (D) | [vadh]i-kukuṭe |
| <i>Ar.</i> | va | avādhyā | potake | | cha | kāni | āsaṁmāsike | (D) | vadhi-kukuṭe | |
| <i>Nand.</i> | va | avādhyā | potake | | cha | kāni | āsaṁmāsike | (D) | vadhi-kukuṭe | |
| <i>Rām.</i> | va | avādhyā | potake | | cha | kāni | āsaṁmāsike | (D) | vadhi-kukuṭe | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----|----------|-----|------|----------|----|---------------|-----|------|------------|----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | no | kaṭaviye | (E) | tuse | sajīve | no | jhāpetaviye | (F) | dāve | anaṭhāye | vā |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | no | kaṭaviye | (E) | tuse | sajī[ve] | . | ta[v]iye | (F) | dāve | [a]naṭhāye | vā |
| <i>Ar.</i> | no | kaṭaviye | (E) | tuse | sajīve | no | jhāpayitaviye | (F) | dāve | anaṭhāye | va |
| <i>Nand.</i> | no | kaṭaviye | (E) | tuse | sajīve | no | jhāpayitaviye | (F) | dāve | anaṭhāye | va |
| <i>Rām.</i> | no | kaṭaviye | (E) | tuse | sajīve | no | jhāpayitaviye | (F) | dāve | anaṭhāye | va |
| <i>All.</i> | . | . | . | . | sajīve | no | jhā[pa] | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|----------|----|----|-----------------|-----|----------|--------|----|--------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | vihiṣāye | vā | no | jhāpetaviye | (G) | jīvena | jīve | no | pusitaviye |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | vihiṣāye | vā | no | [jhāpe]ta[vi]ye | (G) | jī[v]ena | jī[v]e | no | pusi[ta]viye |
| <i>Ar.</i> | vihiṣāye | va | no | jhāpayitaviye | (G) | jīvena | jīve | no | pusitaviye |
| <i>Nand.</i> | vihiṣāye | va | no | jhāpayitaviye | (G) | jīvena | jīve | no | pusita iye |
| <i>Rām.</i> | vihiṣāye | va | no | jhāpayitaviye | (G) | jīvena | jīve | no | pusitaviye |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|------|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|-------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (H) | tīsu | chāturmmāsīsu | tīṣāyaṁ | puṁnamāsiyaṁ | tiṁni | divasāni |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | (H) | tīsu | chāturmmāsīsu | [t]īṣāya[m] | pu[m]na[mā]si[ya]m | tiṁni | divasāni |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (H) | tīsu | chāturmmāsīsu | tīsiyaṁ | puṁnamāsiyaṁ | tiṁni | divasāni |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (H) | tīsu | chāturmmāsīsu | tīsiyaṁ | puṁnamāsiyaṁ | tiṁni | divasāni |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (H) | tīsu | chāturmmā[s]īsu | tīsiyaṁ | puṁnamāsiyaṁ | tiṁni | divasāni |
| <i>All.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | [n]i |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-----|-------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | chāvudasaṁ | paṁnaḍasaṁ | paṭipadāy[e] | dhuvāye | chā | anuposathaṁ |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | chāvudasaṁ | paṁnaḍasaṁ | p[a]ṭipadā | dh[r]uvāye | cha | anuposathaṁ |
| <i>Ar.</i> | chāvudasaṁ | paṁnaḷasaṁ | paṭipadaṁ | dhuvāye | cha | anuposathaṁ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chāvudasaṁ | paṁnaḷasaṁ | paṭipadaṁ | dhuvāye | cha | anuposathaṁ |
| <i>Rām.</i> | chāvudasaṁ | paṁnaḍasaṁ | paṭipadaṁ | dhuvāye | cha | anuposathaṁ |
| <i>All.</i> | chā[v]u[da]saṁ | [pa]mcha[da] | . | . | . | . |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------|----------|----|----|--------------|-----|---------|------|----------|---------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | machhe | avadhiye | no | pi | viketaviye | (I) | etāni | yevā | divasāni | nāga- |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | machhe | avadhiye | no | pi | viketav[i]ye | (I) | etān[i] | yeva | divasāni | n[ā]ga- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | machhe | avadhye | no | pi | viketaviye | (I) | etāni | yeva | divasāni | nāga- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | machhe | avadhye | no | pi | viketaviye | (I) | etāni | yeva | divasāni | nāga- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | machhe | avadhye | no | pi | viketaviye | (I) | etāni | yeva | divasāni | nāga- |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|----------------|--------|--------|----|-----------------|----|---------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | vanasi | kevaṭa-bhogasi | yāni | aṁnāni | pi | jīva-nikāyāni | no | haṁtaviyāni |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | van[a]si | kevaṭa-bhogasi | y[ā]ni | aṁnāni | pi | jīva-nikāyān[i] | no | [ha]mtaviyāni |
| <i>Ar.</i> | vanasi | kevaṭa-bhogasi | yāni | aṁnāni | pi | jīva-nik[ā]yāni | no | haṁtaviyāni |
| <i>Nand.</i> | vanasi | kevaṭa-bhogasi | yāni | aṁnāni | pi | jīva-nikāyāni | no | haṁtaviyāni |
| <i>Rām.</i> | vanasi | kevaṭa-bhogasi | yāni | aṁnāni | pi | jīva-nikāyāni | no | haṁtaviyāni |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|--------|------------|------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (<i>Ÿ</i>) | aṭhamī-pakhāye | chāvudasāye | paṁṇaḍasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tīsu |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | (<i>Ÿ</i>) | aṭham[i-pakhā]ye | [chā]vudasāye | paṁ[na]ḍasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tīsu |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (<i>Ÿ</i>) | aṭhami-pakhāye | chāvudasāye | paṁṇaḍasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tīsu |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (<i>Ÿ</i>) | aṭhami-pakhāye | chāvudasāye | paṁṇaḷasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tīsu |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (<i>Ÿ</i>) | aṭhami-pakhāye | chāvudasāye | paṁṇaḍasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tīsu |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------|------|----|-----------------|-------|-------|--------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | chāturmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nīlakhitaviye | ajake | eḍake | sūkale |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | chāturmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nīlakhitavi[y]e | ajake | eḷake | sūkale |
| <i>Ar.</i> | chāturmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nīlakhitaviye | ajake | eḷake | sūkale |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chāturmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nīlakhitaviye | ajake | eḷake | sūkale |
| <i>Rām.</i> | chāturmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nīlakhitaviye | ajake | eḷake | sūkale |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|------|---------------|--------------|--------|--------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | e vā pi aṁne | nīlakhiyati | no | nīlakhitaviye | (<i>K</i>) | tisāye | punāvasune |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | e vā pi aṁ[n]e | nī[la]khi[ya]ti | [no] | nīlakhitaviye | (<i>K</i>) | tisāye | punāvasun[e] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | e vā pi aṁne | nīlakhiyati | no | nīlakhitaviye | (<i>K</i>) | tisāye | punāvasune |
| <i>Nand.</i> | e vā pi aṁne | nīlakhiyati | no | nīlakhitaviye | (<i>K</i>) | tisāye | punāvasune |
| <i>Rām.</i> | e vā pi aṁne | nīlakhiyati | no | nīlakhitaviye | (<i>K</i>) | tisāye | punāvasune |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|----------------------|--------|--------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | chāturmāsīye | chāturmāsī-pakhāye | asvasā | gonasā | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | chāturmāsīye | chātu[m]māsī-pakhāye | asvasā | gonasā | lakhane | no |[v]iye |
| <i>Ar.</i> | chāturmāsīye | chāturmāsī-pakhāye | asvasa | gonasa | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chāturmāsīye | chāturmāsī-pakhāye | asvasa | gonasa | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye |
| <i>Rām.</i> | chāturmāsīye | chāturmāsī-pakhāye | asvasa | gonasa | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye |
| <i>All.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [lakha]n[e] | no kaṭaviye] |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|----|-------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye | paṁṇavīsati |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena | me | etāye | a[m]talikāye | paṁṇavīsati |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye | paṁṇavīsati |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye | paṁṇavīsati |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye | paṁṇavīsati |
| <i>All.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | [y]ā | . | . | . | . |

| | | |
|--------------|------------------|--------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Ar.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Nand.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Rām.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|-----|--------------|---------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (<i>A</i>) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āhā | (<i>B</i>) | duvāḍasa- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (<i>A</i>) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (<i>B</i>) | duvā[ḍa]sa- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (<i>A</i>) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (<i>B</i>) | duva[ḷa]s[a]- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (<i>A</i>) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (<i>B</i>) | duvāḍasa- |
| <i>All.</i> | (<i>A</i>) | [p]iye | [P]iyada[s]i | l[ā] . | . | . | . | . |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----|-------------|-----------|--------|--------------|----|-----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | vasa-abhisitena | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā | lokasā | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |
| <i>Ar.</i> | vasābhisitena | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | lokasa | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | [va]sābhisitena | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | lokasa | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |
| <i>Rām.</i> | vasābhisitena | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpita | lokasa | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|-------|---------|--------------|----------|-----|---------|----------|-------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | apahaṭā | taṁ | taṁ | dhamma-vaḍhi | pāpovā | (C) | hevaṁ | lokasā | hita- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | apahaṭa | taṁ | taṁ | dhamma-vaḍhi | pāpova | (C) | hevaṁ | lokasa | hita- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | apahaṭa | taṁ | taṁ | dhamma-vaḍhi | pāpova | (C) | hevaṁ | lokasa | hita- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | apahaṭa | taṁ | taṁ | dhamma-vaḍhi | pāpova | (C) | hevaṁ | lok[a]sa | hita- |
| <i>All.</i> | | t[am] | | [dh]i | [pā].... | (C) | heva[m] | lokasa] | hita- |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|----|-------------|------|--------|---------|-------|--------------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | [sukhe] | ti | paṭivekhāmi | atha | iyam | nāṭisu | hevaṁ | patiyāsaṁnesu |
| <i>Ar.</i> | sukhe | ti | paṭivekhāmi | athā | iyam | nāṭisu | hevaṁ | patyāsaṁnesu |
| <i>Nand.</i> | sukhe | ti | paṭivekhāmi | athā | iyam | nāṭisu | hevaṁ | patyāsaṁnesu |
| <i>Rām.</i> | sukhe | ti | paṭivekhāmi | atha | iyam | nāṭisu | hevaṁ | patyāsaṁnesu |
| <i>All.</i> | sukhe | ti | paṭivekhāmi | atha | [iya]m | | [va]m | [paty]āsa[m]ne[su] |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|----------------|--------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | hevaṁ | apakaṭhesu | kimam | kāni | sukham | avahāmī | ti | tatha | cha |
| <i>Ar.</i> | hevaṁ | apakaṭhesu | kimmam | kāni | sukham | āvahāmī | ti | tathā | cha |
| <i>Nand.</i> | hevaṁ | apakaṭhesu | kimmam | kāni | sukham | āvahāmī | ti | tathā | cha |
| <i>Rām.</i> | hevaṁ | apakaṭhesu | kimmam | kāni | sukham | āvahāmī | ti | tathā | cha |
| <i>All.</i> | [heva]m | apaka[ṭh]e[su] | kimam | [k]ā[ni] | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-----|----------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | vidahāmi | (D) | hemevā | sava-nikāyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (E) | sava-pāsaṁḍā |
| <i>Ar.</i> | vidahāmi | (D) | hemeva | sava-nikāyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (E) | sava-pāsaṁḍā |
| <i>Nand.</i> | vidahāmi | (D) | hemeva | sava-nikāyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (E) | sava-pāsaṁḍā |
| <i>Rām.</i> | vidahāmi | (D) | hemeva | sava-n[i]kāyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (E) | sava-pāsaṁḍā |
| <i>All.</i> | [v].[dah]āmi | (D) | hevaṁmeva | [sa]va.[k]āyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (E) | [sa]va-pāsaṁḍā |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | pi | me | pūjitā | vividhāya | pūjāyā | (F) | e | chu | iyam | at[a]nā | pachūpagamane |
| <i>Mir.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | ūpagamane |
| <i>Ar.</i> | pi | me | pūjita | vividhāya | pūjāya | (F) | e | chu | iyam | atana | pachūpagamane |
| <i>Nand.</i> | pi | me | pūjita | vividhāya | pūjāya | (F) | e | chu | iyam | atana | pachūpagamane |
| <i>Rām.</i> | pi | me | pūjita | vividhāya | pūjāya | (F) | e | chu | iyam | atana | pachūpagamane |
| <i>All.</i> | pi | me | pūjitā | vividhāya | [pū]jāyā | (F) | e | chu | iy[a]m | atanā | pachupagamane |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----|----|-------------|-----|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | se | me | mokhya-mate | (G) | saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena | me | iyam | dhamma- |
| <i>Mir.</i> | se | me | mokhya-mate | (G) | saḍu isitena | me | iyam | dhamma- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | se | me | mukhya-mute | (G) | saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena | me | iyam | dhamma- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | se | me | mokhya-mute | (G) | saḍuvisati-va[s]ābhisitena | me | iyam | dhamma- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | se | me | mokhya-mute | (G) | saḍuvisat[i]-vasābhisitena | me | iyam | dhamma- |
| <i>All.</i> | se | me | mukhya-mute | (G) | | | | |

| | | |
|--------------|--------|--------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | lipi | likhāpitā |
| <i>Mir.</i> | li[pi] | li |
| <i>Ar.</i> | lipi | likhāpita |
| <i>Nand.</i> | lipi | likhāpita |
| <i>Rām.</i> | lipi | likhāpita |
| <i>All.</i> | lipi | likhāpitā ti |

IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION AND COGNATE INSRIPTIONS

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | (A) Devānāmpiye | heva[m] | āhā | (B) sāti[ra]kekāni | aḍhati[y]āni |
| <i>Sah.</i> | (A) Devānāmpiye | he[va]m | ā | | [iyāni] |
| <i>Bair.</i> | (A) Devānāmpiye | | āh[ā] | (B) s[ā]ti | |
| <i>Mas.</i> | (A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa | Asok[a]sa | | | [a]ḍh[a]t[i] . . ni |
| <i>Brah.</i> | (B) Devānāmpiye | āṇapayati | | (C) adhikāni | aḍhātīyāni |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | (B) [Dev]ā[na]mpiye | heva[m] | āha | (C) adhikāni | a[ḍhā]t[i]y[āni] |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | (B) Dev[ā]n[a] | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----|--------------|--------------|-----------|------|--------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | va | ya | sumi prakāsa | [Sa]k[e] | (C) no | chu | bāḍhi |
| <i>Sah.</i> | [savachhalāni | a]m | upāsake | sumi | (C) na | chu | bāḍham |
| <i>Bair.</i> | vasān[i] | ya | hakam | upāsake | (C) [no | chu] | bāḍham |
| <i>Mas.</i> | vashā[ni] | a]m | sum[i] | Bu[dha]-Śake | | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | v[a]sāni | ya | hakam | . . . sa[ke] | (D) no | tu | kho |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | vasāni | ya | ha[kam] | u]pāsake | (D) no | tu | kho |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | . . . | ya | hakam | . . . | (D) . . . | kho | bāḍha |

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|--------------|---------------|-------|--------|---------------|-----|--------------|----|-----|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | pakate | | | | (D) | sātīleke | | chu |
| <i>Sah.</i> | [palaka]m[t]e | | | | (D) | sav[a]chhale | | |
| <i>Bair.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Mas.</i> | | | (C) | | | [t]ire .. | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | prakamte | husam | ekam | savachharam | (E) | sātīreke | tu | kho |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | pakamte | husam | ek[am] | sa[vachha] .. | (E) | [sātīre]ke | tu | kho |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | . | . | . | . | (E) | .. ti[reke] | . | . |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------------|-----------|---------|---------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | chhavachhare | ya | sumi haka[m] | sagh[a] | up[e]te | bāḍhi | ch[a] |
| <i>Sah.</i> | sādhī[ke | a]m | | | | | |
| <i>Bair.</i> | . . . | a]m | mamayā | saghe | [u]payāte | [bā]ḍha | cha |
| <i>Mas.</i> | | [m]i | | [s]amgha[m] | u[pa]gate | [uṭh] | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | samvachhare | yam | mayā | samghe | upayāte | bāḍham | cha |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | samvachhare | [yam] | mayā | sam]ghe | upayāte | bāḍham | [cha] |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | . . . | [ya]m | . . [yā] | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|---------|------------|------------------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | pakate | (E) yā | [i]māya | kālāya | Jambudipasi |
| <i>Sah.</i> | [te] | (E) [etena | cha | a]nta]lena | Jambudīpasi |
| <i>Bair.</i> | | | | | Jambudipasi |
| <i>Mas.</i> | m[i] u[pa]gate | (D) pure | | | Jambu . . . s[i] |
| <i>Brah.</i> | me pakamte | (F) iminā | chu | kālēna | amisā samānā |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | [me] p[akam]te | (F) i[m]inā | chu | kālēna | [a]misā samā[nā] |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|---------|------|--------|---------------|------|------------|-------|--------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | iya | paka[rā | va] | kiti | chira-ṭhitike | siyā | (I) iya | hi | aṭhe |
| <i>Sah.</i> | chila-ṭhit[īke] | cha | | | p[a]l[ā]kame | hotu | (I) iya[m] | cha | [aṭhe] |
| <i>Bair.</i> | [ch]ila-ṭhit | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Mas.</i> | [se a] | | | | t[i]k[e] | cha | | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | chira-ṭhitike | cha | iyam | [paka] | | | (Ṣ) iya[m] | cha | aṭhe |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | [chira]-ṭhi[t]ik[e] | cha | iyam | pakame | hoti | (Ṣ) | | | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | | | | | | | | [cha] | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------------|------------|------|-----------|-------------|-----|--------------|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | vaḍhi | vaḍhisiti | vipula | cha | vaḍhisiti | | | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | | vaḍhisati | vipulam | pi | cha | vaḍhisati | | diyaḍhiyam | |
| <i>Bair.</i> | | | lam | pi | | vaḍhisati | | | |
| <i>Mas.</i> | | | | | | va[ḍhi]siti | chā | diya[ḍhi]yam | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | | vaḍhisiti | vipulam | pi | cha | vaḍhisiti | | | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | | va[ḍh]isiti | vipu[la]m | p[i] | cha | vaḍhisiti | | | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | | .. [ḍhi]s | .. [p]ulam | pi | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|---------|-----|-------|------------|--|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | apaladhiyenā | diyaḍhiya | vaḍhisata | (Ṣ) iya | cha | aṭhe | pavatis[u] | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | aval[a]dhiyenā | diy[a]ḍhiyam | vaḍhisati | (L) ima | cha | aṭham | pavatesu | | |
| <i>Bair.</i> | | diyaḍhiyam | vaḍhi[sa]ti | | | | | | |
| <i>Mas.</i> | he[vaṁ] ti | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | avaradhiyā | diyaḍhiyam | [vaḍh]isiti | | | | | | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | [a]... | [yaḍhiya]m | vaḍhisiti | | | | | | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | | [ya]ḍhiyam | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|------|-----------|-----|-------------|---------------|----------------|------|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | lekhāpeta | vāta | (K) hadha | cha | athi | sālā-ṭh[abh]e | silā- | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | [likhāpa]yāthā | | (M) ya | .. | [vā] ath[i] | hetā | silā-tham[bh]ā | tata | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|-----|-----------|-----|------------|----------|-----------|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | ṭha[m]bhasi | lākhāpetavaya | ta | (L) etinā | cha | vayajanenā | yāvataka | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | pi | [likhāpayatha | t]i | | | | | | |
| <i>Sār.</i> | | | | | | | | (I) āvate | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------|----------|--------|----------------|-------------|-------|-------|-------------|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | tupaka | ahāle | savara | vivasetavā[ya] | ti | | | | |
| <i>Sār.</i> | cha | tuphākam | ahāle | savata | vivāsayātha | tuphe | etena | viyamjanena | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-------|------------|--------------|------------|----------|-----------|--|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | (M) | | vy[u]ṭhenā | sāvane | kaṭe | | | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | (Ṣ) iya[m] | [cha | savane | | v]ivuthena | (K) duve | sapaṁnā | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | (K) iya[m] | cha | sāvaṇ[e] | sāv[ā]p[i]te | vyūthena | | | | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | (K) i[ya]m | [cha] | sā[va]ṇe | | | | | | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | (K) i | | s[āvaṇe] | | | | [th]e[na] | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|---------|-------|-----|----|------|--------|----|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | | (N) | 200 | 50 | 6 | sata | vivāsā | ta | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | lāti-satā | vivuthā | ti | 200 | 50 | 6 | | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | | (L) | 200 | 50 | 6 | | | | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | | (L) | [200] | 50 | 6 | | | | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | | (L) | 200 | 50 | 6 | | | | |

INDEX

THIS index contains every word of Aśoka's inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (*cha*, *pi*, *rā*, *hi*). Of the six pillar-edicts, only the Delhi-Tōprā version is quoted; but one of the five other copies of these edicts is referred to if the reading of one or more of them differs from the standard text. The following abbreviations are employed:

Gir. = Gīrnār.
Kāl. = Kālsī.
Shāh. = Shālbāzgarhī.
Mān. = Mānsehrā.
Dhau. = Dhaulī.
Jau. = Jaugada.
Sep. = Separate edicts (of Dhaulī and Jaugada).
Sōp. = Sōpārā.
Tōp. = Delhi-Tōprā.

Mir. = Delhi-Mīrāth.
Ar. = Lauriyā-Ararāj.
Nand. = Lauriyā-Nandangarh.
Rām. = Rāmpurvā.
All. = Allahabad-Kōsam.
Qu. = Queen's edict.
Kaus. = Kauśāmbī edict.
Sām. = Sāmchī.
Sār. = Sarnāth.
Rum. = Rummindēi.

Nig. = Nigālī Sāgar.
Rūp. = Rūpnāth.
Sah. = Sahasrām.
Bair. = Bairāt.
Calc. = Calcutta-Bairāt.
Mas. = Maski.
Brāh. = Brahmagiri.
Śidd. = Śiddāpura.
Jaṭ. = Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.
Bar. = Barābar.

A

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 -ibhyeshu Mān. V, 23.
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 upayite Brah. 3; Sidd. 6.
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 -uvinā Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5.
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 -kaṁdhāni Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 2.
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 -kipilikā All. V, 2.
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-ghosam Dhau. IV, 2.
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-chala[n]āye Dhau. Sep. II, 10; Jau. Sep. II, 15.
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-chal[an]enā Kāl. IV, 9.
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-chikisa Shāh. II, 4; Mān. II, 7.
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 chhamāraṇāld Tōp. IV, 9.
 -chhamāda Dhau. VII, 2; Jau.
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 -chhamāde Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau.
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 -chhamādo Gir. VII, 2; Shāh. VII,
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 -chhatin Gir. XIII, 7.
 -chhade Mān. VII, 33.
 chhanati Kāl. XII, 32.
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 [chh]amāra Jau. Sep. II, 11.
 -chhamāde Jau. Sep. II, 5.

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 -thitikyā Kāl. VI, 20.
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tadā anatha (*read* tad-anatha) Kāl.
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 -phalā Kāl. XIII, 14.
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 -baṃbbhanānām Kāl. IV, 9, VIII,
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 -[ba]ṃbbhanānā Kāl. XI, 29.
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 -badhānām Tōp. IV, 16.
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 bahuvidham Gir. IX, 3; Kāl. IX, 24; Shāh. IV, 9, IX, 18; Dhau. IX, 2.
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 bahu-srūtā Gir. XII, 7.
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 bahuini Gir. I, 8 f., IV, 1; Dhau. IV, 1; Jau. I, 3, IV, 1; Tōp. II, 14.
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 bahuhi Gir. IV, 4; Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3.
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 -bramaṇanam Shāh. IV, 7, VIII, 17.
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 -bhamdatā Kāl. III, 8; Dhau. III, 3.
 bhamte Calc. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8.
 -bhagam Shāh. XIII, 7.
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 bhagavatā Calc. 3, 6.
 bh[agi]ni[nā] Kāl. V, 16.
 bhaginānam Dhau. V, 6.
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 bhago Shāh. VIII, 17.
 -bhāṭakanam Shāh. XI, 23, XIII, 5.
 -bhāṭakashi Kāl. XI, 29, XIII, 37.
 -bhāṭakasa Shāh. IX, 19.
 -bhāṭakasi Kāl. IX, 25; Mān. IX, 4, XI, 12; Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 3.
 -bhāṭakesu Tōp. VII, 29.
 bhāṭamayeshu Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22 f.
 bhāṭamayesu Kāl. V, 15.
 bhaṭi[mayesu] Dhau. V, 4.
 -bha[ṭata] Mān. III, 11.
 -bhāṭakamhi Gir. IX, 4, XI, 2.
 bhata(tu)na Mān. V, 24.
 bhāṭamayesu Gir. V, 5.
 -bhatita Shāh. VII, 5, XIII, 5; Mān. VII, 33.
 -bhatitā Gir. VII, 3; Kāl. VII, 22, XIII, 37.
 -bhatiya Shāh. XII, 5; Mān. XII, 5.
 -bhatiyā Gir. XII, 6; Kāl. XII, 33.
 bha[ṭa]le Mas. 7.
 -bhayāni Calc. 5.
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 bhayenā Tōp. I, 4.
 bhavati Gir. IV, 10, VI, 7, VIII, 5, XI, 2, 4.
 bhava-sūti(dhi) Mān. VII, 33.
 bhava-sudhi Shāh. VII, 2, 4 f.; Mān. VII, 32.
 bhavē Gir. XII, 3.
 bh[ā]khati All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5; Sār. 4.
 -bhāgiye Rum. 5.
 bhāge Gir. VIII, 5; Kāl. VIII, 23, XIII, 39; Dhau. VIII, 3; Jau. VIII, 4; Sōp. VIII, 10.
 -bhāge Kāl. XIII, 39.
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 bhāṭ[ā] Gir. XI, 3.
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 bhāva-sudhim Gir. VII, 2.
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 bhāva-sudhi Dhau. VII, 1, 2; Jau. VII, 1.
 bhāsite Calc. 3, 6.
 bhikhu All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5.
 bhikhuni All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5; Sār. 4.
 bhikhuniye Calc. 7.
 bhikhuni-samghasi Sār. 5.

bhi[khu]nam Sām. 3.
 bhikhu-[p]āye Calc. 7.
 bhikhu-samghasi Sār. 5.
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 -bhita Ar. IV, 2, 6.
 -bhita Tōp. IV, 4, 12.
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 -bhutana Shāh. XIII, 8.
 bhutanam Shāh. IV, 7, 8, VI, 16; Mān. IV, 12, VI, 30.
 bhuta-pruva Shāh. V, 11; Mān. V, 21.
 bhuta-pruvarā Shāh. VI, 14.
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 bhūtānam Kāl. IV, 9, 10, VI, 20; Tōp. VII, 30.
 -bhumika Shāh. XII, 9; Mān. XII, 8.
 -bh[u]mikyā Kāl. XII, 34.
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 bhuye Kāl. VIII, 23; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 36; Dhau. VIII, 3; Tōp. VII, 30.
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 bhūta-pruvarā Gir. V, 4.
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 bhūtānam Gir. IV, 1, 6, VI, 11; Dhau. IV, 1, 4, VI, 5; Jau. IV, 4.
 -bhūtānam Gir. XIII, 7.
 -bhūmikā Gir. XII, 9.
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 bheri-ghoshe Mān. IV, 13.
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 bheli-ghosam Dhau. IV, 2.
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 -bhogasi Tōp. V, 14.
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 -maṅgalam Gir. IX, 5; Shāh. IX, 19.
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 majhime[na] Dhau. XIV, 1; Jau. XIV, 1.
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 -matatarān Shāh. XIII, 3.
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 -matā Gir. I, 6; Kāl. I, 2; Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2.
 -mate Gir. VI, 9; Kāl. XIII, 38, 39; Shāh. I, 2, XIII, 7; Mān. VI, 30, XIII, 3, 6, 7; Dhau. VI, 4; Tōp. VI, 9.
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 mamayā Kāl. V, 13, 14, VI, 17, 19; Dhau. VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1; Tōp. VII, 24; Bair. 3.
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 -mahamatra Shāh. V, 11, 12, 13, XII, 9; Mān. V, 21, 26, XII, 8.
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 mahā-apāye Dhau. Sep. I, 15.
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 mahātpeneva Brah. 4; Sidd. 9.
 mahāthāvah[ā] Gir. X, 1.
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 mahāpāy[e] Jau. Sep. I, 8.
 mahā-phale Gir. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau. IX, 3, Sep. I, 14; Jau. Sep. I, 8.
 -mahamatā Kāl. V, 14, 16.
 mahamat[e]hi Kāl. VI, 18.
 mahāmāta Dhau. Sep. I, 1; All. Kauś. 1.
 mahāmāta[m] Jau. Sep. I, 11.
 mahāmāta Dhau. Sep. I, 25, II, 1, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 1, 10, II, 14; Tōp. VII, 26; Brah. 1; Sidd. 2.
 -mahāmāta Gir. V, 4, 9, XII, 9; Kāl. V, 14, XII, 34; Dhau. V, 3, 7; Tōp. I, 9, VII, 23, 25, 26.
 mahāmātānaṇ Brah. 1; Sidd. 1 f.
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 -mahālākānaṇ Tōp. VII, 29.
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 ma[hāla]kesu Dhau. V, 5.
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 m[ā]t[ā]-pitu-susūsā Dhau. IV, 4.
 -mātu All. Qu. 5.
 -mātraṇ Gir. XIII, 1.
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 -mite Kāl. XIII, 35.
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 mitra-samstuta-ṇāṭīnaṇ Gir. III, 4.
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min[ā] Mir. III, 2.
[m]isaṁ-deva Sah. 3.
misā Rūp. 2; Brah. 4; Śidd. 8.
misibhūta Mas. 4.
mukhate Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3.
mukhato Gir. VI, 5; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. VI, 28.
mukha-mut[a] Shāh. XIII, 8.
[mukha]-mute Mān. XIII, 9.
mukhā Tōp. VII, 27.
mukhya-mute Ar. VI, 5.
m[ute] Shāh. XIII, 1.
mut[o] Shāh. XIII, 6.
-mut[a] Shāh. XIII, 8.
-mute Kāl. VI, 19, XIII, 36; Mān. XIII, 9; Ar. VI, 5.
-mu[n]ā (read -munisā) Jau. Sep. I, 2.
Muni-gāthā Calc. 5.
-m[uni]śānaṁ Mān. II, 8.
munisā Dhau. VII, 1; Jau. VII, 1; Sah. 3; Brah. 3.
-munisā Jau. Sep. II, 2 f.
munisānaṁ Dhau. IV, 3, Sep. I, 4; Jau. IV, 3, Sep. I, 2, 10; Tōp. IV, 16, VII, 29, 30.
-munisānaṁ Kāl. II, 6; Tōp. VII, 23, 24.
munise Dhau. Sep. I, 5.
-munise Jau. Sep. I, 4.
-munisesu Dhau. Sep. I, 6; Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 4.
munisopagāni Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3.
mula Shāh. XII, 2.
mulara Shāh. VI, 15.
mulani Mān. II, 8.
mulāni Kāl. II, 6.
mule Kāl. VI, 19, XII, 31; Mān. VI, 30, XII, 2.
musā-vādaṁ Calc. 6.
mūlaṁ Gir. XII, 3.
mūlāni Gir. II, 7.
mūle Gir. VI, 10; Dhau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 12; Jau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 6.
me Gir. V, 2, 8, VI, 3, 4, 8, 9, 13, X, 1; Kāl. III, 7, V, 14, 17, VI, 17, 18, 19, 20, X, 27, XIII, 15; Shāh. V, 11, 13, VI, 14, 15, 16, X, 21, XIII, 11; Mān. III, 9, V, 20, 26, VI, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, X, 9, XIII, 12; Dhau. III, 1, V, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, VI, 1, 2, 4, 6, X, 2, Sep. I, 3, 16, II, 2; Jau. III, 1, VI, 2, 4, 5, 7, X, 1, Sep. I, 2, 3, 6, 8, II, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Tōp. I, 2, 7, II, 12, 13, 14, III, 17, 18, 21, 22, IV, 2, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, V, 2, 19, VI, 2, 7, 9, VII, 14, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25,

26, 27, 30, 31; Sām. 7; Calc. 8; Brah. 3; Sidd. 7; Bar. III, 3.
meñati Shāh. XIII, 11.
mai (read me) Brah. 6.
mokshay[e] Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 23.
-mokhāni Tōp. V, 20.
mokhāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5; Jau. V, 6.
mokhiya-mata Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2.
mokhya-mata Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2.
mokhya-mate Tōp. VI, 9.
mokhya-mute Nand. VI, 6.
Moneya-sūte Calc. 5.
morā Gir. I, 11.
mrigaviya Mān. VIII, 34.
mrig[e] Mān. I, 5.
mrugaya Shāh. VIII, 17.
mrugo Shāh. I, 3.

Y

ya Gir. IV, 10, V, 2, VI, 5, 6, 11, IX, 4, X, 3, XII, 3, 9, XIII, 6; Shāh. XIII, 7, 12; Mān. XIII, 13; Rūp. 1; Bair. 2; Brah. 2; Sidd. 5; Jaṭ. 3.
[ya] (read ye) Kāl. XIII, 37.
yam Gir. X, 3; Kāl. VI, 18, 20, X, 27, XII, 35; Shāh. IV, 10, VI, 14, 15, 16, X, 22, XII, 2, 9, XIII, 7; Mān. VI, 28, 30, X, 9, XII, 9; Brah. 3; Sidd. 6; Jaṭ. 5.
yam (read iyaṁ?) Dhau. IV, 8.
yamti Kāl. XIII, 11; Mān. XIII, 11.
yata Gir. II, 6, 7, XIII, 9; Kāl. XIII, 10; Sah. 7.
yatā Kāl. XIII, 38, 39.
yatra Gir. II, 7, XIII, 5; Shāh. II, 5, XIII, 9, 10; Mān. XIII, 6, 11.
-yatra Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 34.
yatha Shāh. II, 3, XII, 2, 8; Mān. III, 10.
[ya*][tha] Shāh. III, 6.
yathā Gir. II, 2, III, 3, IX, 9, XII, 2, 8; Kāl. III, 7; Tōp. VII, 22; Sidd. 11.
yathārahaṁ Brah. 11; Sidd. 20; Jaṭ. 18.
yada Shāh. I, 2.
-yada Mān. VIII, 35.
yadā Gir. I, 10; Kāl. I, 3.
yadi Shāh. IX, 20.
yadiśaṁ Shāh. IV, 8, XI, 23.
yamatro Shāh. XIII, 6.
yava Shāh. IX, 19.
yavatake Mān. XIII, 7.
yaśo Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X, 9, 10.
yasho Kāl. X, 27, 28.
yasa Gir. VII, 3; Shāh. VII, 4; Mān. VII, 33.
yaso Gir. X, 1, 2; Kāl. X, 27; Dhau. X, 1, 2; Jau. X, 1.
yā Gir. XIII, 6; Dhau. IV, 6; Tōp. I, 9, VII, 28, 29; Rūp. 2.
-yātā Kāl. VIII, 22; Dhau. VIII, 1.
-yātā Gir. VIII, 3; Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 2.

-yātāṁ Gir. VIII, 1.
yāti Sār. 9.
yāni Gir. II, 5; Tōp. V, 14, VII, 28, 30.
yārisaṁ Gir. IX, 7, XI, 1.
yārise Gir. IV, 4.
yāvataka Rūp. 5.
y[ā]vata[k]o Gir. XIII, 5.
yāva - saḍuvīsati - vasa - abhisitena Tōp. V, 19.
yāya-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa Ar. V, 13.
yāva - saḍuvīsati - vasābhisitena Nand. V, 14.
yāvu Sār. 7.
yujamtu Gir. IV, 11; Kāl. IV, 13; Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 18.
yujamtu Dhau. IV, 7.
yujisamti Dhau. Sep. II, 10.
yu[j]ey[u] Jau. Sep. I, 10.
yujeyū Jau. Sep. II, 3, 4, 14.
yujevū Dhau. Sep. II, 3.
yuta Shāh. III, 6.
-yuta- Mān. V, 23.
-yu[ta]m Tōp. VII, 23.
yutani Shāh. III, 7; Mān. III, 11.
-yutasa Gir. V, 5; Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22; Dhau. V, 4.
-yutas[ā] Kāl. V, 15.
-yutasi Kāl. V, 16; Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 25; Dhau. V, 7.
yutā Gir. III, 2; Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. III, 1.
-yutānaṁ Gir. V, 6.
yutāni Kāl. III, 8; Dhau. III, 3.
-yutāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5.
yute Gir. III, 6.
-yutena Tōp. IV, 6; Mas. 5.
y[ū]jeyū Jau. Sep. I, 3.
yūjevū Dhau. Sep. I, 6, 20.
ye Gir. II, 3, V, 5, 8, XII, 8; Kāl. II, 4, 5, V, 14, VI, 18, IX, 25, XII, 32, XIII, 35, 5, 12, 17; Shāh. II, 3, 4, V, 11, 12, 13, VI, 14, 15, IX, 18, 20, XII, 7, XIII, 1, 3; Mān. II, 5, 6, V, 19, 20, 22, 25, VI, 28, IX, 4, XII, 5, XIII, 9, 11; Dhau. V, 1, 2, Sep. I, 8; Jau. Sep. I, 4; Tōp. II, 16, IV, 3, V, 7, VII, 11, 30; Sām. 4; Mas. 4.
yena Kāl. XIV, 22; Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14; Tōp. IV, 9, 12.
yeva Mān. I, 4, IV, 15; Dhau. IV, 6; Jau. I, 4, IV, 6; Tōp. VII, 29; Mir. V, 7.
yevā Kāl. I, 3, XIV, 19; Tōp. V, 13.
yeśu Kāl. XIII, 37.
yesha Shāh. XIII, 5.
yesham Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 5.
yesam Gir. XIII, 4.
yesu Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. XIII, 4.
yeham Kāl. VI, 20; Mān. VI, 31; Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 6.
yo Gir. V, 1, 3, 8, XII, 5; Shāh. V, 11, X, 21, XII, 5, XIII, 3, 7, 8, 10, 12.
yo (= ēva) Shāh. IV, 9, XIII, 11, XIV, 13; Mān. IV, 16.

yojana-śateshu Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 9.
 [yo]jana-shateshu Kāl. XIII, 6.
 Yona-K[a]j[ā]mb[ō]ja-Gaṁdhārānām Gir. V, 5.
 yote Tōp. IV, 17.
 [Y]o[na]-Kāmbō . . Gir. XIII, 9.
 Yona - Kāmbōcha - Gaṁdhālesu Dhau. V, 4.
 Yona - Kāmb[ō]ja - Gaṁdhālānām Kāl. V, 15.
 Yona-Kāmbōja-Gadharana Mān. V, 22.
 Yona-Kāmbōjeshu Kāl. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10.
 Yona - Kāmbōya - Gaṁdharanām Shāh. V, 12.
 Yona-Ka[m]b[ō]yeshu Shāh. XIII, 9.
 Yona-raja Shāh. II, 4, XIII, 9; Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9.
 [Yo]na-rāja Gir. XIII, 8.
 Yona-rāja Gir. II, 3.
 Yona-lājā Kāl. II, 5, XIII, 6; Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 2.
 Yoneshu Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 6.
 Yone[su] Gir. XIII, 5.

R

-rage Mān. VII, 33.
 -rago Shāh. VII, 3.
 raja Shāh. III, 5, VII, 1, VIII, 17; Mān. I, 2, III, 9, IV, 16, V, 19, VI, 26, VII, 32, VIII, 35, IX, 1, X, 9, 10, XI, 12, XII, 1.
 -raja Shāh. II, 4, XIII, 9; Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9.
 rajani Shāh. XIII, 9.
 ra[jane] Mān. II, 6.
 rajano Shāh. II, 4.
 raja-vishava[si] Mān. XIII, 10.
 raja-vishavaspi Shāh. XIII, 9.
 rajina Mān. I, 1, IV, 18.
 rajine Mān. I, 3, 3 f, II, 5, 6, IV, 13, 14, 16, VIII, 37, XIII, 1.
 rajuko Shāh. III, 6.
 raña Shāh. IV, 10, XIV, 13.
 raño Shāh. I, 2, II, 4, IV, 7, 8, 9, VIII, 17, XIII, 1.
 Rathikanām Shāh. V, 12.
 Raṭhika-Pitnikana Mān. V, 22.
 rati Gir. VIII, 5; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 36.
 -rati Shāh. XIII, 12; Mān. XIII, 13.
 [ra]ti Sōp. VIII, 9.
 rabhasiye Shāh. XIII, 8.
 raya Shāh. I, 1, V, 11, VI, 14, IX, 18, X, 21, 22, XI, 23, XII, 1.
 -raso Gir. XIII, 10; Shāh. XIII, 11.
 -rāgo Gir. VII, 2.
 -rāja Gir. XIII, 8.
 rāja-vi[saj]yamhi Gir. XIII, 9.
 rājā Gir. I, 5, III, 1, IV, 8, V, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, VIII, 2, IX, 1, X, 1, 2, 3, XI, 1, XII, 1.
 -rājā Gir. II, 3.
 rājano Gir. II, 4, VIII, 1, XIII, 8.
 rājūke Gir. III, 2.

rāñā Gir. I, 2, IV, 12, XIV, 1.
 rāño Gir. I, 7, 8, II, 1, 4, IV, 2, 5, 8, VIII, 5.
 Ri(Rā)ṣṭika-P[e]teṇikānām Gir. V, 5.
 ruchhani Mān. II, 8.
 rupani Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13.
 rūpāni Gir. IV, 4.
 rochetu Shāh. XIII, 11.
 ropapita Mān. II, 7, 8.
 [ropa]pi[tani] Mān. II, 8.
 ropāpit[ā] Gir. II, 8.
 ropāpitāni Gir. II, 6, 7.

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lakhane Tōp. V, 19.
 laghamti Tōp. IV, 8.
 lajā Kāl. X, 27, 28.
 lajāne Kāl. XIII, 7.
 lajinā Kāl. XIV, 19.
 la[j]u[k]e Dhau. III, 1.
 lajūka Ar. IV, 2, 5, 6.
 lajūkā Tōp. IV, 2, 4, 8, 9, 12, VII, 22.
 lajūkānām Tōp. IV, 13.
 laj[u]k[e] Kāl. III, 7.
 Lathika-[P]itenikesu Dhau. V, 4.
 -lati Kāl. XIII, 18.
 ladha Shāh. XIII, 11.
 ladham Shāh. IX, 20.
 ladhā Gir. XIII, 10.
 ladhe Kāl. IX, 27, XIII, 5, 12; Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, 9, 11.
 ladhesha(shu) Kāl. XIII, 35.
 ladh[e]shu Kāl. XIII, 39; Shāh. XIII, 2; Mān. XIII, 2.
 ladhesu Gir. XIII, 1.
 ladho Gir. XIII, 8; Shāh. XIII, 8.
 [la]pitam Shāh. XIV, 13.
 la[p]it[e] Kāl. XIV, 21 f.; Mān. XIV, 14.
 -lase Kāl. XIII, 13.
 laha(hu)kā Kāl. XII, 32.
 l[a]hiye All. Kauś. 2.
 labu Tōp. VII, 30.
 lahuka Shāh. XII, 3, XIII, 11; Mān. XII, 3.
 lahukā Gir. XII, 3; Kāl. XIII, 14.
 [lahuke] Tōp. VII, 24.
 lahu-da[m]data Shāh. XIII, 11.
 lahu-daṁdata Kāl. XIII, 16 f.
 lahey[u] Jau. Sep. II, 6.
 lahevu Dhau. Sep. II, 5.
 lā(li)khāpetavaya Rūp. 5.
 -lāgā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 1.
 -lā[g]e Kāl. VII, 21.
 Lāghulovāde Calc. 5 f.
 lāja Kāl. IV, 11; Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Tōp. I, 1, II, 10, III, 17, IV, 1, V, 1, VI, 1; Bar. III, 1.
 l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] Jau. Sep. II, 1.
 l[ā]ja-viśavashi Kāl. XIII, 9.
 lājā Kāl. I, 2, III, 6, V, 13, VI, 17, VII, 21, VIII, 22, IX, 24, X, 28, XI, 29, XII, 31; Dhau. III, 1, IV, 5, V, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, VIII, 2, IX, 1, X, 1; Jau. I, 2, III, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, IX, 1, Sep. II, 5, 6, 10; Tōp. VII, 11, 14, 19, 23,

26, 28, 29; All. I, 1, II, 1, III, 1, V, 1; Calc. 1.
 -lāja Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 2.
 lajāne Dhau. II, 2, VIII, 1; Jau. II, 2; Tōp. VII, 12, 15.
 la[j]āno Kāl. II, 5.
 laj[ā]la[dh]i Dhau. Sep. I, 15.
 lajā[la*]dhi Jau. Sep. I, 8.
 lajina Rum. 1; Nig. 1.
 lajinā Kāl. IV, 13; Dhau. I, 1, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, II, 2; Bar. I, 1, II, 1.
 lajine Kāl. I, 2, 3, II, 4, 5, IV, 9, 10, 11, VIII, 23, XIII, 35; Dhau. I, 3, IV, 2, 3, 5, 8, VIII, 3, Sep. I, 26; Jau. I, 3, II, 1, IV, 2, 6, VIII, 4, Sep. II, 11.
 lajibi Tōp. VII, 24.
 lāti Kāl. VIII, 23.
 lāti-satā Sah. 6 f.
 -lābhesu Gir. IX, 2.
 [li]khapita Mān. I, 1, XIV, 13.
 likhapitu(ta) Shāh. I, 1.
 likhapite Mān. IV, 18.
 likhapesami Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14.
 [likhāpayatha] Sah. 8.
 [likhāpa]yāthā Sah. 7.
 likhā[pa]yāmi Calc. 8.
 likhāpayisām Gir. XIV, 3.
 likhāpāpitā Tōp. VII, 31.
 likhāpita Ar. I, 2, II, 3, IV, 1, VI, 1, 5.
 likhāpitā Kāl. XIV, 19; Dhau. I, 1; Jau. I, 1; Tōp. I, 2, II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10.
 likhita Shāh. I, 3; Mān. I, 4, V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 12; Dhau. Sep. I, 19; Jau. Sep. II, 14.
 likhitam Gir. XIV, 3, 5; Shāh. XIV, 14; Jat. 21.
 likhitā Gir. I, 10, V, 9; Kāl. XIII, 15; Dhau. I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, Sep. II, 9; Jau. I, 4, VI, 6, Sep. I, 10.
 likhite Kāl. IV, 12, XIV, 21, 23; Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. IV, 18, XIV, 14; Dhau. IV, 7, 8, XIV, 2, 3; Brah. 13.
 likhiyis[āmi*] Dhau. XIV, 2.
 lipi Dhau. Sep. I, 17, 19, II, 9, 10.
 -lipi Kāl. I, 1, 3, V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 15, XIV, 19; Tōp. I, 2, II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10.
 lipim Sār. 7.
 lipikarāparadhena Gir. XIV, 6.
 li[p]ikareṇa Brah. 13; Jat. 22.
 li[p]ikalapalādhena Kāl. XIV, 23.
 lipi Jau. Sep. I, 9, 10, II, 14, 15; Sār. 6.
 -lipi Gir. I, 1, 10, V, 9, VI, 13, XIV, 1; Dhau. I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, 4, VI, 6; All. VI, 3.
 -libi Tōp. VII, 31, 32.
 Lurhmini-gāme Rum. 4.
 lukhāni Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 4; Jau. II, 4.
 lupāni Kāl. IV, 10.
 lupāni Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3.

lekhāpitam Gir. IV, 11, 12.
lekhāpitā Gir. I, 2, VI, 13, XIV, 1.
lekhāpeta Rūp. 4.
lekhāpeśāmi Kāl. XIV, 21.
lekhitā Kāl. I, 1, 3, IV, 13, V, 17, VI, 20.
-loka Dhau. Sep. II, 6.
-loka- Gir. VI, 9, 11, 14, colophon;
Kāl. VI, 19, 20; Shāh. VI, 15, 16; Mān. VI, 30, 32; Dhau. VI, 4, 5, 7; Jau. VI, 5, 7.
-loka[in] Dhau. Sep. II, 6.
lokasā Tōp. VII, 28; Ar. VI, 1, 2.
lokasā Tōp. VI, 2, 4.
loke Tōp. VII, 24, 28.
-logam Jau. Sep. II, 7.
-lochayitu Kāl. XIV, 23; Dhau. XIV, 3.
lochetavyā Gir. IV, 12.
-locheti Shāh. XIV, 14
lochetu Kāl. XIII, 17.
-lochetpā Gir. XIV, 6.
lo[ch]e[sh]u Shāh. IV, 10.
lopāpitā Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 3, 4;
Jau. II, 4; Tōp. VII, 23.
lopāpitāni Dhau. II, 4; Tōp. VII, 23.
lopitāni Kāl. II, 6.

V

va (= ēva) Kāl. IX, 26; Shāh. IX, 18, 19, X, 22, XII, 3, 5, XIII, 7, XIV, 14; Mān. III, 10, IX, 6, 7, X, 10, XII, 3, 5, XIII, 7; Dhau. IV, 1, Sep. I, 7, 23, II, 5; Jau. IV, 1; Tōp. III, 21, VII, 30; Ar. III, 2; Rūp. 3; Sah. 3; Mas. 6.
va (=vā) Gir. V, 5, 8, VI, 2, 3, 7, 9, VII, 2, 3, IX, 5, 7, 8, X, 1, 2, 4, XI, 1, 3, XII, 2, 3, 5, 8, XIII, 2, 3, 4, 6, XIV, 5, 6; Kāl. XII, 31, XIII, 37; Shāh. V, 12, &c.; Mān. V, 22, &c.; Dhau. V, 1, 2, 6, 7, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2, Sep. I, 20, 21; Jau. V, 2, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2; Tōp. IV, 14, 17, 18, V, 8; Ar. IV, 2, 7, 8, V, 7; All. Qu. 3.
va (abbreviation for vasāni) Rūp. 1.
varṇānato Shāh. III, 7.
vagam Dhau. Sep. I, 24.
[va]ge Jau. Sep. I, 5.
vagenā Kāl. X, 28.
vagreṇa Shāh. X, 22; Mān. X, 11.
vacha-guti Kāl. XII, 31; Shāh. XII, 2; Mān. XII, 2.
-vachanik[a] Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1.
vachanena Dhau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; Brah. 1; Sidd. 2.
v[a]chanenā All. Qu. 1.
vacha-bh[u]mikyā Kāl. XII, 34.
vacha-bhūmikā Gir. XII, 9.
vachamhi Gir. VI, 3.
vachasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2.
vachi-guti Gir. XII, 3.
v[a]titaviya Jau. Sep. I, 7.
va[ti]ta[vij]e Dhau. Sep. I, 13.
-vaḍikā All. Qu. 3.

-vaḍikyā Tōp. VII, 23.
vaḍhati Tōp. IV, 20.
vaḍhayati Gir. XII, 4; Mān. XII, 4.
vaḍhayisati Gir. IV, 7; Dhau. IV, 5; Jau. IV, 5.
vaḍhi Shāh. IV, 10; Rūp. 4.
-vaḍhi Kāl. XII, 31, 34, 35; Shāh. XII, 2, 8, 9; Mān. XII, 2, 7, 9; Tōp. VI, 3, VII, 29, 30.
vaḍhita Ar. I, 4.
vaḍhitam Shāh. IV, 9.
vaḍhitā Tōp. I, 6, VII, 28, 29, 30.
vaḍhite Gir. IV, 5, 7; Kāl. IV, 10; Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14; Dhau. IV, 1, 3, 5; Jau. IV, 1, 5; Nig. 2.
vaḍhito Gir. IV, 1; Shāh. IV, 7.
vaḍhithā Tōp. VII, 14, 17.
-vaḍhiya Shāh. V, 12.
vaḍhiyati Kāl. XII, 32.
-vaḍhiyā Kāl. V, 15; Tōp. VII, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22.
-[va]ḍhiye Dhau. V, 4.
vaḍhisati Shāh. IV, 9.
vaḍhisamti Tōp. VII, 29.
vaḍhisata (read °siti) Rūp. 4.
vaḍhisati Tōp. VII, 22, 28; Ar. I, 4; Sah. 5, 6; Bair. 7, 8.
vaḍhisiti Rūp. 4; Mas. 7 f.; Brah. 7, 8; Sidd. 14, 15.
vaḍhi Dhau. IV, 7.
-vaḍhi Gir. XII, 2, 8, 9.
vaḍhisati Tōp. I, 6.
vaḍheti Shāh. XII, 4.
vaḍheya Tōp. VII, 13, 16, 18.
-vataṁ Kāl. X, 27.
vataviya Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1.
vataviyam Brah. 10; Sidd. 17; Jaṭ. 14.
vataviyā Jau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; All. Qu. 2; Mas. 6 f.; Brah. 1; Sidd. 3.
vataviye Kāl. IX, 25, XI, 30, XII, 34; Mān. IX, 5, XI, 13, XII, 7; Dhau. IX, 4, Sep. I, 13.
vatavo Shāh. IX, 19, XI, 24, XII, 8.
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vadha Kāl. XIII, 36; Shāh. XIII, 3.
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 hiraṇṇa-paṭivīdhāne Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 3; Jau. VIII, 3.
 hini Gir. IV, 11; Dhau. IV, 7; Jau. IV, 8.
 -hīni Dhau. IV, 7.
 -hīni Gir. IV, 11.
 hīyārṇ Brah. 4.
 huta-puluva Kāl. V, 14.
 huta-puluve Kāl. IV, 10, VI, 17.
 huta-pruve Mān. IV, 14, VI, 27.
 huthā Tōp. VII, 15, 20.
 huvarṇti Dhau. VIII, 1; Jau. VIII, 1.
 huvāti Sār. 6.
 [h]uveyā Dhau. X, 3; Jau. X, 2.
 huveyu Kāl. XII, 34; Mān. XII, 7.
 huvevu Dhau. Sep. I, 12.
 huvevū Dhau. Sep. II, 5.
 husarṇ Brah. 2; Sidd. 5.

husu Kāl. VIII, 22; Mān. VIII, 34; Tōp. VII, 12; Rūp. 2; Mas. 4.
 hūta-puluva Dhau. V, 3.
 hūta-puluve Dhau. IV, 3, VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1.
 hermēva All. I, 4.
 h[e]dishe Kāl. XI, 29.
 hedīsānā(ni) Kāl. VIII, 22.
 hedise Kāl. IX, 25.
 heta Kāl. IX, 24, X, 28; Dhau. V, 2, XIV, 3; Jau. XIV, 2; Sōp. VIII, 6.
 hetā Kāl. V, 14, VIII, 23, IX, 25, XIV, 21; All. Qu. 2; Sah. 8.
 hetute Mān. III, 11; Dhau. III, 3; Jau. III, 4.
 hetuto Gir. III, 6; Shāh. III, 7.
 hetuvatā Kāl. III, 8.
 hedisameva Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Sār. 7.
 hedisā Sār. 6.
 hedisāye Dhau. IX, 2; Jau. IX, 2.
 hedise Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 3.
 hemeva Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Jau. Sep. I, 3; Tōp. VII, 25; Ar. I, 5, VI, 4; Sār. 10; Brah. 9, 10; Sidd. 18, 19; Jat. 12, 13, 16, 19.
 hemevā Tōp. I, 8, VI, 6.
 heva Kāl. XII, 32; Rām. I, 1.
 hevarṇ Kāl. III, 6, VI, 17, 19, XI, 29, XII, 33; Dhau. III, 1, 2, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, IX, 1, 5, Sep. I, 14, 18, II, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11; Jau. III, 1, VI, 1, 4, Sep. I, 1, 6, 7, II, 1, 5, 6, 9, 10 f., 13, 16; Tōp. I, 1, II, 11, 15, 16, III, 17, 19, IV, 1, 12, 19, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, 5, VII, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31; All. Qu. 4; Sār. 5, 6; Rūp. 1; Sah. 1; Calc. 3; Mas. 5, 7, 8; Brah. 1, 8, 12; Sidd. 3; Jat. 15, 20, 21.
 hevarṇmeva Dhau. Sep. I, 13; Jau. Sep. II, 4; All. VI, 2.
 hevarṇmevā Calc. 8.
 hevamevā Kāl. XIII, 8.
 hoti Gir. VIII, 3, XI, 4, XII, 9, XIII, 10; Kāl. IV, 12, VI, 19, VIII, 23, IX, 27, XI, 30, XII, 35, XIII, 37, 38, 13; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. IV, 17, VI, 28, VIII, 35, 36, IX, 8, XI, 14, XIII, 8, 11; Dhau. IV, 7, VI, 3, VIII, 2, 3, Sep. I, 8; Jau. IV, 7, VI, 3, VIII, 2, 3, Sep. I, 4, 8; Sōp. VIII, 6, 9; Tōp. IV, 11, VII, 31; Sidd. 13.
 hotu Kāl. V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 18; Mān. V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 13; Dhau. V, 8, VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6; Tōp. VII, 31; Sah. 5.
 hotū Tōp. II, 16.
 hosarṇti Tōp. VII, 23.
 hosati Dhau. Sep. I, 22.
 hosati Calc. 4.
 hosāmi Dhau. Sep. II, 8.
 hosāmi Jau. Sep. II, 12.
 hoharṇti Tōp. VII, 25, 26, 27.
 hveyū Jau. Sep. I, 6, II, 5.

CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xlv-xlvii.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to *vyushṭa*, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as e.g. in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 5, 30, viz. 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904. 364 f. (Kielhorn); 1911. 1106 (Fleet); 1916. 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J-K of the Sahasrām edict (Text, p. 171) as follows: 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).' The translations of the corresponding portions of the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp. 169 and 177 f.) have to be modified in a similar way. But *vivāsayātha* at Sārṇāth (section I, p. 162) and *vivasetavā[ya]* (read *vivāsetaviye*) at Rūpnāth (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)'; and *vivāsāpayāthā* at Sārṇāth (section J, p. 162) would mean 'issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns)'. See Thomas, JRAS, 1915. 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. *For instruction read exhortation.*

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom. *Read as follows:* The two Sanskrit masculines *prāṇa* and *vrīksha* are used as neuters: *pānāni* (I, 3, 4) and [*lu*]khāni² (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. *Add:* According to the *Suttanipāta*, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkāka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows.

Page 12, Roman text, line 12. *For ta² (M) etāya read (M) ta etāya.*

" " Cancel note 2.

" 13, section (M). *For:* For the following purpose *read:* Now for the following purpose.

" 15, note 7, line 4. *For XIII, I read XIII, 1. 4.*

" 56, note 21. *For the Rāshṭrikas see the Introduction, p. xxxviii, line 2 from bottom.*

" 69, section (M). *For converts read exhorts.*

" " note 3. *Add:* See also *Kāvyaaprakāśa*, sec. ed., p. 57. महा हसन्ति occurs already in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇ. IV, 1, 48, *Vārttika* 3.

" 73, Roman text, line 9. *For duva[a]śa- read duva[ḍa]śa-.*

" 95, line 3. *For (thus) read (this).*

" 96, section (N). *For arise to you read arise in you.*

" " (T). *For badly fulfils this duty read fulfils this duty badly.*

" 97, " (V). *For edict read rescript.*

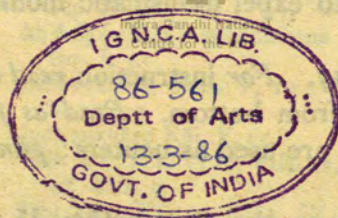
" " (CC), line 3. *For thus, as read just as.*

" 99, Translation, section (A). *For (thus) read (this).*

" " " (E), line 2. *For thus read so.*

" 100, section (I). *For inspire confidence to them read inspire them with confidence.*

- Page 100, section (J). *For* entertain *read* maintain.
- " " " (K). *For* inspire confidence to those (borderers) *read* inspire those (borderers) with confidence.
- " 100, section (M). *For* inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) *read* inspire those borderers (of mine) with confidence.
- " 119, Nāgarī text, line 4. *For* सुसूयाया *read* सुसूयाया.
- " " Roman text, line 4. *For* su[sū]yāyā *read* su[sū]sāyā.
- " 133, note 6, line 3. *For* kākapāda *read* kākapāda.
- " 137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN). *For* conversion *read* exhortation.
- " 142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. *For* sukataṃ *read* sukaṭaṃ.
- " 145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nāgarī text, line 3. *For* हेष *read* हेषं.
- " 147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5. *For* sukataṃ *read* sukaṭaṃ.
- " 179, line 19. *For* . . . [ki]tī *read* . . . [ki]tī.
- " 184, line 23. *For* tim *read* tim.
- " 235, second column, line 22 from bottom. *For* [āl]as[y]e[na] *read* [āla]s[y]e[na].





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